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The Theological Synthesis
of Cyrus of Edessa, an East Syrian Theologian of the Mid Sixth Century

Of all the churches of the Christian East probably none has had a more clearly defined and characteristic theological synthesis than the East Syrian Church, better known to scholars, perhaps, as the Church of Persia, but to its members as the Church of the East. Although traces only of this theology have been incorporated into the official acts of the synods of this Church (1), yet the liturgy of its divine office is thoroughly impregnated with it, and it has provided the basis for the elucubrations of almost all of its theologians from Narsai to Timothy II, that is, from the latter part of the fifth century to the great decline of the fourteenth century (2). As will be seen, the peculiar Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, though officially adopted by the Church of Persia, is nonetheless neither central nor essential to the synthesis. Thus, the divine office of the Church, despite the fact that it has been thoroughly purged of Nestorian error for the benefit of those who have returned to communion with the Church Universal, remains, even today, imbued with the original synthesis. Hence, using a term to cover both the Catholic

(1) Thus, the third canon of the synod of Išo'yahb I (A.D. 585) and the synod of Sabrišo' (A.D. 596), J.-B. CHABOT, *Synodicon Orientale*, Paris, 1902, pp. 400-1 and 459. Other pieces in this canonical collection, however, are more deeply impregnated, e.g. the letter of the Patriarch George I to the Chorbishop Mina (A.D. 680), *ibid.* pp. 490-514, especially, pp. 493-6.

(2) For example, John Bar Penkaye, Barhadbešabba 'Arbaya, Theodore Bar Koni, Pseudo-George of Arbela, John Bar Zo'bi and Ebedjesus. One theologian, however, who shows very little influence in the works of his that have survived is Babai the Great.

and non-Catholic branches of this tradition, it is possible to speak of an East Syrian theology (1).

The creator of this theology was Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Interpreter of Sacred Scripture by antonomasia. The fact that it was conceived by a single genius explains, no doubt, its clear definition and its remarkably high degree of coherence and consistency. Its extraordinary stability and longevity, however, while due in part to the intrinsic merits of the synthesis and the reputation of its author, and, likewise, to the educational practices of the time, in which memory played a large role and originality that went beyond mere literary expression was not encouraged, must also be attributed in very considerable measure to its enshrinement in the liturgy, the source and stay of the life of the Church.

A key figure, who at least prepared the way for this enshrinement, was Narsai, second founder of the School of Nisibis. He seems to have been the one who, more than any other, introduced the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia into the Church of Persia, and his *mēmrē*, a rich mine of East Syrian theology, were composed precisely for various solemnities of the ecclesiastical year. He, too, may well have been the one to institute at the School of Nisibis the practice of delivering on the principal feasts " causes " (2), that is, discourses that gave theological explanations of various aspects of the mystery celebrated by the liturgical feast, since we know them to have been delivered by one of his disciples, Abraham d'Beth Rabban (3). Subsequently, many of

(1) Another possible name to designate this theology would be Assyro-Chaldean. However, neither name has much historical justification. Furthermore, the Christians of Malabar pertain very much to this tradition, yet have nothing to do with either Assyrians or Chaldeans. For discussions of the question of nomenclature, cf. A. J. MacLean and W. H. Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, London, 1892, pp. 6-9, and J. Joseph, *The Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 5-18.

(2) ܥܠ̈ܬܐ.

(3) Išai, author of *The Cause of the Martyrs*, *Patrologia Orientalis* (abbreviated *PO*), vol. VII, p. 17:10-2, says that he has been asked to write it down " as it was uttered and handed on in this holy assembly by ... our holy master Mar Abraham, priest and interpreter ". The editor, Scher, in his introduction, p. 6, is surely justified in identifying this Mar Abraham with Abraham d'Beth Rabban.

these "causes" were written down and gathered into one or more collections, which were then disseminated among the monasteries and other schools of the Church (1). Then, once the theology had been placed in a liturgical context, its passage into the liturgy itself was easy.

Fortunately, one of these collections, *The Causes of the Feasts of the Economy*, has survived (2), and in it are contained the oldest prose expressions of East Syrian theology that we still have, the "causes" composed by Thomas and Cyrus of Edessa. Theirs are the "causes" that treat the central mysteries of the Christian dispensation, the Nativity, Epiphany, Fast, Pasch, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of Christ Our Lord, and the Descent of the Spirit, and they form, in consequence, the nucleus and core of the collection. The two authors were both disciples and intimates of the great Mar Aba and claim to be repeating what their master said before tham, as closely as their

(1) The biography of Bar 'Edta edited by E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Histories of Rabban Hôrmîzd the Persian and Rabban Bar-'Idtâ*, vol. II, part 1, London, 1902, p. 185, implies that the "causes" (Budge translates "introits") of the feasts were read aloud at both the Great Monastery of Izla and Beth Abe, two of the most influential monasteries of the Church. Similarly, Babai of Gebilta, the eighth century founder of numerous schools, is said to have been enlightened by the doctrine "of Cyrus", referring, presumably, to the six "causes" of the feasts written by Cyrus of Edessa, E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Book of Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Margâ*, vol. II, London, 1893, pp. 300-1.

(2) In a sixteenth century ms. of the convent of Mar Ya'qob the Recluse of Séert. Although the ms. was presumably destroyed in 1915 at the time of the massacres, a copy, Notre-Dame des Semences ms. nr. 155, was made in 1886. Cf. J.-M. VOSTÉ, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Syro-Chaldéenne du Couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences*, Rome, 1929, pp. 57-8 (= *Angelicum* 5 [1928] 181-2). My references to the unpublished parts of the collection are taken from this ms. At least six complete copies of this latter ms. are known to exist, of which the most easily available are *British Museum Oriental ms. nr. 9360*, part 1 (by oriental reckoning), and *Mingana Syriac ms. nr. 195*. One copy has been described and analysed by A. BAUMSTARK, *Die nestorianischen Schriften "De causis festorum"*, in *Oriens Christianus* (abbr. *OC*) 1 (1901) 320-42. Three of the "causes" by Išai and Ḥenana of Adiabene have been published by A. SCHER in *PO* VII, 1-82. A fourth by Thomas of Edessa has been edited by S. J. CARR, *Thomae Edesseni Tractatus de nativitate Domini*, Rome, 1898 (abbr. *TEN*).

talents permit (1). The most probable dates when they wrote down their "causes" are between the years 538 and 550 (2).

As an exponent of East Syrian theology, I have chosen to study Cyrus of Edessa (3). The only works of his that have survived under his name are the last six of the "causes" that I have

(1) Thomas, in *The Cause of the Nativity, TEN* 14, says that he has delivered this "cause" (orally) following Mar Aba; similarly, in *The Cause of the Epiphany* (abbr. *TEE*), Notre-Dame des Semences (abbr. NDS) 155, f. 46 v°:5-6, he notes his inability to write "these causes as they were delivered by our holy master, Mar Aba, interpreter". Cyrus, in his turn, in *The Cause of the Pasch* (abbr. *CPc*), NDS 155, f. 97 v°:13-5, says that he is setting down the chapters "that we remember were delivered by our holy professors, that is, the teachers of the community of the holy School of Nisibis".

(2) To summarize briefly the reasons: Thomas of Edessa, contrary to BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, p. 121, is surely to be identified with the travelling companion of Mar Aba, whom Cosmas Indicopleustes, writing about the year 547, reports as having died recently (*νυνί*) at Constantinople, E. O. WINSTEDT, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*, Cambridge, 1909 (abbr. WINSTEDT), pp. 5 n. 2 and 52:10-5 (= *Patrologia Graeca* [abbr. *PG*], vol. 88, c. 73A). Hence, Thomas must have died around 542, and not during Mar Aba's trip to the Byzantine Empire. Now Cyrus, in *The Cause of the Fast* (abbr. *CF*), NDS 155, f. 76 r°:10-2, says that he has been commissioned to write down "these causes of the feasts that time did not give the saint of God, our holy master Mar Thomas, doctor, the opportunity to do". On the probable assumption, therefore, that Cyrus is here referring to Thomas' death (which might explain why he calls him "the saint of God"), which did not allow him to finish the task he had begun, Thomas must have written his "causes" shortly before 542, whereas Cyrus must have composed his within a few years after. That Thomas, in the text cited above, note 1, calls Mar Aba "interpreter", might be taken as implying that he had not yet been elected Patriarch (January 540).

(3) BAUMSTARK, *op. cit.*, p. 122, gives the fonts for the life of Cyrus. They merely inform us that he was a pupil of Mar Aba and Thomas of Edessa at the School of Nisibis, that, after Mar Aba's death in 552, he carried his master's remains to Al-Hira and buried them there, building a monastery over the tomb, and that he also founded a school there. He is called "doctor" in the mss., that is, a professor of theology, which he probably taught at the School of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in addition to his own school. He is said by Ebedjesus, J. S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. III, part 1, Rome, 1725, p. 170:6-7, to have composed "causes" and commentaries, presumably of Sacred Scripture, and to have made translations, probably of Greek works into Syriac.

indicated above (1). They form much the largest part of the nucleus of the collection, and they give the best general view of the entire synthesis. Since they are commenting on mysteries celebrated by the liturgical feasts, the context of the synthesis is rather liturgical than biblical, as it was in its original form with Theodore of Mopsuestia. Hence, even though Cyrus is most faithful in reproducing the teachings of Theodore, even with some of their inconsistencies, yet by changing the context of their synthesis, he has thereby inevitably changed somewhat their emphases and nuances. Indeed, it is precisely in this that the principal value of Cyrus' works consists, that they are the best witness we have as to how the theology of Theodore was understood at the School of Nisibis in the early sixth century and how his ideas were synthesized in the context of the feasts of the liturgical cycle, which is the form in which they would have their most profound and lasting influence.

Baumstark, who was the first to signalize the theological importance of our collection of *The Causes of the Feasts of the Economy*, puts down as their basic theological idea " the gradual and progressive upbringing (*Erziehung*) of the human race " and notes the divergence of such a conception from a true concept of Original Sin (2). As regards the " causes " of Cyrus of Edessa, at least, I find this analysis, although not without foundation, a misleading oversimplification. My study of them has revealed, instead, two basic, synthetic, but divergent, conceptions of human history, both of which are already present in Theodore of Mopsuestia, but which do not seem to be fully integrated in either Cyrus or Theodore. From these basic conceptions derive two apparently contradictory views on Original Sin, one of which seems to follow the traditional teachings of the Fathers, while the other seems to contradict and even to reject them, and from the two views on Original Sin depend two interpretations of the

(1) It is hoped that the text and an English translation of Cyrus' six " causes " will appear in the not-too-distant future in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (abbr. *CSCO*).

(2) " Die nestorianischen Schriften ", *OC* 1 (1901) 339. He gives a brief summary of the theological synthesis embodied in the entire collection from the viewpoint of Christology, *ibid.*, pp. 339-41. Unfortunately, many of his references to the " causes " are inaccurate.

Redemption which, though not so directly contradictory to one another, still present notable divergences in emphasis. The contradiction on Original Sin, indeed, is so striking that it must have been manifest to Cyrus himself, but the only attempt at resolving it that he offers is so superficial that it leaves the underlying conflict intact.

It will be worthwhile, therefore, to examine these two synthetic views of human history in detail. My primary source for this task will be the writings of Cyrus of Edessa, but, whenever there are gaps in Cyrus' synthesis, or whenever a comparison offers points of special interest or contrast, I turn also to the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Basic to an understanding of the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Cyrus of Edessa is the division of human existence into two states or worlds, the present temporal state of mutability (1), corruptibility, passibility and mortality, on the one hand, and the future state of immutability, incorruptibility,

(1) ܡܬܬܠܠܢܘܬܐ. This is a technical term with East Syrian theologians that refers primarily to moral mutability and connotes a proneness, or at least a liableness, to decline from moral rectitude. Cf. *TEN* 28-9 and A. SCHER, *Theodorus Bar Kônî. Liber Scholiorum* (abbr. *TBK*), 2 vols., Paris, 1910-2 (= *CSCO* 55, 69), vol. I, p. 68:20-1 (where the text has ܡܬܪܦܢܢܘܬܐ, read ܡܬܪܦܢܢܘܬܐ). It stands for the Greek τρεπτότης, which is found, in its negative and adjectival forms, in the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia: K. STAAB, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (= *Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*, vol. XV), Münster-i-W., 1933 (abbr. STAAB), p. 133:15,20,29; J. REUSS, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (= *Texte und Untersuchungen* vol. 61), Berlin, 1957 (abbr. REUSS), p. 98 § 5:1; W. REICHARDT, *Joannis Philoponi De opificio mundi* (= *Scriptores Sacri et Profani*, fasc. 1), Leipzig, 1897 (abbr. REICHARDT), p. 247:24 (reprinted in R. DEVREESSE, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* [= *Studi e Testi*, vol. 141], Vatican City, 1948 [abbr. DEVREESSE], p. 12, n. 2:7). In some Syriac translations of his works, this term appears as ܡܫܬܚܠܦܢܘܬܐ : R. TONNEAU and R. DEVREESSE, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (= *Studi e Testi*, vol. 145), Vatican City, 1949 (abbr. *TMHC*), ff. 2 r°:19; 30 r°:8,9 and *passim*. In Latin, it is translated either as *mutabilitas*, O. GÜNTHER, " Vigilii constitutum de tribus capitulis ", in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (abbr. *CSEL*), vol. 35, part 1, Vienna, 1895, p. 283:20-1,22,25, or as *vertibilitas*, H. B. SWETE, *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli commentarii* (abbr. SWETE), 2 vols., Cambridge, 1880-2, vol. I, pp. 37:14; 38:18; 122:3.

impassibility and immortality, on the other (1). Indeed, the division actually takes on a cosmological aspect, such that the universe is divided physically by a solid firmament into two worlds (2), the lower world where we now dwell while we are mortal and the upper world where we shall live after the Resurrection of the Dead, which is the decisive point of division in the dimension of time. In the Old Testament, this division into two worlds was typefied by the Tabernacle of the Covenant that Moses was bidden to construct, which was divided by the veil into two tabernacles, of which the one, representing this world, could be entered by the priests at all times, whereas the other, that typefied the future world of Heaven, could be entered by the High Priest

(1) This division is implicit throughout the treatises. Cf. especially *CPc* chap. vii, f. 106 v°:4-17, where Cyrus notes how necessary it was for Christ to forearm His Apostles against the danger of pride, seeing that He had given them a promise of future sinlessness and moral immutability in the world to come, while " they were (in this world) still subject to passions and mutability ", and *The Cause of the Resurrection* (abbr. *CR*), chap. ii, ff. 124 r°:21-125 r°:20, where he contrasts resurrections in a transferred sense, that allow their beneficiaries to fall back under " the compulsion of things " (meaning death and corruption and referring, perhaps, to resurrections like that of Lazarus), with the true Resurrection (of Christ), which has brought mankind " freedom from the servitude of death ", conferring " immutability and impeccability ", and has " redeemed all creation from the tyranny of mutability ". The division of reality into two states in the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia is discussed at length by I. OÑATIBIA, " La vida cristiana, tipo de las realidades celestes ", in *Scriptorium Victoriense* 1 (1954) 101-3. Cf. also *TMHC* 9; SWETE I, 29; *CSEL* 35[1], 283 (cap. 58). J. GROSS, *Geschichte des Erbsündendogmas*, vol. I, Munich/Basel, 1960, p. 194, notes that patristic tradition divided reality into three states, before the Fall, after the Fall and after the Redemption. However, just as a resurrection that does not confer immortality is only such in a transferred sense for Cyrus, so the provisional immortal state of Adam before the Fall, that did not exclude all possibility of death, would be only imperfectly distinct from our present mortal state.

(2) Thus, the question how Christ could have ascended through the firmament without rending it is a serious problem for Cyrus, *The Cause of the Ascension* (abbr. *CA*) chap. ii, f. 154 r°:11-25. For Theodore of Mopsuestia's teaching on the firmament, cf. REICHARDT 29:11-4 (= DEVREESSE 7-8); *PG* 66, 636B; R. DEVREESSE, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I-LXXX)* (= *Studi e Testi*, vol. 93), Vatican City, 1939 (abbr. *TMPss*), p. 117:1-5.

alone, and that but once a year, which was a type of the entry of Christ, the eternal High Priest, into the dwelling-place of Heaven (1). With Cosmas Indicopleustes, this cosmological aspect, along with the typology of the two tabernacles, has been exaggerated out of all proportion, and from it he has developed what he calls a Christian topography (2), but this is not an essential feature of the basic theological conception of the two states of mortality and immortality.

More important, however, is the extension of the division to the angels, who, before the Resurrection of the Dead, are morally mutable like men (3), at least *de jure*, even though, *de facto*, they have long ago taken a definitive stand for or against God. Even at that, the good angels were liable to despair and would

(1) *CPc* iii, f. 98 r°:12-v°:5.

(2) Cosmas says that he got his cosmology from Mar Aba: WINSTEDT 52:5-18; 62:20-1; 135:16-8; 284:17-21 (= *PG* 88, 72D-73A; 88AB; 192D; 397D). For his description of his cosmology and his attempts to demonstrate it from Scripture, cf. WINSTEDT 51-231 (= *PG* 88, 72-320). For his discussion of the typology of the two tabernacles, cf. WINSTEDT 64:24-65:2; 100:25-101:2; 142:1-145:29 (= *PG* 88, 89D-92A; 141D-144A; 201A-204C plus 205C-208C).

(3) Cf. Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on Genesis, E. SACHAU, *Theodori Mopsuesteni fragmenta syriaca*, Leipzig, 1869 (abbr. SACHAU), p. 12. This opinion was anathematized by Pope Vigilius in his *Constitutum de tribus capitulis*, *CSEL* 35¹, 284-5: " If the angels of light are asserted to be thus subject to mutability like human souls, *anathema sit*! " According to Cyrus, *CR* ii, f. 124 v°:12-7, " (Christ), after He rose with great glory from the dead, exempt from all indigence, manifested the renewal of all things in Himself, making the immaterial and invisible natures, on the one hand, by means of their affinity with His soul, unchangeable, whereas the visible and sensible natures, by means of their communion with His body, He made immutable (note that Cyrus here inverts his own normal usage and the one indicated by Thomas of Edessa, *TEN* 29, applying ܠܐ ܡܫܚܠ̈ܦܢܐ to irrational beings and ܠܐ ܡܫܬܚܠ̈ܦܢܘܬܐ to the rational) . . . ". Since visible natures have been made unchangeable only in hope and in Christ, their head and exemplar, presumably the same should be said of angels, such that they would only attain actual immutability in the General Resurrection. Nonetheless, having been confirmed in hope, they can be said to have received a practical, if not ontological, immutability. Cf. also Išai, *PO* VII, 32, who asserts that both angels and men are encouraged in the practice of virtue by contemplating the separation, after death, of the souls of the Just from those of sinners.

undoubtedly have fallen prey to it but for the encouragement held out to them by God that the situation of the universe would one day be transformed for the better (1). Now, however, they have been so confirmed in hope by the Redemption wrought by Christ that they are no longer in any danger of despair, their mutable nature notwithstanding (2). In the case of men, on the contrary, the present world is characterized not only by the possibility of sin, but by an actual enslavement to it, as well as to Satan and to death (3).

But since God's eternal design in our regard is that we should be immortal and immutable (4), some vital questions are raised. Thus, did God create us from the very beginning in the state of enslavement in which we now find ourselves? If not, then how are we to explain our present miserable condition? More fundamentally, however, if God really intended from the very beginning that we should ultimately become immortal and immutable, why did He not put us in that state in the first place? (5). In their answers to these questions, both Cyrus and Theodore give evidence of two distinct and divergent conceptions of human history.

According to one of them, the world was created in an original harmony that was blasted by Adam's disobedience and has

(1) Cf. *CA* v, f. 160 r°:15-20, where Cyrus says that God imparted hope to the angels by various types of the Resurrection, " lest they despair in their service to human nature, and lest they imagine that they, forsooth, had been *subjected to vanity* (Rom. 8:20) ". It should be noted, however, that previously, *CR* ii, ff. 124 v°:12-125 r°:4, Cyrus has applied this same passage of St. Paul to all creation, including the angels.

(2) Cf. Išo'dad of Merv, who derives most of his interpretations from Theodore of Mopsuestia, J.-M. Vosté and C. van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, part I, *Genèse*, 2 vols. (= *CSCO* 126, 156), Louvain, 1950-5, p. 81.

(3) *CPc* vi, f. 104 v°:21-4, cited below, p. 26, n. 3.

(4) *The Cause of the Passion* (abbr. *CPs*), chap. vii, f. 119 v°: 15-7: " ... from the beginning and *from before the foundations of the world* (Eph. 1:4), God the Lord of all determined that He would effect a sublime transformation in this human situation, when He knew would be expedient, and (when) nature would have acquired strength and (would have made) progress towards virtue ... ".

(5) Thus, *CR* chap. viii is devoted to answering the question, f. 133 r°:4-6: " If the Resurrection is so glorious and, at the same time too, beneficial, why was it that God did not make us immortal from the very beginning? ".

been restored by means of Christ's obedience (1). The basis of this conception is thoroughly traditional and, indeed, Pauline (2), but its developments are characteristically Mopsuestenian. God, according to Theodore, intended that the universe should be, as it were, a single body united in the praise and service of Himself (3). However, since the universe consists of two parts with opposed characteristics, the spiritual creation of immaterial and invisible natures and the corporeal creation of material and sensible natures, there was need of a bond to unite the two contrasting parts into a single harmonious whole. This bond was man, in whom the spiritual and the corporeal are united in a single nature (4).

Moreover, God gave human nature a special honour and pre-eminence over the rest of creation by calling man His image (5).

(1) *CPs* vi, f. 118 r°:6-13: " Accordingly, seeing that all creation, visible (natures) and invisible, was going to receive renewal at His hands, He rightly, for the rectification of the former things, kept to the times of creation, so that at the (times) when punishment was formerly meted out to us by reason of Adam's disobedience, at the (same times) now too, it has received abrogation by means of Christ's obedience according to the divine decree, so that just as *because of the disobedience of one man*, Adam, *many became sinners, so by the obedience* of Christ Our Lord *many* shall *become just* (Rom. 5:19) ". Cf. also *CPs* iv, ff. 114 r°:22-115 r°:12, where Cyrus contrasts the effects on the human race of Adam's disobedience and Christ's obedience. He further develops this traditional Adam-Christ parallelism, *CPs* vi, ff. 117 v°:7-119 r°:7, noting that Christ's Passion occurred on the same day of the week and at the very same hour as Adam's transgression, and that Christ's soul entered Paradise at the same hour that Adam had had been driven out. A similar development is given to the creation-renovation parallelism, *CR* iii, ff. 126 r°:2-127 v°:2 (cited in part below, p. 37, n. 4), such that Christ's Resurrection occurred on the same day of the week, at the same hour and at the same season of the year as creation.

(2) Rom. 5:12-21.

(3) SWETE I, 128-9, 268; STAAB 137:10-1.

(4) *CPs* iii, f. 110 v°:13-6, cited below, p. 15, n. 2. Cyrus also calls man, *CPs* vi, f. 118 v°:6, creation's " containing vessel " (ܡܐܢܐ ܐܚܘܕܗ). For Theodore of Mopsuestia, cf. STAAB 137:13-9 and SACHAU 5.

(5) *CPc* iv, f. 100 r°:5-10: " God the Lord of all has honoured man in many things, not only in his creation, such that whereas He brought all (other) creatures into being, some by a nod and some merely by a brief command, in his case alone does He show that He formed him with care and counsel, calling him His *image and likeness* (Gen. 1:26), a thing which also assigned great dignity to our nature ... ". Cf. also *TMHC* 333.

Theodore is less clear in exposing his own doctrine on what constitutes man the image of God than he is in rejecting the opinions of others. It is not man's dominative, reasoning or intellective faculties, because man, who alone is called the image of God, shares these faculties with other creatures (1). Man alone, however, has been put on earth in the place of God as the visible lord and center of creation (2). All creatures have been intended by God to concur harmoniously in serving man, visible creatures by serving directly man's needs, invisible creatures by moving the visible for man's benefit and by executing the special missions of God towards man. Thus all creation is intended to serve and reverence God in man, His visible image (3). Whether, however, man is served by other creatures because he is the image of God, or, rather, he is the image of God in that he is served by all creatures, is not altogether clear (4).

(1) *PG* 80, 112A-113A.

(2) *CPs* iii, ff. 110 v°:13-111 r°:1: " (God) also named (man) His image and gave him dominion over all (Gen. 1:26-8), and He bound (together) all creation in his fashioning: in his soul, on the one hand, the angels, immaterial and invisible; in his body, on the other hand, visible and corporeal natures, so that on this account man alone is named god and son of God — *I have said that you are gods and sons of the Most High, all of you* (Ps. 81:6). If (man) had discerned the Giver of his goods and had recognized Him who had granted him by His grace the name of lord, there would have been nothing to hinder (God) from fulfilling towards him His promise that (He had made) to him. For He who, without any constraint from without, when it had pleased Him, had brought (man) from nothing(ness) into existence and had given him dominion over all, so as to manifest him to the rest of creatures as even (being) in His own place, what was there, indeed, that impeded Him from fulfilling towards him right from the beginning what He was going to give him in the end? ".

(3) *PG* 80, 109A-112A; STAAB 137:19-21; SWETE I, 268; SACHAU 15, 18; REICHARDT 244:20-3 (omitted by DEVREESSE).

(4) According to J. GROSS, *La divinisation du chrétien d'après les Pères grecs*, Paris, 1938, p. 264, man is the image of God precisely as being the bond of the universe, because he is, as it were, the center of the universe to which all other creatures are referred, such that, though being a part of the world, he holds in it the place of God. This is what Theodore himself seems to imply, SACHAU 15: " This is the excellence of man's coming to being, that he came to be in the image of God. For just as, in the case of these other things, by his repetition he made known the excellence of each one of them and why it came to be, so he twice

God's benevolent designs, however, encountered the opposition, in the first place, of Satan and his followers. Originally, Satan was in charge of those angels whose task it is to move the air for man's benefit (1), but he was so arrogant as to take to himself the honour due to God and attempted to have the other angels worship himself as God (2). In punishment, Satan was stripped

set down that He made him in the image of God, in order to show that this is the thing of excellence in his fashioning, that it is in him that all things are gathered together, so that through him as by an image they might draw near to God, by obeying the laws that were laid down by Him by means of their service towards him, pleasing the Lawgiver by their diligence towards him ". In other words, man is the image of God in that all things, both spiritual and corporeal, are bound together in him; accordingly, then, because he is the image of God, all things serve him, serving God in His image.

On the other hand, however, J. A. Dorner, *Theodori Mopsuesteni doctrina de imagine Dei*, Königsberg, 1844, pp. 10-1, interpreting Theodoret's citation of Theodore, *PG* 80, 109A-112A, thinks that man is in the image of God according to his power and rule over earthly things and invisible spirits. This seems to have been the opinion of at least some Nestorian theologians, if we may judge by a passage in the East Syrian divine office, *Breviarium juxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium, id est Chaldaeorum*, 3 vols., Paris/Leipzig, 1886-7 (abbr. *BC*), vol. III, p. (in Syriac numerals) 343:4-6: " Oh, how great is Thy mercifulness that Thou didst exercise from the beginning towards our mortal race, that when Thou didst fashion us, Thou didst call us the image of Thy divinity, whereby Thy lordship is signified ". The same idea, likewise, seems to be expressed in a phrase of an anaphora fragment edited by R. H. Connolly, " Sixth-Century Fragments of an East-Syrian Anaphora ", in *OC neue Serie* 12-4 (1922-4) 106, f. 21b, c. 1:20-1: " And Thou didst establish in our regard the great power of Thy essence in Thy image ". Cyrus himself, in the passage cited above, p. 15, n. 2, is unclear. The phrase, however, " ... had given him dominion over all, so as to manifest him to the rest of creatures as even (being) in His own place ... ", could be taken as implying the equivalence of dominion over all with the divine image, whereby man is manifested to the rest of creatures as being in the place of God.

(1) *CPc* vii, f. 107 r°:12-4: " ... Satan, who gleamed more (brightly) than light in the rank of his authority — for he was in command over those who superintend the government of the air, according to the saying of the Apostle (Eph. 2:2) ... ". Cf. also Swete I, 143; Staab 137:24-6.

(2) *CF* vii, f. 91 r°:14-7: " ... not like my miserable self, who snatched to myself one wee (act of) worship from my fellows, and He stripped me of my dignity and cast me down from my authority *like lightning from Heaven* (Lk. 10:18). "; *CPs* iii, f. 111 r°:1-3: " ... (Satan), like a

of his splendour and cast down from his dignity (1), and from that moment on, he and his followers have not ceased to work and plot against God's salvific dispensations (2). Nonetheless, Satan's rebellion does not seem to have caused an irreparable breach in the original harmony of the universe.

Quite different, on the other hand, is the case of Adam's disobedience, precisely because he was the bond of the universe that held its disparate parts in harmonious unity, or, as Theodore of Mopsuestia sometimes expresses it, because he was the pledge of friendship for all (3). His sin, by introducing death into human nature, disrupted the union of spirit and matter, first of all and directly in himself and his descendants, but secondly and indirectly in all creation, seeing that man is germane both to the spiritual natures in his soul and to the corporeal natures in his body (4). To be noted is the Platonism implicit in this conception: Adam is the image and exemplar of all creation, and, consequently, what happens to him happens in a real sense to all creation (5).

The immediate result of this cataclysm in man was that, having fallen now under sentence of death, he was irresistibly impelled by the pressing needs of self-preservation and the propagation of the species, along with the wiles and deceits of Satan, to commit all kinds of excesses and sins (6). Reciprocally, this increased the hold that Satan and death exercised on human nature, with the result that man's enslavement to sin, Satan and death only increased with the passage of time, and he was utterly

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tyrant, was so insanely arrogant as to draw to himself the honour due to God ... "; *TMHC* 335; WINSTEDT 106:25-107:4 (= *PG* 88, 152AB).

(1) *CF* vii, f. 91 r°:14-7, and *CPc* vii, f. 107 r°:12-4, cited above, p. 16, nn. 1 and 2.

(2) *CF* vii, f. 91 v°:10-2: " ... thou (i.e. Satan) art ever withstanding God, and thou art ever shooting thy tongue against His salvific dispensations ".

(3) *PG* 80, 109D:1-2; SWETE I, 129; STAAB 137:18-9.

(4) SWETE I, 129-30, 267-8.

(5) Thus, according to Cyrus, *CF* vii, ff. 91 v°:25-92 r°:2, " ... *creation*, by reason of despair over the deprivation of man's dignity, that was stripped from him by his transgression of the divine commandment, *was subjected to vanity* (Rom. 8:20). ", and, similarly, *CPs* vi, f. 118 v°: 3-7, all creation was clothed in mourning over " the evils that were decreed against the father of all, Adam ... its containing vessel ".

(6) SWETE I, 27, 147; STAAB 120:30-121:7.

powerless to redeem himself (1). As for the angels, they were angered with man for destroying the harmony of the universe. Moreover, seeing that man was daily sinking deeper into the pit of sin and was diverting material creatures from their intended purpose of serving God to the service of iniquity, they were on the point of refusing to perform any more their appointed task of moving material creation for man's benefit (2).

The other conception of human history is less traditional and more peculiar to Theodore of Mopsuestia. It is not directly contradictory to the first, but it is so independent and divergent from it as to risk serious contradictions in details. Thus, whereas the first view begins with an initial happy state that is disrupted by sin and deteriorates progressively with time, the second begins with a state of radical imperfection that improves, under divine action, with the passing of the ages towards better things (3). In this conception man, though ultimately destined to attain a state of immortality and sinlessness, could not have been created thus in the beginning, because he would have been incapable of appreciating this inestimable gift and of giving due thanks to God for it. For whereas God alone knows by His essence, created

(1) *CPs* iv, f. 114 v°:12-8: "Because that first man, on account of his disobedience to the divine commandment, was cast down from his dignity and became enslaved with all his offspring, and for this reason, Satan, the enemy of humanity, bound more closely upon him the fetters of death, which was greatly assisted by reason of the reign of sin, such that his suffering increased day by day, and there was none capable of waging battle with him ..."; *TMHC* 335; J.-M. Vosté, *Theodori Mopsuesteni Commentarius in Evangelium Johannis Apostoli*, 2 vols. (= *CSCO* 115, 116), Paris, 1940 (abbr. Vosté), pp. 29, 173-4.

(2) *CF* vii, ff. 91 v°:25-92 r°:2 and *CA* v, f. 160 r°:15-20, cited above, p. 17, n. 5 and p. 13, n. 1. Cyrus also makes an apparent allusion, *CPs* vii, f. 121 r°: 20-2, to the hymn ܬܘܕܝ ܠܠܒܐ, attributed to Narsai and sung every Sunday and feast during the vigil office of the East Syrian office, *BC* I, 27-8, which tells how Christ has reconciled us with the angels, "who were angered because of our iniquity". Cf. also Swete I, 267-8, 271; Staab 138:2-18; *TEN* 20.

(3) Cyrus compares God, *CPc* v, f. 101 v°:6-12, to a father who treats his child as suits the measure of his growth; hence, "in His ineffable wisdom, He has administered His dispensations in proportion to the measure of the knowledge of (our) nature". Theodore of Mopsuestia gives an extended discussion of the necessity and purpose of the divine pedagogy in his commentary on Rom. 11:15, Staab 156:11-157:41.

natures, by intrinsic necessity, can only learn by contraries, and hence, without an experience of sinfulness and death, they could never learn to understand and appreciate sinlessness and immortality (1). Indeed, if we had been created immortal and immutable from the beginning, we would have been no better off than " a pearl of comely beauty that is unaware of its own splendour and is not conscious, whether it is fixed in the crown of a king, or whether, likewise, it is set in a camel's saddle ", as Cyrus puts it (2), and hence we would have derived no profit from these priceless gifts. Thus in this view, whatever gifts Adam may, or may not, have received in the beginning, he was radically imperfect, because he lacked the capacity to appreciate and benefit from the most important of the gifts that God intended ultimately to bestow on him, whenever He knew would be best and man would be able to receive them (3).

(1) *CR* viii, f. 133 r°:13-v°:2: " For had God made us immortal from the beginning, whence, pray tell, would we hope to learn about the greatness of the Resurrection's marvelous power and about the splendour of immortality's excellence, seeing that we men by contrariety are capable of distinguishing between good and evil? For God alone possesses a science of all knowledge, seeing that He is the Creator and has no need of assistance from without. For because no other has helped Him nor does help Him in regard to those things that He possesses essentially and eternally, He rightly has no need, likewise in regard to knowledge, to be assisted by another ... For the nature of created things manifests the contrary of these things; for by the fact that it has received existence from Him, it also needs to be assisted in everything whatsoever, having been thus constituted in its creation by its Creator. Accordingly, it is better able by contrariety to receive a knowledge of anything whatsoever. "; SWETE I, 27-9; *PG* 66, 317C.

(2) *CR* viii, f. 134 r°:1-3.

(3) Cf. *The Cause of Pentecost Sunday* (abbr. *CPt*), chap. iv, ff. 169 v°:23-170 r°:23, where Cyrus explains that if God has delayed in actually giving men what He has decreed for them from all eternity, this was due to no imperfection in Him, " but it was our incapacity that was to blame, that was unable to receive His manifold dispensations ". On the contrary, " He condescends with us (as though) with children, in proportion to our ability to hear, our mutability and our capacity, in order that we may be enabled to become recipients of His perfect teaching, and it is not that He has fallen short of what He had intended in our regard in His foreknowledge, which He, whenever He knew was expedient, would bring forth into the open ".

The whole aim, then, of God's dealings with man is pedagogic, to train him so as to be ready to receive His gifts. A principal part of this training consists in an experience of contraries, of the evils of sin and death by enslavement to them, on the one hand (1), and of the blessings of sinlessness and immortality by the hope engendered by types of this future state proposed by God to man, on the other. The object of this divine pedagogy also embraces the knowledge of Himself, and, accordingly, God imparts in the course of the ages progressively greater revelations of Himself, in proportion to man's increasing capacity to receive them (2), a process that culminates with Christ's revelation of the Blessed Trinity (3). However, neither Cyrus nor Theodore of Mopsuestia in the fragments we still have, explains why man's capacity to receive God's revelations increases with time, or how that capacity was affected by Adam's transgression.

The principal emphasis, both in Theodore and Cyrus, is rather on man's training by the experience of good and evil, of death in fact and immortality in hope, so as to be able fruitfully to receive God's intended gifts of immortality and sinlessness. Indeed, they come dangerously close to saying that God willed Adam to sin, and precisely this accusation is made against Theodore by Pope Vigilius and the Second Council of Constantinople (4). What they actually say, however, is that God imposed on Adam a precept sanctioned by death, knowing well that it would be violated (5), that God allowed Adam's transgression though He

(1) *CR* viii, f. 133 r°:13-v°:2, cited above, p. 19, n. 1; *CSEL* 35[1], 282-5 (capp. 56-60); SWETE I, 26, 28.

(2) *CPt* iv, f. 170 r°:19-23, cited above, p. 19, n. 3.

(3) Cf. *CA* iv, ff. 156 v°:6-157 v°:21, where Cyrus notes that God hid the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity from the Jews because of their childishness and feebleness, postponing it " until the time of perfection "; now, however, it has been handed on by Christ Our Lord by way of " perfect instruction ... when the time of perfection (has) arrive(d) and human knowledge (has) progress(ed) to full stature ... ".

(4) That is, they accuse him of saying that God taught and brought on sin: *CSEL* 35[1], 283, 284, 286; MANSI IX, 221 (cap. 56) and 223 (cap. 61).

(5) Cyrus asks, *CR* ix, f. 135 r°:4-13: " Moreover, if, as the discourse has shown above, God is aware of all and what was going to be perpetrated by Adam was evident to Him, what, indeed, impelled Him to this, that He should lay down a law for one whom He was aware (would violate it), and when he should have transgressed it, death would be

could have prevented it (¹), and that God willed from the very beginning that man should be mortal, indeed that He actually brought death upon him, for the very great benefits that would derive from this experience (²). This, however, is not the same as saying that God wanted or caused Adam to sin. Indeed, the same objection could be raised against any Christian analysis of the problem of moral evil, for God, though foreseeing sin and able to impede it, yet, willing the good that will come from it, permits sin without, at the same time, willing it.

The two divergent conceptions of human history, as an original harmony destroyed by sin and as a gradual progress from initial imperfection towards better things, seem to conflict in open contradiction in their characterization of Adam's original state and the effects of his transgression. On the one hand, both Cyrus and Theodore maintain with tradition that Adam, on account of his disobedience, was condemned and punished, together with all his offspring, by death (³). Indeed, Theodore goes even so far as to say that Adam's sin made the rest of men mortal

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procured for him by it, which was outside the intent of His decree, unless He had willed to make him subject to death from the beginning? And what difference was there between laying down a commandment for him, knowing that he was going to sin, and willing him to be mortal? ". For Theodore, cf. *CSEL* 35[1], 285 (cap. 60); *PG* 66, 640CD; E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (abbr. *ACO*), tome I, *Concilium Universale Ephesinum*, vol. v, Berlin/Leipzig, 1924-5, p. 176:14-23.

(¹) *CSEL* 35[1], 283 (cap. 58) and 285 (cap. 60).

(²) *CSEL* 35[1], 283-4 (cap. 58) and 285 (cap. 60); *PG* 66, 640C-641A; *ACO* I, v, 176:14-23. As for Cyrus, he devotes *CR* chap. viii, ff. 133 r°:4-134 v°:5, to explaining why God did not create us immortal from the beginning, and, in the following chapter, ff. 134 v°:5-136 r°:8, he gives various arguments to show that God did not make us mortal as a punishment for Adam's sin, but because He " willed from the beginning to make us thus ".

(³) *CF* vii, f. 89 r°:12-6: " For Satan had inflicted a twofold death upon human nature: he destroyed, indeed, the body by the transgression of the commandment concerning the tree ... and he stripped the soul of life by means of the impiety of idolatry. "; *CPs* iii, f. 112 v°:15-7: " ... the slavery of death that was bound upon us by Adam's transgression of the commandment ... "; *CPs* iv, f. 114 r°:23-5: " ... Adam, the father of all, by his disobedience to the divine commandment against the eating of the tree, was condemned, and with him, likewise, all of human nature ... "; *CPs* iv, f. 114 v°:12-4, cited above, p. 18, n. 1; VOSTÉ 173-4, 224; *TMHC* 9-11.

and that by sin we have become mortal by nature (1). On the other hand, however, both likewise maintain that our mortality is not the result of Adam's sin, but that he was created mortal from the very beginning (2).

The simplest resolution of this apparent contradiction has been offered, with regard to Theodore of Mopsuestia, by Devreesse, who rejects as spurious or as interpolations the passages that express the position hostile to Original Sin (3). However, the use by both Cyrus and Cosmas Indicopleustes of the same arguments that appear in the clearest of these fragments (4) makes it evident that the genuineness and integrity of the work from which they derive were accepted by their common teacher, Mar Aba. Furthermore, this doctrine on the origin of our mortality fits well with Theodore's general conception of human history as a gradual progress from initial imperfection towards perfection. Indeed, as Gross has pointed out, the essential elements of this teaching occur in other works whose genuineness is beyond dispute, and, moreover, it would have been impossible *a priori* for Theodore to accept Adam as having been created immortal, since it would have been the very negation of his fundamental division of history into two states or worlds (5).

Theodore of Mopsuestia seems to have had some awareness of the apparent contradiction and to have offered his own resolution of it, which Cyrus then repeats. Adam was made mortal from the beginning, but God acted in appearance as though death were imposed as a punishment for sin, in order to fix in us a hatred of sin, seeing that it is a cause of evil to those who commit it (6). Theodore adds, furthermore, that men did not become

(1) STAAB 119:36-120:1; 120:20-1; 130:16-7.

(2) *CR* chap. ix, summarized above, p. 21, n. 2; *ACO* I, v, 173-6; *TMHC* 433.

(3) DEVREESSE 102-3.

(4) *CR* chap. ix and WINSTEDT 161:16-164:29 (= *PG* 88, 228A-232B), compared to *ACO* I, v, 174:33-175:29 and 176:14-23.

(5) J. GROSS, *Geschichte der Erbsündendogmas*, vol. I, pp. 197-8, and " Theodor von Mopsuestia, ein Gegner der Erbsündenlehre ", in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 65 (1953-4) 8. Cf. also SWETE I, 25-6; *TMHC* 433; SACHAU 14.

(6) Theodore's teaching is reproduced in Photius' analysis of his polemic treatise against St. Jerome, R. HENRY, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, 2 vols., Paris, 1959-60 (abbr. HENRY), vol. II, p. 179, f. 122 b:7-10 (= *PG*

mortal as a result of Adam's transgression, but rather they became worthy to die (1). This resolution, however, must be judged superficial, since it leaves intact the basic difficulty. On the one hand, Adam's sin is represented as a cataclysm whose disastrous effects have attained all of his descendants, but, on the other hand, our mortality, which is supposed to be the root of all our present ills (2), is not the result of his sin. Thus, the solution offered does not indicate what real influence, if any, Adam's transgression has had on our present miserable state of subjection to death, seeing that our nature was created mortal from the very outset. The most that can be said is that death, which pertains to the natural condition of men as long as they remain in this world of mutability and mortality, has now, since the transgression of Adam, taken on the added character of a punishment for sin, which would not have been the case had Adam not sinned.

Jugie offers still another solution to the apparent contradiction that is more consonant with Augustinian theology (3). When Theodore asserts that Adam was created mortal, this does not mean that he would actually have died had he not sinned, and, indeed, both Theodore and Cyrus seem to indicate that he would not have died (4). Rather, Adam's nature was of itself mortal and had in itself the possibility of dying, but it would not, in ac-

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103, 516BC). Cyrus repeats it, *CR* ix, f. 136 r°:3-8: " On the other hand, God ordered for our benefit the supposition that it was on account of Adam's transgression that we became mortal, so that He might fix in us a hatred towards sin, seeing that it is a cause of evil to those who acquire it, and so that we might apply ourselves to works of justice and love towards God and towards one another, and so that we might be deemed worthy of the payment of a reward by Christ ". He hints at the same teaching elsewhere: *CR* vi, f. 131 r°:9-11: " ... it was thought that (Eve) had bidden the father of all, Adam, to sin, and she had procured for him the deprivation of his glory ... "; *CR* ix, f. 134 v°:19-21: " For if Adam, the father of all, according to the opinion that has been established concerning him because of a hatred of sin, had been shut up in the cage of death by reason of the transgression of the commandment ... ".

(1) *ACO* I, v, 173:18-174:25.

(2) Cf. STAAB 120:31-121:14; 125:24-33; 130:16-22.

(3) *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium ab Ecclesia Catholica dissidentium* (abbr. *TDCO*), vol. V, *De theologia Nestorianorum et Monophysitarum*, Paris, 1935, pp. 248-9.

(4) *TMHC* 333-5 and *CPs* iii, f. 110 v°:18-25, cited above, p. 15, n. 2.

tual fact, have been subjected to death save for his transgression. This solution may, perhaps, be too occidental accurately to represent Theodore's true thought on the problem, yet it does have much to recommend it. Theodore's work against Original Sin is a polemic against St. Jerome (1) and hence should be regarded as presenting only one side of his thought on the question. What he seems to be chiefly intent on is to combat the *prima facie*, crude anthropomorphism implicit in the occidental conception of Original Sin, as though God had first made Adam immortal and then, offended and angered by his transgression, had changed His first decree, punishing with death not only the guilty Adam, but all of his as yet innocent descendants as well (2). More fundamentally, furthermore, what Theodore wished to exclude was not so much the *posse non mori* that St. Augustine taught, but the *mori non posse* that will only be ours in the next world after the Resurrection, for to admit this in Adam's creation would have been the subversion of his entire theology of the two worlds of mortality and immortality (3). Actually, Theodore's arguments against St. Jerome can be neatly solved by a distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* immortality, even though it may be very much doubted that he had in mind such a distinction while he was writing.

Prescinding, however, from the more speculative question whether he would have died had he not transgressed the commandment, Adam did, in actual fact, draw down, by his disobedience, the sentence of death on himself and his offspring (4). Moreover, Adam, who had been created as the image of God and the visible lord of creation, was stripped, as a consequence of his sin, of his

(1) *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 23, cc. 495-590. *The Collectio Palatina* erroneously labels the excerpts from this work of Theodore as being directed against St. Augustine, but as E. Amann, in his article *Théodore de Mopsueste*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. XV, part 1, cc. 270-1, has pointed out, it is completely evident from the internal indications furnished us by Photius in his description of the work, Henry II, 177, ff. 121 b:24-122 a:4 (= *PG* 103, 513AC), that it was actually directed against St. Jerome.

(2) Cf. *ACO* I, v, 174:33-175:29 and 176:14-23.

(3) Cf. J. Gross, *art cit.*, p. 8.

(4) *CPs* iv, ff. 114 v°:25-115 r°:1: " ... Adam, for his disobedience, was condemned to death, and with him all his offspring ... ", and the texts cited above, p. 21, n. 3.

dignity and glory [1]. Presumably, this means that Adam lost, through his transgression, the divine image in himself and, doubtlessly, in his offspring as well. For if the divine image consisted in Adam's lordship over creation [2], it has certainly been lost, not only for himself, but likewise for his descendants, who are, in fact, not lords, but slaves to sin, Satan and death. Cyrus also speaks of man's soul as having been stripped, through Adam's disobedience, of life [3], the only possible reference he makes to the life of grace that Adam lost for himself and his descendants, but even here, it seems that he is referring rather to religious truth as the life of the soul, because it is by the impiety of idolatry that the soul is stripped of life and by Christ's divine doctrine that it is raised again to life [4]. The teaching of many of the Fathers of the divine image as a divinization of the soul and a participation of the divine nature does not enter into Cyrus' theology of Original Sin.

The two divergent conceptions of human history lead logically from contrasting views on Adam's sin to correspondingly different pictures of the redemption wrought by Christ. In the one view, the human situation progressively deteriorates until it is dramatically and definitively reestablished by the Death and Resurrection of Christ, by which the reign of sin, Satan and death is overthrown and the enslaved human race is liberated. In the other view, Christ's Resurrection comes as the culminating

(1) *CF* vi, f. 88 v°:1-2: " . . . (Satan) had brought low Adam, the father of mortality, by means of the trap of the fruit and had stripped him of his dignity . . . "; *CF* vii, f. 90 r°:24-v°:2: " . . . (God) slew (Adam) by the punishment of death, deprived him of his glory and drove him from the Paradise of Eden with great anger and harshly. . ."; *CPs* iv, f. 114 v°:12-4, cited above, p. 18, n. 1; *CR* vi, f. 131 r°:9-11, cited above, p. 22, n. 6.

(2) Cf. above pp. 14-15.

(3) *CF* vii, f. 89 r°:15-6, cited above, p. 21, n. 3. More accurately, Cyrus says that Satan stripped the soul of life " by means of the impiety of idolatry", which was implicit in Adam's disobedience, for he disobeyed in the hope of becoming " like gods, knowing good and evil " (Gen. 3:5).

(4) *CF* vii, f. 89 r°:16-20: " Accordingly, Christ Our Lord, seeing that He had been sent by divine grace into creation as a spiritual physician, gave back to us by means of His contest with Satan both of these things that had been stolen, raising up (our) wretched souls by means of His divine doctrine and renewing our feeble bodies by means of His Resurrection from the Dead ".

revelation by God, the last in a long series, of the future life to which He has destined us (1); it is indeed a crucial step in the long educative economy by which God prepares the human race for the perfection and bliss of the future world, but, for all that, it is still but one step in a continuous process that will only terminate with the final Resurrection of the Dead (2).

In the first view, all is black and white. Before Christ's coming, the entire human race lay prostrate in its enslavement to the three great ills, sin, Satan and death, each of which acted reciprocally to increase the tyranny of the others, so that the picture grew blacker and blacker as time passed. None was able to withstand the three tyrants and champion the cause of men, from the sin of Adam down to the coming of Christ (3). With

(1) Thus, the aim of Christ's coming, which was, according to Cyrus, *CR* iii, f. 125 r°:24-v°:1, " so that (God) might depict for us in Him, as in a sort of type, the true manifestation of our death and of our resurrection " [cf. also *CPs* iii, f. 111 r°:24-5: " ... in order to manifest to us, as in a sort of image, the abolition of mortality ... "; *CPs* vi, f. 118 r°:4-6: " And (God) accomplished in (Christ), likewise, His economy and depicted in Him, as in a sort of image, that world to come that, by His mediation, was going to be given to all. "], was anticipated in an imperfect manner " by means of the crying out of Abel's blood, the translation of Enoch, the ascension of Elijah and so on " [*CR* vii, f. 131 v°:12-4], which also foreshadowed, " as in a sort of sacrament ", our resurrection.

(2) Cf. *CA* ii, f. 153 r°:23-v°:15, where Cyrus explains that although the feast of the Ascension signifies our ascension with Christ as well as His, [" For since He is *the head of the Church* (Eph. 5:23) and *we are*, each one of us, His *members* (Eph. 5:30) ... our ascent with Him is likewise rightly to be believed "], nonetheless, " on account of our imperfection, it has not yet been accomplished towards us in very deed ". Similarly, he says, *CPt* iv, f. 170 r°:10-4: " In the same way too, in regard to the things that are done for us weaklings by God the Lord of all, according as He knows is expedient for us, in proportion to our available strength that He gives us by His grace [text obscure], He would have given them to us from the outset, but it was our incapacity that was to blame, that was unable to receive His manifold dispensations ... ". In other words, even after the Resurrection, we are still unable to receive what God intends to give us, so that He must continue to educate us and prepare us for them.

(3) *CPc* vi, ff. 104 v°:21-105 r°:2: " We, therefore, entered this world, full of adversities and afflictions, and Satan exalted himself over us, he overcame us and imprisoned us under the power of his rule, he subjected us to the servitude of death and subjugated us under the yoke

His coming, however, the human situation underwent a complete transformation. By His Death and Resurrection, Christ has broken forever the empire of death, not only over Himself, but over all men, indeed, over all creation (1), and, with death's tyranny brought to an end, both sin and Satan have lost their power, for, according to Theodore of Mopsuestia, it is precisely our mortality that lends an urgent power to our natural drives for the preservation of self and the species so that they impel us to all sorts of excesses (2). As long as the prospect of dying remains, it is morally impossible not to sin (3); once mortality has been taken away by the Resurrection, however, moral mutability and the very possibility of sin are thereby completely eradicated (4). And indeed, in some very real sense that neither Theodore nor Cyrus defines, we have already risen with Christ's Resurrection, we have ascended with Him to the future world and have already become immortal and immutable (5). Thus, our solidarity with

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of sin. Our nature, for its part, was enfeebled by the harsh service of iniquity that it rendered, and since it, by reason of all these evils, was unable to redeem itself from death, it raised a finger, crying: ' *Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?* (Rom. 7:24) ' "; *CPc* vi, f. 105 r°:22-v°:3, where Cyrus compares the Israelites, in their inability to redeem themselves from the power of the Egyptians, to our race, that " for six thousand years, more or less ... was humbled by death and abased by sin, and until one man died for it, that is, Christ Our Redeemer, it did not rise from its fallen state. "; *CPs* iv, f. 114 v°: 12-8, cited above, p. 18, n. 1.

(1) *CR* ii, f. 124 v°:1-17, summarized and referred to above, p. 11, n. 1 and p. 12, n. 3.

(2) Cf. above p. 17.

(3) SWETE I, 41, 126; STAAB 130:35-131:33; 133:24-31; 164:8-19.

(4) SWETE I, 29, 77; II, 76, 253; VOSTÉ 29; STAAB 121:2-14; 122:1-5; 133:24-9; 134:1-14; 150:1-2. In the *Catechetical Homilies*, *TMHC* 117, however, Theodore teaches that mortality will be taken away by the granting of immutability. For, once we have become immutable, we shall be free of sin, and once sin has been abolished, death will thereby be abolished. This would fit in with the view he expresses in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, STAAB 119:2-7, 12-7, that death is the punishment of any and every sin.

(5) *CR* ii, f. 124 v°:1-17, summarized and referred to above, p. 11, n. 1 and p. 12, n. 3; *CA* ii, f. 153 r°:23-v°:15, where Cyrus develops at some length and applies to our ascension with Christ what St. Paul says of our resurrection with Him: " He has raised us up with Him and made us sit with Him in Heaven in Jesus Christ " (Eph. 2:6) Cf. also above, p. 26, n. 2.

Adam in evil is now paralleled by our solidarity with Christ in good; what has happened to Christ has somehow happened to us. But many of these points deserve a more detailed analysis.

First, the mode of Christ's redemption is thus explained by Cyrus and Theodore. God the Lord of all decreed from all eternity that God the Word should clothe Himself with a perfect man (1) and that this Man, strengthened by the assistance of the Holy Spirit (2), should be shown forth as a perfect observer of the Law and as replete with all justice (3), being completely free from all sin (4). This fact, together with the celestial honours paid to Our Lord, aroused the envy and malice of Satan, who, until Christ's coming, had bound all men under his sway (5).

(1) *CPs* iii, f. 111 r°:12-5: " God Our Lord, therefore, when He wished to bring rectification to this (situation) ... assumed from us a perfect man ... "; *CPs* vii, f. 121 v°:7-9: " ... he names ' robe ' *the form of a slave* (Phil. 2:7), which the divine nature assumed and joined to itself like a sort of garment, in such wise that He was also thus considered by onlookers and nothing else. "; *TMHC* 335.

(2) *CF* vii, f. 92 r°:3-4: " ... the Second Adam had descended (into the arena) for combat on behalf of all, clothed with the grace of the Spirit ... "; *CPs* iv, f. 114 v°: 18-21: " ... I (i.e. Christ) have been equipped on behalf of the entire race by the grace of God for the contest with (Satan), relying on the divine nature that dwells within me, because it accomplishes for me the things that are lacking. "; SWETE II, 296:10-298:21; VOSTÉ 174.

(3) *CPc* v, f. 102 r°:9-10: " ... (Christ) used to fulfill in His own person the entire Law with great exactitude. "; *CPs* iii, f. 111 r°:15-7: " ... (God) showed (Christ) to be an exact observer of the divine commandments, He made Him to be without any sin and perfected Him in all righteousness ... "; *TMHC* 335; VOSTÉ 141-2, 174.

(4) *CPc* v, f. 103 r°:17-9: " For because I (i.e. Christ) have been justified and have been without sins, Thou art granting sinlessness to all of sinful nature through me. "; *TMHC* 335; VOSTÉ 174.

(5) *CF* vii, f. 92 r°:12-23: " Because, indeed ... the things that were done to Our Lord and by Our Lord were extremely upsetting to Satan — the predictions of the Prophets concerning Him, I say, and the testimony of the Father in His regard (Mt. 3:17), that pointed Him out as though with a sort of finger, and (His) fulfillment of the Law, whether the honouring of parents, I say, or of Moses, or the many other things that were done by Him for the people of the Jews — Satan the Calumniator was jealous at the things that the discourse has indicated and made ready to engage Our Lord in the warfare and combats that we have indicated above, from each of which he gained a buffeting of the cheeks and confusion of face."; *CPs* iv, f. 114 v°:12-8, cited above, p. 18, n. 1.

Hence, at the opportune moment, after the forty day fast, he approached Christ to tempt Him, one after the other, with the three concupiscences, the love of pleasure, the love of glory and the love of wealth (1). For Satan tempted Christ as a mere man and nothing more, being unaware of the divinity dwelling within Him (2). Contrary to his expectations, however, Christ proved Himself victorious over all his wiles; not only did He conquer the concupiscences on His own account, but He thereby made our nature likewise victorious (3).

Thereupon Satan contrived to have Christ put to death by the ungrateful Jews (4). However, since He had been perfectly just and had done nothing to deserve death, death was unable to hold Him under its rule (5). Thus, He rose gloriously from the dead, and thereby broke death's power forever (6). Moreover, it was no ordinary death to which Christ was condemned, but the most disgraceful and humiliating of all, death by crucifixion (7),

(1) *CF* vii, ff. 89 r°:20-91 v°:25. The temptations follow the order indicated in the Gospel of Matthew.

(2) *CF* vi, f. 88 r°:2-4: " For (Satan) was not aware of the power of the divinity that was hidden by the robe of Our Lord's humanity, but he looked upon Him as upon an ordinary man and was preparing stratagems against Him as against a mere man ... ".

(3) Cyrus uses a phrase, *CF* vii, f. 92 r°:5-6, that appears also in the East Syrian divine office, *BC* II, 58:18: " He has conquered and has made our nature victorious ".

(4) *TMHC* 337. Cf. *CPs* v, f. 115 r°:20-v°:16, where Cyrus explains why the very benefits that Christ showered on the Jewish people aroused in them the passion of envy.

(5) *CPc* v, f. 103 r°:17-9, cited above, p. 28, n. 4; *CPs* iii, f. 111 r°:17-v°:1: " (God) let (Christ) suffer, so that we, defiled with sin, might go free from the servitude of corruption ... For *He who worked no guile*, according to the saying of Scripture (I Pet. 2:22; Is. 53:9), ought not to have fallen under sentence of death; yet, in order to show forth to us, as in a sort of image, the abolition of mortality, He died, to take away by His death our death. "; *TMHC* 335-7; VOSTÉ 174.

(6) *CPs* vii, f. 121 v°:11-4: " For wherever death bears sway, it necessarily brings the dissolution and dispersal of unity; whereas, in Our Lord's case, it has transformed Him to the sublimity of glorious life, that is, it has also put an end to death, that ruled over us, and to sin, that enslaved us according to its pleasure ... "; *CR* ii, f. 125 v°:8-12, cited below, p. 33, n. 4; STAAB 123:15-7.

(7) *CPs* iv, ff. 112 v°:24-113 r°:5: " ... Christ was allowed to undergo the suffering of the Cross, which is the most ignominious of all

and therefore, in compensation, He was given the dominion over all that God the Word enjoys by nature (1) and acquired great confidence to intercede for all (2).

That Christ has destroyed death's dominion, not only in His own regard, but also in ours as well, seems to be an instance of the Pauline conception of our solidarity with Adam in evil and with Christ in good. However, St. Paul's teaching is thus developed by Cyrus and Theodore. All men form a single body of which Adam is the head and prototype (3); hence, what has happened to Adam our head has also happened to all. Accordingly, since Adam became enslaved to sin, Satan and death, so all men have been enslaved with him (4). Christ, however, because of His exact conjunction with God the Word and the special assistance of the Holy Spirit, is alone exempted from the universal

deaths and is decreed against those whose crimes are unusually heinous — for *accursed is everyone that is hung on a tree* (Gal. 3:13 = Deut. 21:23) — showing that Christ Our Lord underwent this death, that had been decreed against those who were accursed and far from any probity, in order to confer on us deliverance from the servitude of death and Satan ".

(1) *CPs* iv, f. 113 r°:15-20: " In putting down the reason, namely, that it was for this that He was deemed worthy of the majesty of that lofty rank that is exalted above all (others), because He took upon Himself that ignominious suffering than which (there is none) more contemptible and despicable, it is, indeed, as though he were saying this, that he esteemed all this splendour of dignity as the reward of all that humiliation and abasement. "; *CPs* iv, f. 113 v°:8-12: " Because (Christ) is glorious and sublime and (yet) does not choose for Himself lofty things corresponding to the majesty of His dignity, but as much as He is more sublime, so much He shows Himself more humiliated, He shall be deemed worthy of the dignity of the true sonship that is given Him by His conjunction with God the Word, on account of which He is acknowledged as Lord over all. "; *CPs* vi, f. 118 r°:17-8: " ... (Christ's obedience) has made Him worthy of such dignity that it has given Him dominion over all ".

(2) *CPs* iv, f. 115 r°:5-11: " And I (i.e. Christ) shall be delivered from the Passion with great glory, with the result that I shall derive from this confidence and assurance to offer supplication on behalf of the entire race, that those may share with me in the Resurrection with whom I have shared in suffering, and that the grace of all may be such, that *when I shall have been lifted up from the earth* by a great miracle in my Resurrection from the Dead, *I may draw everyone to myself* (Jn. 12:32) ... "; *TMHC* 337, 491; Vosté 174.

(3) Swete I, 57, 140.

(4) *CPs* iv, f. 114 v°:12-8, cited above, p. 18, n. 1; Vosté 173-4.

enslavement, and, having conquered the three tyrants by His Death and Resurrection, has become the prototype of the future world and the head of a new body (1), such that what has happened to Him has somehow happened to all. Thus, all have died with Christ and have already risen and ascended with Him to the future world of immortality and immutability (2). Exactly how this is true, however, neither Cyrus nor Theodore explains clearly.

I would judge that both understand it as true in several senses. One would be that just as Adam was the bond and exemplar of the universe, such that what happened to him happened to all creation, so Christ, having become immortal by His Resurrection, has reconstituted the bond of the universe and has become "the true exemplar" for all, such that what has happened to Him has happened to all (3), above all to all men since they resem-

(1) SWETE I, 57.

(2) *CR* viii, f. 134 v°:2-5: " ... (only) then, in the consummation of the ages, when the stature of the world had progressed to final completion, would He confer on us immortality, along with immutability, (a condition) in which He has now established us, at the time that was fitting, by means of the Resurrection of the Prince of our salvation, Christ Our Lord. "; *CR* xii, f. 140 r°:3-9: " What, indeed, does it behoove them to do who have become divine instead of (mere) men, heavenly instead of earthly, and immortal instead of mortal, except that they live divinely? Accordingly, to the extent that we have been surpassed by the greatness of the things that have been prepared for us by God through Christ, in whom He has this day *raised us up and made us sit with Him* (Eph. 2:6) *at the right hand of* His *majesty in Heaven* (Heb. 1:3), and has conferred on us true lordship that will never undergo any change ... "; *CA* ii, f. 153 r°:23-v°:15, summarized above, p. 26, n. 2.

(3) *CR* ii, f. 124 v°:1-17, summarized and referred to above, p. 11, n. 1 and p. 12, n. 3; *CR* iii, f. 126 v°:1-4: " ... it was fitting that (Christ) should now give rest to this visible creation by means of His death, with the result that, having accomplished His divine economy by the Resurrection from the Dead, He would manifest the renewal of the whole world and would dispense freedom from mutability to all creation. "; *CR* vii, ff. 132 v°:16-133 r°:3: " Accordingly, these (types) were a sort of trail-leader and guide to the things which are in Christ and were in labour, like a pregnant woman who is expecting to give birth, so that they might receive their perfect consummation in Christ, the true exemplar. Since, according to the saying of the Apostle, *In the Law there were the shadows of the good things to come and not the substance of the things themselves* (Heb. 10:1), it was well that God the Lord of all should have effected a fitting outcome for them in the prototype, Christ, who, besides freeing us from all passibility and bringing it about that we should pass, by

ble Him in sharing the same nature (1). Secondly, it would be true in a special way of all those men who have faith in Christ's Resurrection and hope in their own resurrection with Him (2), above all if they have died and risen with Him in type by the sacrament of baptism (3). In the case of such men as these, who have already passed in type to the future world (4), death no longer has the same power, despite the fact that they remain mortal in actuality, because they live in the hope of the life to come, and hence they are no longer subject to the same necessity of

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means of His Resurrection from the Dead, (to a state) above all indigence, has also poured out on us, from His limitless fulness, the grace of the Holy Spirit that girds us with the adoption of sons and has granted us without grudging that we should become, by our union with Him, inhabitants of the dwelling-place of Heaven ... "; SWETE I, 130, 267-70. The phrase, " the true exemplar ", applied either to Christ or to His Resurrection, recurs frequently in the " causes " of Cyrus.

(1) *CA* vii, f. 162 v°:5-8: " Now, therefore, that it has been shown how and in what manner the events of the ascent of Christ Our Redeemer into Heaven were brought to pass, and how all of human nature has likewise already been raised up with Him, according to the testimony of the Blessed Apostle (Eph. 2:6), let us, too, do those things that befit that dwelling-place ... "; VOSTÉ 224; *ACO* I, v, 175:30-176:7.

(2) SWETE I, 43, 49.

(3) *CF* ii, f. 79 v°:17-23: " ... (Christ) has rightly given us in this present life, by means of the sacraments, a type of our death and of our resurrection in our baptism and in our coming up from the water: by the fact that we are baptized in the tomb of the font, on the one hand, we symbolize our burial with Christ; by the fact that we emerge from it, as it were from within the womb of Sheol, on the other hand, we signify our resurrection with Him ... "; SWETE I, 33-4, 56, 102; *TMHC* 413; E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ, *A Hitherto Unpublished Prologue to the Acts of the Apostles (probably by Theodore of Mopsuestia)*, in *The American Journal of Theology* 2 (1898) 358:28-30 (abbr. VOND).

(4) *CPc* vi, f. 106 r°:13-4: " ... we, for our part, have gone forth from this world of mortality by means of holy baptism, just as they did from Egypt by the passage through the sea ... "; *CPt* iii, f. 167 r°:18-23: " In our case, however, who, in place of the Exodus from Egypt and the conquering of the Egyptian, have passed from this wearisome life to the everlasting life of eternity and have conquered death, who have confounded Satan and the demons and have shaken off their yoke from our neck, and, in place of the passage through the Red Sea, have crossed over the bridge of baptism to *the great and perfect tabernacle not made by hands* (Heb. 9:11), *to the Jerusalem that is in Heaven* (Heb. 12:22) ... "; SWETE I, 30, 33-5, 102, 290-1; *TMHC* 155, 413; REUSS 101 § 14:9-11.

sinning as those without faith (1), but are enabled, in some degree, to anticipate the sinless life of immortality (2). Indeed, these men can be said to live in a middle state, midway between the present state of mutability and mortality and the future state of immutability and immortality (3). Lastly, it is true in the highest and most perfect sense of the Blessed, once they shall have passed by the Resurrection of the Dead to the reality of the world to come (4).

To each of these degrees of our resurrection with Christ corresponds a degree in which men make up one body with Christ as their head. In the first degree, Christ is the head of all men as the initiator and prototype of the new creation to which all are destined. Indeed, since in Him the bond of the universe has been reconstituted, all creation can be said to form again in Him one body of which He is the head (5). In the second degree, He is head of all who believe and hope in the Resurrection, especially those who have already died and risen again by the type of bap-

(1) SWETE I, 49, 89-90; II, 76, 296:10-3; STAAB 133:8-12.

(2) *CR* xii, f. 140 r°:3-5, cited above, p. 31, n. 2; *CA* vii, f. 162 v°:5-8, cited above, p. 32, n. 1; SWETE I, 94, 102, 173-4; II, 24; *TMHC* 7-9. The obligation to live a life conformed to the life to come implies clearly the power to do so, at least to a certain degree. Cf. STAAB 122:6-27.

(3) SWETE I, 30, 49, 102.

(4) *CR* ii, f. 125 v°:7-15: " Accordingly, seeing that our situation has in very deed received, as the discourse has shown, renewal by means of Our Redeemer's Resurrection from the Dead, who has loosed the bonds of death, has shattered the bars of Sheol, by which all men had been held in subjection according to its pleasure, and has promised us immortal life by means of what was done to Himself, Holy Church does well to celebrate today the commemoration of Our Saviour's Resurrection, in which there is likewise contemplated our resurrection with Him, until the time come when His promise to us will be fulfilled in very deed in our regard ... "; *CPt* vi, f. 174 v°:7-15: " The aim of my (i.e. Christ's) coming is this, to give to the initiates of my testament the grace of the Holy Spirit and to make them heavenly instead of earthly, immortal instead of mortal, non-indigent instead of indigent, and perfect (men) instead of children, in order that, having received it in this world, as in a sort of pledge, by means of the sacrament of baptism, it may be like a signet and seal for the confirmation of these things that are hoped for ... and at the proper time it shall come to pass in reality in the true exemplar of the Resurrection ... "; SWETE I, 123, 130-1, 288; *TMHC* 407, 493; VOSTÉ 29.

(5) *CR* ii, f. 124 v°:8-17, cited above, p. 11, n. 1 and p. 12, n. 3; SWETE I, 142-3, 286; *TMHC* 149.

tism, passing thereby to the world to come, and who conform their lives, as far as possible, to the celestial manner of life that is yet to be (1). It is only in the third degree, however, that men become in actuality the body of Christ, after they have passed by the Resurrection to the world to come (2).

In regard to the sacrament of baptism, since its principal function is to bring us into the future world by portraying in type our death and resurrection with Christ, one may ask what its present effects are, and whether and in what precise way the baptized are in a condition superior to that of those who believe and hope in the Resurrection, but have not as yet been baptized. For if the baptized are in a condition essentially superior to that of the non-baptized believer, then four degrees of membership in Christ should be distinguished. De Vries has carefully investigated the traditional effects ordinarily attributed to baptism and mentioned by Theodore of Mopsuestia in his *Catechetical Homilies*, the remission of sins, spiritual regeneration, the adoption of sons, incorporation into Christ and the conferring of the grace of the Holy Spirit, and concludes that all of them are really future gifts that will only be given in actual effect in the final Resurrection, but that are given here and now in symbol only with a view to stirring up faith and hope in what is yet to be (3), a point of view that is remarkably close to that of the Protestant Reformers.

On the other hand, however, it is quite clear that baptism is

(1) SWETE I, 58, 139-40, 273; STAAB 124:13-6; 187:8-14.

(2) SWETE I, 34-5, 140; *TMHC* 447-9.

(3) *Das eschatologische Heil bei Theodor von Mopsuestia*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (abbr. *OCP*) 24 (1958) 316-25. De Vries' thesis is strongly disputed by OÑATIBIA, *art cit.* (above, p. 11, n. 1), pp. 100-33. He points out, following J. WOOLCOMBE, *Le sens de " type " chez les Pères*, in *Supplément de La Vie Spirituelle* 16 (15 Feb. 1951) 96-100, that τύπος and related words, in the mind of the Antiochene Fathers of the fourth century, not only did not exclude the reality symbolized by the type, but rather implied positively a participation, in some degree, in the reality and virtuality of the thing it signified. Hence, for Theodore to say that we receive in the sacraments only a type of the future goods, not the reality of the goods themselves, emphatically does not exclude, but rather implies, a real participation, here and now, in the supernatural goods that will only be perfectly obtained in the final Resurrection. Cf. L. ABRAMOWSKI's summary of Oñatibia's article, *Zur Theologie Theodors von Mopsuestia*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 72 (1961) 269-74.

not an empty symbol of our death and resurrection with Christ (1); Theodore would never have equated it, for example, with an artist's painting of the Resurrection of the Dead. Rather, it is an efficacious symbol that grants a remission of sins (2) — not a perfect remission, however, since it does not take away our sinfulness and moral mutability (3) — introduces to a new manner of life that is a type of the future (4) and gives the helps needed to live it well (5). Indeed, it gives all the potentiality of immortal life, but not its effective exercise (6).

To analyse more closely the nature of this potentiality of immortal life that is given in baptism, it seems to be identical with the grace of the Spirit, that is precisely the principle of the good things to come (7). However, we do not receive in baptism the full grace of the Spirit, that will only be given in the Resurrection, but a pledge of that grace by way of first-fruits (8). Exact-

(1) *TMHC* 413.

(2) *CF* vi, f. 87 r°:23-v°:3: " For just as (Christ) was baptized, though He had no need of baptism's cleansing, so He fasted, though He was not bound under this obligation. For He who, according to the testimony of Scripture, *did no wrong, nor was deceit found on His lips* (I Pet. 2:22; Is. 53:9; Mal. 2:6), and again, *who offered Himself without spot to God* (Heb. 9:14), with the rest (of such testimonies), of what cleansing by baptism or of what pardon by fasting was He in need? "; Swete II, 113; Vosté 183. The last example, and perhaps the first too, refers actually to John's baptism, but it should be true *a fortiori* of Christian baptism.

(3) Swete I, 126, 289; *TMHC* 277, 473.

(4) *CPc* v, f. 104 r°:1-5: " ... in the case of children such as are incapable of fasting, we baptize them, even though they have taken nourishment, and we give them the Eucharist on the same day in which they are baptized, because we know that by that sacred ablution they have cast off from themselves all of that former dispensation and have been born to the following one by a rebirth. "; Swete I, 102, 290-1; II, 76-7; *TMHC* 7-9, 425.

(5) Swete I, 173-4; II, 76, 196-7, 200; *TMHC* 301.

(6) *TMHC* 423.

(7) *CPt* ii, f. 164 v°:3-7: " Formerly there were commandments, against whose transgressors punishments were decreed inexorably, whereas now there is the grace of the Spirit that gives immortality together with immutability, whereby that true justice can be accomplished which has been conferred on us by means of the coming of Christ Our Lord. "; Swete I, 37, 85, 122, 132-3; II, 137; *TMHC* 423-5; Staab 133:17-29; Vosté 209, 253-4.

(8) *CPt* vi, f. 174 v°:7-15, cited above, p. 33, n. 4; Swete II, 200; Staab 141:13-7; Vosté 56, 63.

ly what these first-fruits are is not entirely clear, whether they signify merely a transient action of the Spirit (1) inspiring us to hope in the future goods, or whether they involve a habitual principle of new life that is already a participation of what is to come. Theodore does speak of the grace of the Spirit and His operation as being increased in believers, or as being extinguished by unworthy conduct, or as departing from the sinner (2), expressions that do imply a habitual principle internal to the recipient of the Spirit's operation. Furthermore, the very metaphor of the first-fruits implies a real participation in what is to come. However, it is still quite possible that Theodore did not intend all that was implied in the expressions he used.

Another question that can be raised is how Christ, the Assumed Man, mediates the grace of the Holy Spirit, the principle of the future goods. According to Cyrus, it was Christ Himself who sent down from Heaven upon the Apostles the grace of the Spirit, as being the giver and the provider of the gift (3). If he says, in another place, that He acquired great confidence to intercede for all, that their grace might be such that they might share in His Resurrection (4), yet this should probably be understood as

(1) Theodore actually calls it " a partial action " (*μερικὴ ἐνεργεία*) of the Spirit, Staab 135:22-3.

(2) Swete II, 39-40; Staab 178:24-6; *TMHC* 601; Vosté 198. Cf. also *CPc* viii, f. 108 v°:15-6, where Cyrus says of the Eucharist that " it increases the grace of the Spirit that is within us ".

(5) *CR* vii, ff. 132 v°:25-133 r°:1: "... (Christ) has also poured out on us, from His limitless fulness, the grace of the Holy Spirit that girds us with the adoption of sons ..."; *CPt* ii, f. 165 v°:5-6: "... (Christ) brought it about that the gift of the Spirit should be sent to His Apostles ... "; *CPt* iii, ff. 167 v°:22-168 r°:16, where Cyrus explains that if Christ had given the grace of the Spirit to His Disciples while He was still with them on earth, there was great danger, because of their childishness, that they would " not believe that it had been provided them by Christ, the Saviour of the world ". Theodore even calls Christ, meaning the Assumed Man, " the cause why we receive (the grace of the Spirit) ", *PO* IX, 665:5-6. The Syriac word he uses is ܥܠܬܐ, which can also mean " the reason "; it probably stands for the Greek *αἰτία*.

(4) *CPs* iv, f. 115 r°:5-11, cited above, p. 30, n. 2; *CPt* vi, f. 174 v°:21-5: " Accordingly, since I know well how great and powerful the action of the Holy Spirit is, I greatly long to be consummated by death, in order that I may have greater confidence to send you, after my Resurrection, the heavenly gift that is going to give you the discernment of *all truth* (Jn. 16:13). "; *TMHC* 337; Vosté 174.

the ontological intercession (" not in words, but in deeds ") described by Theodore (1). An important element of this " ontological " intercession is undoubtedly the exemplary causality that Christ exercises as being " the true exemplar " (2). Furthermore, Cyrus twice characterizes Christ's mediation in terms of instrumentality(3).

The redemption granted through Christ is not confined to men alone, but extends to the angels as well, indeed, to all creation (4). In the first place, by rising from the dead immortal

(1) *TMHC* 491.

(2) Cf. above pp. 30-2.

(3) *CPc* iv, ff. 100 v°:21-101 r°:10, where Cyrus compares Christ's mediation of immortal life to bread and wine: " ... if anyone should doubt, wondering how immortal life comes to us by means of a man, he would call to mind that if, by the mediation and ministration and assistance of bread and wine, which do not by their nature possess life and are destitute of all sensibility, though our body be near to passing away from life and to failing and to being corrupted by death, the will of Heaven makes life flow into us as though by canals of a sort and does not allow us to perish, but keeps us in this world, abounding in afflictions and interwoven with sufferings of all kinds, how much more by means of the First-fruits that (have been assumed) from us, a perfect man, living and rational, does it make flow into us perpetual life without end and good things that do not pass away. "; *CR* ii, ff. 125 v°:21-126 r°:12: " If iron pincers, by the power and mediation of the smith, perfect like pincers and give them that becoming perfection that art shows forth, how much more, then, should we believe that God, the Maker of creation, perfects us by means of a rational Man, Christ Our Lord, by His ordering might in the crucible of the Resurrection, and renews us, so that we may become *like the image of His Son* (Rom. 8:29) ".

(4) *CPs* vi, f. 118 r°:6-7, cited above, p. 14, n. 1; *CR* iii, f. 126 r°:17-v°:4, where Cyrus explains why the Resurrection took place on the same day of the week as creation: " ... rightly, then, it has seemed good to our all-wise, adorable God that on the very day in which this visible κατάστασις [ܬܘܩܢܐ] received (its) commencement, He should procure anew freedom for all by means of Christ Our Lord, so that He might thereby make it clear that He is the same one who was then the cause of its coming to be and who is now its crowner. ", and also at the same hour: " Because, indeed, our good God was at pains, as I have said, to give rectification to these former things, it was fitting for Him to bring it about that Christ Our Lord should remain the entire sabbath day among the dead, so that on the very day in which God rested from creating creation, He should likewise now give rest to this visible κατάστασις by means of His death, with the result that, having completed His divine economy by the Resurrection from the Dead, He would manifest the renewal of the entire world and would dispense freedom from mutability to all creation ".

and immutable, He has irrevocably reunited the spiritual and corporeal creations and has thus reconstituted in Himself the bond of creation that Adam had disrupted by his transgression (1). In the second place, He has so confirmed the angels in the hope of the future Resurrection that it is as though they had already received in actuality that immutability which is to be conferred by the final Resurrection; there is no longer any danger that they will despair and revolt, even though they retain the power to do so (2). Moreover, even though men continue to divert material creatures from the service of God to that of iniquity, the angels are no longer reluctant to perform their appointed task of moving things for men's benefit, because, now that Christ has risen, they realize that at some time or other this human situation is going to undergo, by the Resurrection, a sublime transformation for the better (3).

Thus, in the first view of the Redemption, there has been a definitive restoration in Christ of the former order disrupted by Adam's sin. This is above all true of the angels, who are now completely reconciled to the material creation and to their service of men. As for the situation of mankind, even this has been completely restored in the exemplar, Christ. The necessity of one day dying, it is true, remains for the rest of men and with it the stimulus to sin (4), but for those to whom Christ's Death and Resurrection has given the hope of immortality, death, sin and Satan no longer have the same power, especially when this hope is confirmed by the sacraments, whereby they die and rise again together with Christ in type (5).

W. F. Macomber, S. J.

(to be continued)

(1) *CPs* vii, f. 121 r°:18-22: " ... (Christ), who has reconciled (us) with ourselves, because He has resolved the continual conflict we had with ourselves by reason of the disagreement of the body with the soul, who has likewise disseminated peace for us with the angels, who were angered [cf. above, p. 18, n. 2] against us by reason of our disobedience to the divine commandments ... "; *CR* ii, f. 124 v°:12-7, cited above, p. 12, n. 3; Swete I, 129-30, 267-70.

(2) Cf. above, pp. 12-3.

(3) Swete I, 271; Staab 138:18-28; 139:1-6.

(4) Staab 122:6-27.

(5) Cf. above, pp. 32-3.

La chronique brève de 1352

Texte, traduction et commentaire (*)

Deuxième partie: de 1328 à 1341

19 6836/1328 (ind. 11) V.23-24

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν κδ' τοῦ Μαΐου μηνός, ἰνδικτιῶνος ια', παρέλαβεν ὁ βασιλεὺς κῦρις Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Παλαιολόγος ὁ νέος τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀπὸ προδοσίας· κάτωθεν γὰρ τῆς πόρτας τοῦ Ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ ἔθηκαν διαβολόσκαλαν, καὶ ἀνέβησαν ἀπ' ἐκεῖσε | καὶ ἤνοιξαν τὴν πόρταν, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν τὸ φοσάτον καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς.

20 6836/1328 (ind. 11) VI.23

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν κγ' τοῦ Ἰουνίου ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Πόλεως καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Βιζύην κατὰ τοῦ Μιχαήλ.

21 6837/1329 (ind. 12) V.28–VII.8

Μαΐῳ κη', ἰνδικτιῶνος ιβ', τοῦ ,ϛωλζ' ἔτους, ἦλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τὸ Διμότειχον εἰς τὴν Πόλιν. καὶ τῇ α' τοῦ Ἰουνίου ἐπέρασεν εἰς τὴν Μεσοθηνίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ὄρκανι. καὶ τῇ ι' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκρότησε πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν Μουσουλμάνων εἰς τὸν Πελεκάνον λεγάμενον. καὶ ἔπεσον ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινές. ἐδοξεύθη καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν πόδα εἰς τὴν κλείδωσιν τοῦ γόνατος. οὐδὲν δὲ ἐβλάβη ἀπὸ τούτου. ἐπέρασε δὲ τῇ ια' εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, καὶ οὕτως κατελύθη τὸ φοσάτον ὅλον. καὶ τῇ η' τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἀπῆγε εἰς τὸ Διμότειχον.

20 71 *βυζήην* cod.
21 76 *ἐδοξεύθη* pro *ἐτοξεύθη*

(*) Cf. Or. Chr. Per. 29 (1963) 331-356. — Pour le commentaire des §§ 5 et 6 v. aussi P. Wirth, *Die Begründung der Kaisermacht Michaels VIII. Palaiologos* dans Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft, 10 (1961) 85-91, travail que je regrette d'avoir connu seulement quand la première partie du mien était déjà imprimée.

22 6838/1330 (ind. 13) I.30

Ἰανουαρίῳ λ΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιγ΄, τοῦ ͵ςωλη΄ ἔτους [ὥρᾳ ς΄ τῆς νυκτός] ἀπεκάρη ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς, κῦρις Ἀνδρόνικος ⟨ὁ⟩ Παλαιολόγος, ὁ γέρων, μετονομασθεὶς Ἀντώνιος.

23 6838/1330 (ind. 13) VII.1.16

Ἰουλίῳ α΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιγ΄, ἡμέρᾳ Κυριακῇ, ὥρᾳ η΄ τῆς νυκτός, ἐγένετο ἔκλειψις τῆς σελήνης, καὶ τῇ ις΄ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὥρᾳ ια΄ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐγένετο τοῦ ἡλίου ἔκλειψις.

24 6839/1331 (ind. 14) III.2

Μαρτίῳ α΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ΄, τοῦ ͵ςωλθ΄ ἔτους, παρέλαβον τὴν Νίκαιαν οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι, ἄρχοντος τοῦ Ὄρκανι.

25 6840/1332 (ind. 15) I.17

Ἰανουαρίῳ ιζ΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε΄, ὥρᾳ γ΄ τῆς νυκτός, ἐγένετο σεισμὸς μέγας.

26 6840/1332 (ind. 15) II.12.III.13.V.13

Φεβρουαρίῳ ιγ΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε΄, ἐκοιμήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς μοναχὸς κῦρις Ἀντώνιος, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Λίψη. καὶ τῇ ιγ΄ τοῦ Μαρτίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἐκοιμήθη καὶ ὁ μέγας λογοθέτης ὁ Μετοχίτης καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ μονῇ αὐτοῦ τῇ Χώρᾳ. καὶ τῇ ιγ΄ τοῦ Μαΐου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἐκοιμήθη καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης κῦρις Ἡσαΐας καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς Ζωοδόχου, τῇ τοῦ κυροῦ Μαξίμου.

27 6841/1333 (ind. 1) VIII

Αὐγούστῳ ⟨. . ⟩, ἰνδικτιῶνος α΄, ἀπῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ κατέργων εἰς τὴν Νικομήδειαν καὶ ἐγένετο ἀγάπη μετὰ τοῦ Ὄρκανι. καὶ ἔταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τελεῖσθαι αὐτὸν κατ᾽ ἔτος ὑπέρπυρα χιλιάδας ιβ΄, ἕνεκεν τῶν κάστρων τῆς Μεσοθηνίας, ἀπὸ τὴν Νικομήδειαν μέχρι τῆς Πόλεως.

23 84 *σελήνης*: ☾ cod. 85 *ἡλίου*: ♂ cod.
24 87 *μουσουλμ(ά)ν(οι)* cod. *μουσουλμή* g
27 97 et 99 *νικομήδ(ειαν)* cod. *νικομηδίαν* g

28 6842/1334 (ind. 2) II

Φεβρουαρίῳ ⟨. .⟩, ἰνδικτιῶνος β′, ⟨τοῦ⟩ ‚ϛωμβ′ ἔτους, προεβλήθη πατριάρχης ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἄπρου ἱερεύς, λεγόμενος Ἰωάννης, κοσμικός, ὅστις ἦν καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως κλῆρον. | 284

29 6843/1335 (ind. 3) V

175ᵛ *Μηνὶ Μαΐῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος γ′, τοῦ ‚ϛωμγ′ ἔτους, ἀπῆγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς κῦρις Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Παλαιολόγος μετὰ στόλου πολλοῦ καὶ παρέλαβεν τὴν Χῖον καὶ τὴν Φώκαιαν καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Σαρχάνι ἀγάπην.*

30 6846/1338 (ind. 6) V

Μαρτίῳ ⟨. .⟩, ἰνδικτιῶνος ϛ′, τοῦ ‚ϛωμϛ′ ἔτους, ἀπῆγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ φοσάτου μεγάλου εἰς τὴν Λύσιν καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν Ἄρταν καὶ ἄλλα κάστρη. ἀπῆρε δὲ ἐκεῖσε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ κόντου καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ κόντου, καὶ ἔφερε τούτους εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην. καὶ ἔδωκε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γαμβρὸν τὸν μέγα δομέστικον τὸν Καντακουζηνόν, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν πανυπερσέβαστον.

31 6849/1341 (ind. 9) VI.10

Μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ι′, τοῦ ‚ϛωμθ′ ἔτους, ἐποίησαν σύνοδον ἐν τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ Βαρλαάμ, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῆς Πόλεως.

32 6849/1341 (ind. 9) VI.14.15

Εἶτα ἀπῆγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ὁδηγήτριαν καὶ ἔπεσεν εἰς ἀσθένειαν μεγάλην. καὶ τῇ ιδ′ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός, ἰνδικτιῶνος θ′, ἐκοιμήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς κῦρις Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Παλαιολόγος. καὶ τῇ ιε′ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μονῇ, καταλιπὼν βασιλέα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κῦρον Ἰωάννην, ὄντα ἐτῶν θ′, ὄντα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς δεσποίνης κυρᾶς Ἄννης καὶ τῶν ἑτέρων παιδίων αὐτῶν. τὸν δὲ μέγαν δομέστικον τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν ἐποίησεν ἐγκρατῆν πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων.

33 6849/1341 (ind. 9) VII

Ἰουλίῳ ⟨. .⟩, ἰνδικτιῶνος θ′, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ μέγας δομέστικος ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς ἐκ τῆς Πόλεως καὶ ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, εἰς τὸ Διδυμότειχον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κάστρη, καὶ ἐστήριξεν αὐτά.

28 101 *‚ϛωμβ′ ἔτους* in marg. cod.
30 111 *γ(αμ)βρ(όν)* cod. *γρηγόριον* g
33 124 *δυδιμότειχον* cod. et similiter lin. 129 132 137.

34 6849/1341 (ind. 9) VIII.28 — 6850/1341 (ind. 10) IX.8

Εἶτα, τῇ κη' τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους, ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἀπόκαυχος ἐκ τῆς Πόλεως ὁ παρακοιμώμενος καὶ ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὸν πύργον αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἐπιβάτας. ἔπειτα ἐμήνυσεν ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον τὸν Καντακουζηνόν, ὄντα ἔξω εἰς τὸ Διδυμότειχον, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Πόλιν τὸν Σεπτέβριον, ἰνδικτιῶνος ι'.

35 6850/1341 (ind. 10) IX.23–X.26

Ὀκτωβρίῳ ⟨..⟩, ἰνδικτιῶνος ι', ἐξῆλθεν ὁ μέγας δομέστικος ὅπως ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸ Διδυμότειχον. καὶ διερχόνεμος τοὺς Ἐπιβάτας ἐποίησε f. 176 *τὸν Ἀπόκαυχον ὁρκωμοτικόν, καὶ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ πύργου αὐτοῦ. | εἶτα ἀπέτρεψεν αὐτὸν ὅπως ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν Πόλιν. ἐλθὼν δὲ διέστρεψε τὴν δέσποιναν κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου. οἰκονόμησε δὲ ἵνα πιάσωσι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας. καὶ γνόντες τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι ἐτζάκισαν τὴν πόρταν τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου καὶ ἔφυγον, καὶ ἀπῆγαν εἰς τὸ Διδυμότειχον. κινήσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπόκαυχος τὸν λαὸν ἀπῆραν τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἐχάλασαν καὶ τὰ ὁσπίτια αὐτῶν. τοῦτο γνόντες ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ τοῦ φοσάτου ἔβαλαν τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν τὰ κόκκινα καὶ εὐφήμησαν* 285 *αὐτὸν βασιλέα τῇ κς' τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου τῆς αὐτῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος. εἶτα ὑπῆρχε ταραχὴ οὐκ ὀλίγη μέσον αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ κόσμου.*

36 6850/1341 (ind. 10) XI.19

Νοεμβρίῳ κ', ἰνδικτιῶνος ι', ἐστέφθην ὁ βασιλεὺς κῦρις Ἰωάννης ὁ Παλαιολόγος ἐν τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου, ὢν ἐτῶν ι'. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόκαυχον μέγαν δοῦκαν, τὸν δὲ μέγαν δοῦκαν τὸν Ἀσάνην πανυπερσέβαστον. καὶ ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ μέγας δοῦκας. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης ἀφορισμὸν κατὰ τοῦ ὁμολογήσαντος τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν βασιλέα.

35 134 *ἀπέτρεψεν* pro *ἐπ.*
36 143 *ὀστέφθην* cod.

TRADUCTION ET COMMENTAIRE

19. Entrée d'Andronic III à Constantinople.

6836/1328 (ind. 11) V.23-24

Greg. IX 6,1 = I 419,11-420,7; 427,10-11. Cant. I 58-59 = I 300,5-304,18; 306,6-11. Chron. br. 47,8.

Et le 24 mai de la onzième indiction l'empereur, monseigneur Andronic Paléologue le jeune, prit Constantinople par trahison. En effet en bas de la porte Saint-Romain on mit une échelle de cordes et par là on monta et on ouvrit la porte et l'empereur et l'armée entrèrent.

Andronic III entra dans Constantinople la nuit du lundi au mardi de Pentecôte, 23-24 mai 1328. Grégoras et notre chronique sont d'accord. Cantacuzène et la chronique brève 47 contredisent seulement en apparence. En effet dans Cantacuzène (306,11) il faut lire *ἐννάτῃ φθίνοντος* au lieu de *ἐννάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα*. Voici pourquoi. D'après Cantacuzène lui-même (300,11) Andronic partit de Logous le dimanche de la Pentecôte, 22 mai, campa le lendemain à Klepta (300,17-18) et le lundi soir à Amblyopos (300,19-20). Il y fit ses derniers préparatifs et partit la nuit suivante pour l'entreprise décisive. La leçon *ἐπὶ δέκα* pour *φθίνοντος* contredit donc l'auteur. Si elle se trouve dans toute la tradition manuscrite elle a pu se produire quand un secrétaire ou rédacteur transcrivit au net le brouillon de Cantacuzène. Voici comment il y fut amené. Cantacuzène écrit (306,6-11) que la guerre civile entre les deux Andronic commença le 19 avril 6829 et dura sept années et un mois. Prenant ces mots au pied de la lettre le secrétaire ou un copiste conclut qu'elle se termina le 19 mai. L'erreur peut jeter une lumière utile sur la façon dont les Mémoires de Cantacuzène reçurent leur forme définitive. — L'erreur de la Chronique 47, qui dit 4 mai au lieu de 24, est décelée par le synchronisme: le 4 mai est un lundi, non un mardi comme veut le texte conservé.

L'échelle de cordes — échelle du diable dit le chroniqueur — se trouve chez Grégoras (419,21) et chez Cantacuzène (300,22-23).

20. Première guerre bulgare d'Andronic III

6836/1328 (ind. 11) VI.23
Greg. IX 8,1 = I 430,4-431,9. Cant. II 3 = I 323,6-329,2.

Et le 23 juin il sortit de la Ville et alla à Bizya, contre Michel.

Moins de trente jours après son entrée à Constantinople (Greg. 430,4) Andronic III apprit que son beau-frère et ex-allié, Michel de Bulgarie, avait envahi le territoire grec. Il partit — le 23 juin précise, seule, notre chronique — pour Bizya (Cant. 323,16), où il concentra son armée. Il y reçut un envoyé de Michel, lequel lui faisait dire qu'il se présenterait le lendemain matin sous les murs de Bizya pour livrer bataille ... mais n'en fit rien, et se retira en Bulgarie (1). Alors Andronic envahit son pays, prit Diampolis, et s'en retourna à Didymotique (Cant. 324,8-11 et 16). Soixante jours plus tard Michel reprit l'offensive, menaçant Andrinople, où Andronic accourut aussitôt (Cant. 324,11-25; Greg. 430,6-10). On négocia (Cant. 324,25-328,10; Greg. 430,10-431,3). La paix fut conclue à Andrinople (Cant. 328,18-329,2; Greg. 431,3-9) et renouvelée plus tard — avant mai 1329 — lors d'une entrevue des deux souverains à *Cremni* (*Κρημνοί*, Cant. 340,18-341,4), sur la mer Noire (2).

La date du 23 juin 1328, que l'on ne trouve ni chez Grégoras ni chez Cantacuzène, est néanmoins en parfaite harmonie avec leurs récits.

(1) Cant. II 3 = 323,11-324,8. — Grégoras, après avoir donné la date de la première invasion bulgare, raconte en fait la deuxième! Dölger, *Regesten* n° 2718, s'est mépris sur le sens de Cantacuzène 323,11-324,8, et a fait de l'ambassade de Michel de Bulgarie à Andronic une ambassade d'Andronic à Michel. Méprise compréhensible étant donné le style de l'auteur. Il faut donc rayer des *Regesten* le n° 2718, qui reste néanmoins précieux pour la bibliographie.

(2) Dölger, *Regesten* 2723, date correctement la paix d'octobre 1328 c., mais il l'identifie à tort avec celle de Kremnoi (qu'il écrit Krenna). Il faudra, pour celle-ci, insérer un numéro après le regeste 2727, ou, mieux encore, après 2743.

21. Andronic III contre Orkhan.

6837/1329 (ind. 12) V.28–VII.8
Greg. IX 10,4 = I 433,9-436,18. Cant. II 6-9 = I 341,5-363,11.

Le 28 mai de l'année 6837, douzième indiction, l'empereur, venant de Didymotique, arriva dans la Ville. Et le premier juin il passa en Mésothénie, contre Orkhan. Et le 10 du même mois il livra bataille près du lieu dit Pelekanon. Et quelques nobles tombèrent. L'empereur aussi fut blessé à la jambe, à l'articulation du genou, mais n'en eut aucun dommage. Et le 11 juin il passa dans la Ville, et toute l'armée fut congédiée. Et le 8 juillet il s'en alla à Didymotique.

Les dates de notre chronique s'harmonisent à merveille avec le récit de Grégoras et surtout avec celui, plus détaillé et plus précis, de Cantacuzène. — Vers la mi-printemps, en mai 1329, Andronic III, sollicité, conseillé, stimulé par Kontophrés (Godefroy), gouverneur de Mésothénie, décida d'attaquer les Turcs ottomans de Bithynie, qui harcelaient et affamaient Nicomédie (Cant. 341,9-342,1). De Didymotique, où il résidait volontiers, il vint à Constantinople le 28 mai, traversa le Bosphore avec une armée réunie à la hâte et débarqua à Scoutari (Chrysopolis, Usküdar), le premier juin (Cant. 342,1-10; Greg. 433,9-24). Mais il s'était décidé trop tard. Alertés, les Turcs nomades évacuèrent les plaines avec leurs troupeaux et se mirent en sécurité dans les montagnes (Cant. 342,11-15; cf. 343,1-7). Andronic demeura à Scoutari jusqu'au 6 juin (1). Puis il marcha pendant trois jours, en direction de Nico-

(1) Ni Cantacuzène ni Grégoras ne parlent d'un *séjour* à Scoutari, mais ils ne disent pas non plus qu'on partit le jour même du débarquement. Ils sont d'accord pour dire que la marche dura trois jours, et que la bataille de Pelekanon fut combattue le quatrième. Comme ce fut le 10 juin, la marche dura du 7 au 9, et le séjour à Scoutari fut de six jours (non pas dix, comme pense le R. P. V. Laurent, R.É.B. 7, 206, qui, par ailleurs, a vu le premier la nécessité d'admettre un séjour de quelque durée à Scoutari). — Les trois étapes de la marche durent être très brèves, car Andronic envisage la possibilité de refaire le chemin de retour en un ou deux jours: Cant. 354,23-24.

médie et de l'ennemi, suivant la voie romaine de Chalcédoine à Nicomédie, faisant tout au plus 15 kilomètres par jour. Le soir du troisième jour il campa près du lieu dit Pelekanon, en vue de l'ennemi (1). Un coup d'oeil sur le terrain et sur les positions turques montra aux militaires expérimentés — dont Cantacuzène — que l'expédition grecque avait manqué sont but. La population turque s'étant retirée dans ses pâturages d'été sur la montagne il manquait aux soldats de l'empereur leur plus puissant motif de combattre, l'espoir du butin. D'autre part l'armée turque était à l'abri de défenses naturelles, qu'on n'avait aucun espoir de forcer. Pour sauver au moins l'apparence de l'honneur un conseil de guerre décida qu'on offrirait bataille aux Turcs le lendemain et qu'on retournerait à Byzance, si Orkhan ne relevait pas le défi (2). L'émir accepta le combat, résolu toutefois à le conduire selon sa tactique, en tirant parti du terrain favorable et de l'armement léger de ses hommes. Ainsi la « bataille » de Pelekanon du 10 juin 1329 se réduisit à une série d'escarmouches. Le gros de l'armée ottomane resta sur ses positions, tandis que 300 archers montés (3) harcelaient le front grec, se retirant dès que l'ennemi chargeait, le relançant dès qu'il rebroussait chemin. Vers le soir seulement les Grecs durent repousser deux attaques turques plus massives (4). A la tombée de la nuit, sur l'avis de Cantacuzène, Andronic décida qu'on retournerait au camp, qu'on y passerait la nuit et qu'on battrait

(1) Cant. 342,21-25. — Grégoras (434,1-8) dit « Philokrènè », confondant le lieu du campement avec la place fortifiée où se réfugia le gros de l'armée grecque dans la nuit du 10 au 11 juin, et où se livra un dernier combat, à l'aube du 11.

(2) L'aveu de la faillite, humiliant pour la stratégie byzantine, n'est pas fait par le médisant Grégoras, mais par Cantacuzène (343,1-16), un des militaires responsables de l'état-major impérial! On croit d'ailleurs percevoir chez lui, sinou de l'admiration, du moins l'estime d'un professionnel, pour la tactique d'Orkhan, qu'il décrit avec détail.

(3) Cant. 344,3 *ἱπποτοξόται*. Cantacuzène ne décrit pas l'armement grec, mais il donne à penser, ici comme ailleurs, qu'il ressemblait fort à celui de la chevalerie occidentale.

(4) Cantacuzène (347,1-348,11) décrit les trois premières de ces escarmouches, dit ensuite qu'elles continuèrent jusqu'au soir (348,11-23) et raconte pour finir les deux dernières attaques turques (348,23-349,11 et 349,11-350,11). Grégoras (434,9-435,5) résume, et doit être lu à la lumière du récit de Cantacuzène.

en retraite le lendemain matin (Cant. 350,13-352,5). Les trompettes sonnèrent, et l'on rentra au camp, chantant victoire. Un corps d'observation turc suivait l'armée grecque (Cant. 352,5-9; Greg. 435,5-19). Pendant la retraite l'indiscipline des soldats et des officiers subalternes provoqua deux engagements d'arrière-garde, dans lesquels Cantacuzène et Andronic payèrent de leurs personnes (Cant. 352,9-354,5 et 354,6-20). L'empereur fut blessé au genou (1). Dans la nuit, les soldats grecs, pris de panique, abandonnèrent leur camp pour aller se mettre à l'abris de quelques places fortes voisines: Philokrènè, Niketiatou, Dakibyza, Ritziou (2). Cantacuzène essaya en vain d'arrêter la débandade. Des serviteurs portèrent l'empereur, qui ne pouvait pas monter à cheval, au port de Philokrènè et l'embarquèrent pour Constantinople, où il arriva, dit notre chronique, le lendemain, 11 juin (Cant. 360,10-20; cf. Greg. 436,16-18). A l'aube du 11 juin les Turcs, avertis par leurs observateurs, se lancèrent aux trousses des fuyards dirigés vers Philokrènè; on combattit aux portes de la ville; il y eut des morts, parmi lesquels deux cousins de Cantacuzène (Cant. 360,24-362,11; Greg. 436,7-15). Dans la journée du 11 juin les soldats dispersés rallièrent tous le groupe de Philokrènè, spontanément, dit Cantacuzène (362,32-263,1). On reprit la marche en direction de Scoutari, (pas avant le 12, bien sûr) en bon ordre, semble-t-il, car on passa à peu de distance du camp d'Orkhan, sans être molesté.

(1) Cant. 352,7-354,5 et 354,6-20; Greg. 435,8-11. L'empereur, dit Cantacuzène, fut blessé à la cuisse (353,19-20), Grégoras dit au pied (435,11). Notre chronique montre en quel sens il faut prendre « pied » chez Grégoras, car lui aussi parle de pied, puis précise « à l'articulation du genou ». A cet endroit, la blessure pouvait causer la raideur de la jambe. On comprend pourquoi les trois narrateurs insistent sur son caractère inoffensif.

(2) Cant. 354,20-355,9; 358,24-360,10; Greg. 435,19-436,7. On remarquera que Pelekanon ne figure point parmi les places où se réfugièrent. les fuyards. C'était, ou bien une place sans défense, ou plutôt un simple lieu-dit. Le voisinage de Dakibyza localise l'épisode. C'est l'actuelle Gebize, anciennement l'avant-dernière localité, vers l'Ouest, du territoire de Nicomédie, juste avant Potami « Les Fleuves » qui était la dernière; Malal. XII=299,2 Dindorf, où il faut lire *Ποταμῶν* avec majuscule; c'était, d'après l'*Itinerarium Burdigalense*, (*Pontamus*), le premier relai postal (*mutatio*) après Panteichion, qui est elle-même la première station (*mansio*) après Chalcédoine, dont elle dépendait.

22. Andronic II reçoit la tonsure monacale.

6838/1330 (ind. 13) I.30
Greg. IX 10,4 = I 441,14-442,6. Cant. II 16 = I 399,11-20.

Le 30 janvier de l'an 6838, treizième indiction, [à six heures de la nuit] l'empereur, monseigneur Andronic Paléologue l'ancien, reçut la tonsure et changea son nom en celui du moine Antoine.

Au début de l'automne qui suivit l'expédition en Bithynie (v. § 21) Andronic III partit pour Chios, qu'il reprit à son seigneur génois, Martino Zaccaria (¹). A peine rentré il partit pour Didymotique, où il tomba gravement malade (Greg. IX 10,1 = I 439,12-440,5; Cant. II 14-15 = I 391,7-339,10). Durant cette maladie son grand-père, l'ex-empereur Andronic II, se fit moine, plus ou moins librement, et prit comme patron S. Antoine abbé. Grégoras et Cantacuzène rapportent le fait, chacun à sa façon, mais sans date précise. Grégoras (IX 14,5 = I 463,15) dit qu'Andronic vécut deux ans sous le froc. Or il décéda le 12 février 1332 (v. § 26). Les deux ans sont probablement un chiffre rond. Mais, si notre chroniqueur est dans le vrai, il manquait seulement 12 jours à la deuxième année.

Dans notre texte il faut supprimer les mots « à six heures de la nuit ». On ne confère pas la tonsure de nuit, et on ne note pas l'heure d'une cérémonie de ce genre. Mais on note celle d'un tremblement de terre, comme dans la notice 16, et plus naturellement encore, celle d'une éclipse, comme dans la notice suivante. Les mots en question s'y trouvent à leur place. Ils se sont glissés ici par anticipation. C'est un exemple très-instructif d'un genre de faute comme on en relève plusieurs dans le manuscrit de notre chronique (²).

(¹) Greg. IX 9,6 = I 438,7-439,11; Cant. II 10-13 = I 370,10-390,2. P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur « La Geste d'Umur Pacha »*, Paris 1957, 50-62.

(²) Cf. Commentaire du § 15, Or. Chr. Per. 29 (1963) 351-52 et 352 n. 1.

23. Éclipses lunaire et solaire.

6838/1330 (ind. 13) VII.1 et 16
Greg. IX 12,2 = I 454,24-455,6.

Le dimanche premier juillet de la treizième indiction, à huit heures de la nuit, il y eut une éclipse de la lune, et le 16 du même mois, à 11 heures du jour, il y eut une éclipse du soleil.

Grégoras mentionne l'éclipse solaire du 16 juillet (qu'il place à 12 heures) en disant qu'elle eut lieu pendant qu'Andronic III et son armée campaient en Macédoine, sur la frontière serbe, en attendant que leur allié, Michel III de Bulgarie, envahît la Serbie. La guerre entre Michel III et le roi des Serbes, Étienne III Uroš, se trouve ainsi datée avec toute la certitude désirable. Cette date nous fournit un point de départ sûr pour fixer celle, controversée, des deux campagnes d'Andronic III qui suivirent. Nous nous en occupons dans une étude à part « Ordre et désordre dans les Mémoires de Jean Cantacuzène » à paraître en 1964 dans le t. 22 de la Revue des Études Byzantines.

24. Nicée prise par les Turcs.

6839/1331 (ind. 14) III.2, samedi
Greg. IX 13,2 = I 458,12-14. Chron. br. 52,6 et 15,5

Le premier mars de l'année 6839, quatorzième indiction, les Musulmans prirent Nicée, Orkhan étant leur souverain.

D'après Grégoras les Turcs prirent Nicée l'année qui suivit celle où eut lieu l'éclipse du 16 huillet (§ 23), c'est-à-dire en 6839 = 1330-31. Une note écrite de première main dans le ms. Additional 22492 du British Museum (1), qui est du XIVe siècle, nous apprend que ce fut le samedi 2 mars 6839/1331. En disant « le premier mars »

(1) V. Laurent, R.É.B. 7 (1949) 209; P. Charanis, Byzantion, 13 (1938) 343 nn. 7 et 8. Cette notice précieuse est imprimée dans Lampros-Amantos, Chron. br. 26, lin. 4-5, au milieu d'une série de notices tardives, sans que rien signale sa valeur exceptionnelle, qui tient au fait qu'elle est de la main même du copiste du livre.

notre chronique se trompe d'un jour seulement. Encore est-il possible qu'il s'agisse d'une faute de copie. — Les chroniques brèves 52 et 15 connaissent seulement l'année [1].

25. Tremblement de terre.

6840/1332 (ind. 15) I.17
Greg. IX 14,1 et X 1,2 = I 460,6; 466,6-7.

Le 17 janvier de la quinzième indiction, à 3 heures de la nuit, il y eut un grand tremblement de terre.

Grégoras, témoin oculaire, mentionne le tremblement de terre du 17 janvier 1332, jour de la fête de S. Antoine abbé, parmi les signes avant-coureurs du décès d'Andronic II, en religion moine Antoine (v. notre Commentaire § 17). Il y fait encore allusion dans l'oraison funèbre de l'ex-empereur (466,6-7).

26. Décès d'Andronic II, de Théodore Métochite, du patriarche Isaïe.

6840/1332 (ind. 15) II.12. III.13.V.13
Greg. IX 14 = I 460,4-463,20; X 2,6 = I 474,10-11. Cant. II 28 = I 473,7-10. — Greg. X 2,1 = I 474,13-15. — Greg. X 7,3 = I 496,14-18. Cant. II 21 = I 431,20-22.

Le 13 février de la quinzième indiction mourut le moine-empereur, monseigneur Antoine, et il fut enterré au monastère de Lips. Et le 13 mars de la même année mourut encore le grand logothète, le Métochite, et il fut enterré dans son monastère de Chora. Et le 13 mai mourut aussi le patriarche, monseigneur Isaïe,

(1) G. G. Arnakes, *Οἱ πρῶτοι 'Οθωμανοί* (Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie, 41), Athènes 1947, 187 n. 155, montre que les historiens turcs ne s'accordent pas entre eux sur la prise d'Iznik; contre P. Charanis, Byzantion, 13, 343, n. 1, qui ferait croire le contraire et qui cite la traduction française (par J. G. Hellert, t. I, Paris 1835, 137) de J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, I, Pest 1827, 102 et note *a*.

et il fut enterré au monastère de la Zoodokhos, celui de monseigneur Maxime.

Andronic II mourut, d'après Grégoras qui assista à son agonie, le soir du 12 février 1332, âgé de 74 ans (1). Il en avait passé deux sous le froc monastique (Greg. 463,15; 472,15-17). Il fut enseveli le lendemain, au monastère de Lips (Greg. 463,17-20). Cantacuzène (473,7-10) dit qu'il mourut en février 1332, âgé de 72 ans. Grégoras composa son oraison funèbre, qu'il eut soin d'insérer dans son Histoire (X 1,2 = I 465,5-472,6). Le grand dioecète Théodore Cabasilas en composa une autre (2). Andronic étant mort le soir la nouvelle dut se répandre dans la ville le lendemain seulement, ce qui explique pourquoi plusieurs témoins, dont notre chroniqueur, placent le décès ce jour-là (3). — Entre la mort de l'empereur et celle de son ministre, le grand logothète Théodore Métochite, trente jours s'écoulèrent au dire de Grégoras. L'année 1332 étant bissextile Théodore mourut donc le 14 mars, où le 13 au soir, comme le veulent notre chronique et d'autres témoins. — Grégoras et Cantacuzène mentionnent le décès du patriarche Isaïe en passant, et sans le dater, à propos de l'élection de Jean XIV Calécas. Un catalogue de patriarches lui assigne huit années et demi de pontificat, ce qui, au pied de la lettre, le ferait mourir le 10 mai 1332, chiffre que notre chronique dépasse seulement de 3 jours (4). Notre chronique — et elle seule — indique aussi le lieu de sépulture d'Isaïe: le monastère de la Zoodokhos (s.-e. Pègè), surnommé *kyrou Maximou*. C'est le

(1) Greg. 472,15-16. Ailleurs (460,4-8) il dit que l'éclipse solaire du 30 novembre 1331 précéda la mort d'autant de jours que le défunt vécut d'années, ce qui donne 74 années à Andronic, si on exclut, soit le jour de l'éclipse, soit celui de la mort. Ailleurs encore (87,13-14) il dit qu'Andronic avait deux ans quand il fit avec son père son entrée solennelle dans Constantinople libérée, (c'est-à-dire le 15 août 1261; Acrop. 88 = 186,29-187,6 Heisenberg).

(2) Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. Coislin. 192, f. 100v-103v; inc. *Καιρὸς τῇ πολλῇ καὶ μεγίστῃ* ... Dans le manuscrit le discours est attribué au grand dioecète Cabasilas. Pour la date du discours et le prénom de l'auteur v. I. Ševčenko, *Nicolaus Cabasilas' Correspondence and the treatment of late Byzantine literary texts*, B.Z. 47 (1954) 49-59; v. 56 n. 5.

(3) *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 7 (1910) 140 no 52. V. Laurent, É.O. 36 (1937) 170 et n. 6.

(4) Paris, B. N., cod. gr. 1356, f. 282v; V. Laurent, R.É.B. 7, 153 et n. 4.

monastère que lui avait donné à vie Andronic III, par chrysobulle de janvier 1329, et qui, à sa mort, devait passer à la Grande Laure de l'Athos comme metochion (1). Manuel Gedeôn, qui publia le chrysobulle, estime qu'il s'agissait d'un sanctuaire différent de celui, très célèbre et encore existant, situé hors de Constantinople, non loin de la porte à laquelle il donnait son nom (2). Notre chronique lui donne raison, puisqu'elle spécifie qu'il s'agit d'un monastère surnommé *kyrou Maximou* (3).

27. Andronic III à Nicomédie. Paix avec Orkhan.

6841/1333 (ind. 1) VIII
Cant. II 24 = I 446,16-448,5.

Le ⟨..⟩ *août de la première indiction l'empereur partit avec des galères à Nicomédie, et on fit la paix avec Orkhan. Et l'empereur promit de payer annuellement 12000 hyperpères pour les villes de Mésothénie, depuis Nicomédie jusqu'à la Ville.*

Andronic III alla deux fois en personne ravitailler Nicomédie, affamée par les Turcs de l'émir Orkhan. La première fois il y resta trois jours; l'émir n'était pas avec ses troupes (Cant. II 26 = I 459,15-460,14). C'était juste avant la troisième campagne en Bulgarie, celle qui s'acheva, le 18 juillet 1331, par le combat et la paix de Rhossokastron (4). La deuxième fois il demeura plus d'une

(1) Dölger, *Regesten*, n° 2739.

(2) [M. Gedeôn], *'Η Ζωοδόχος Πηγή*, Athènes 1881, 71-72; cité, R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1953, 234 et n. 4. — En février 1367 le patriarche Philothée, confirmant certaines possessions de Lavra à Constantinople, dit en passant qu'elle y possédait un metochion, « *οὗ ἐπώνυμον ἡ Θεοτόκος ἡ Ζωοδόχος* »; Spyridon Lavriote, *'Αγιορειτικὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τοῦ ἀειμνήστου 'Αλεξάνδρου Λαυριώτου* in *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 9 (1929) 131-136; v. 133-136.

(3) Par contre le R. P. R. Janin (*Op. cit.*, 234) estimait que le vocable « ne peut s'appliquer qu'au monastère dont nous parlons ici » à savoir, celui situé hors de la porte de Pègè.

(4) Dölger, *Regesten*, n° 2777. — La date de cette paix, et celle de la guerre qu'elle terminait, est controversée. Les uns, à la suite de Grégoras (X 4 = I 483,21-488,22) disent 1332, les autres, se fiant à Cantacuzène, tiennent pour 1331. Ils ont raison, mais ici la chose n'importe pas. 1331 ou 1332, la visite d'Andronic III à Nicomédie qui précéda la guerre

semaine à Nicomédie et traita avec Orkhan, qui commandait en personne les assiégeants (Cant. II 24 = I 446,20-448,5). C'est l'épisode rapporté par notre chroniqueur, avec des détails nouveaux, qui réparent les silences et la réticence de Cantacuzène. L'impérial historien raconte que l'émir ottoman fit saluer Andronic, avant même que celui-ci débarquât, et se déclara prêt à traiter... ou à combattre, selon le cas. On négocia, et la paix fut conclue. Puis on échangea les cadeaux d'usage. Orkhan et ses guerriers rentrèrent dans leurs foyers, après que l'émir se fût obligé à ne plus molester les possessions grecques. L'empereur débarqua, resta encore sept jours à Nicomédie, et retourna à Constantinople,

Cantacuzène, qui s'attarde à décrire les accessoires, survole en deux lignes le traité lui-même (448,16-18) et oublie, ou mieux, omet délibérément, de nous dire ce qui détermina Orkhan à lever le siège de Nicomédie, et à signer un traité de non-agression! Notre chroniqueur fournit la réponse: Andronic acheta la paix, en promettant de payer chaque année 12000 hyperpères [1].

La date que notre chronique assigne au départ de l'empereur pour Nicomédie, combinée avec la durée du séjour et celle, probable, de la traversée, aide à préciser deux autres dates, qui ont leur importance: celle du retour d'Andronic à Constantinople, en été 1333, après un séjour en Macédoine et en Thessalie (Cant. II 28 = I 474,5-476,2) et celle du procès de Syrgiannès Paléologue Philanthropène, gouverneur de Thessalonique, accusé de haute

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de Bulgarie est nécessairement antérieure à l'autre, qui précéda immédiatement le procès de Syrgiannès, car celui-ci eut lieu, sans aucun doute possible, en été-automne 1333; v. l'article de S. Binon, cité ci-dessous p. 16 n. 1. Le désordre qui règne dans cette partie de l'œuvre de Cantacuzène a dérouté M. G. Arnakes, *Οἱ πρῶτοι Ὀθωμανοί*, 195-196. Croyant que l'épisode raconté en premier lieu dans les Mémoires de Cantacuzène, tels que nous les lisons, fut aussi le premier dans le temps, il imagine que l'émir ottoman viola presque immédiatement le traité de paix à peine conclu.

(1) C'est ce qu'a bien vu le R. P. V. Laurent, dès qu'il eut connaissance de notre chronique; v. R.É.B. 7 (1949) 211. — M. Fr. Dölger, (*Regesten* nº 2762), qui a connu trop tard notre chronique pour l'exploiter à fond, place l'épisode en automne 1330 et donne l'impression qu'Andronic était à Constantinople quand il négociait avec Orkhan. Corriger en conséquence le nº 2762, et le placer après le nnméro 2800, lequel, ainsi que les numéros 2796-2799, doit être daté « 1333, été » et non « automne ».

trahison. Syrgiannès accompagnait l'empereur à Constantinople pour y être jugé ([1]). Or Andronic, bien qu'il eût hâte d'instruire le procès, l'ajourna néanmoins, juste le temps nécessaire pour secourir Nicomédie (Cant. 446,16-20). Qu'il soit parti au début ou à la fin d'août, il reste que le procès de Syrgiannès commença vers la mi-août au plus tôt, dans la première moitié de septembre au plus tard.

Dans le texte, après le nom du mois au datif — un datif qui n'est ni précédé de l'article comme aux §§ 40 et 43 ni précédé ou suivi du mot *μηνί* comme aux §§ 4, 29, 54, 55, 57 — le quantième manque. Le phénomène se réproduit aux §§ 28, 30, 33, 35, 37, 42, 52 et au § 48 il est possible qu'il faille lire *Μαΐῳ δ'* au lieu de *Μαΐῳ δὲ*. Probablement le chroniqueur, qui avait à un degré exceptionnel le goût des dates complètes, exactes et précises, avait laissé un blanc, que les copistes se sont empressés de négliger quand ils transcrivirent son œuvre.

28. Élection du patriarche Jean XIV Calécas.

6842/1334 (ind. 2) II
Greg. X 7,3 = I 496,14-18. Cant. II 21 = I 431,20-435,20.

Le ⟨..⟩ février de l'année 6842, deuxième indiction, on élut patriarche un prêtre originaire d'Apros, nommé Jean, du clergé séculier, membre aussi de la chapelle impériale.

Grégoras et Cantacuzène placent l'élection du patriarche Jean Calécas au début du printemps, avant le départ d'Andronic III pour Didymotique, et de là pour Thessalonique, où il devait faire face à l'invasion serbe provoquée par Syrgiannès. L'affaire se termina en été, exactement le mardi 23 août 1334 (fête de S. Loup, précise un chroniqueur), par le meurtre de Syrgiannès ([2]). Notre

([1]) Sur la personne et la carrière de Syrgiannès v. S. Binon, *A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue*, B.Z. 38 (1938) 133-155 et 377-407. Cf. Dölger, *Regesten*, 2461, 2564, 2764, 2766.

([2]) *Chronicon breve Thessalonicense*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz, in *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, I (Studi e Testi, 186), Vatican 1956, 175 nº 1. Le synchronisme garantit la valeur de la notice. — Dans mon édition, lin. 2 du texte, corriger une faute; au lieu de *͵ϛωμ⟨γ'⟩* il faut écrire *͵ϛωμ⟨β'⟩*, comme il est imprimé correctement en note.

chronique précise — on peut même dire corrige — les récits des deux historiens. Jean Calécas devint patriarche œcuménique en février 1334, c'est-à-dire vers la fin de l'hiver. Il y donc erreur d'une année dans le catalogue des patriarches qui lui attribue un pontificat de 14 — au lieu de 13 — années (1). Enfin on constate une fois de plus l'imprécision des souvenirs de Jean Cantacuzène, qui dit que le patriarche Isaïe décéda peu avant l'élection de son successeur (431,22). Car en fait la vacance avait duré près de deux années (v. § 26).

29. Expédition à Lesbos et à Phocée.

6843/1335 (ind. 3) V

Cant. II 29-32 = I 476,1-495,3 — Greg. XI,1,4-3,6 = I 525,10-355,10

Au mois de mai, troisième indiction, année 6843, l'empereur, monseigneur Andronic, partit avec une grande flotte, occupa Chios et Phocée, faisant aussi la paix avec Sarukhan.

Cantacuzène et Grégoras racontent, cette fois avec un minimum de divergences, comment Domenico Cattaneo, seigneur génois de Phocée, s'empara de Mitylène et de presque toute l'île de Lesbos (2); comment Andronic III s'en prit d'abord aux compatriotes de Cattaneo, les Génois de Péra-Galata (3); comment, ensuite, il partit à la tête d'une flotte imposante, pour reprendre Mitylène et Phocée. Cattaneo, averti à temps, se retrancha dans Mitylène et Andronic,

(1) V. Laurent, R.É.B. 7, 154 et n. 7. Le catalogue se trouve dans le ms. Paris, B.N., gr. 1793, f. 98.

(2) Cantacuzène (476,14-16) écrit que seules Eresos et Méthymne résistèrent victorieusement aux attaques des Latins. Il continue: *καὶ νῦν ταῦτα μόνα τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα εὔνοιαν καὶ δουλείαν ἀποσώζει.* Faut-il conclure que les deux villes se trouvaient sous l'obédience immédiate de l'empereur quand l'historien écrivait ces lignes, c'est-à-dire à une époque où Francesco Gattilusio Ier était seigneur de l'île?

(3) Greg. XI 1,6-8 = I 526,24-528,23. Cant. II 29 = I 476,17-24. Le conflit se termina par un compromis. Les Pérotes promirent de se tenir désormais dans les limites des droits concédés par Andronic II en mars 1304. Ce n'est sûrement pas un hasard si, le 8 avril 1335, Andalò de Mari, podestà de Péra, fit faire une copie autorisée du chrysobulle d'Andronic; *Liber iurium rei publicae Genuensis*, II (Historiae Patriae Monumenta, IX) Turin 1857, nº clx, p. 440-445.

laissant une partie de sa flotte bloquer le port de Mitylène, s'en alla à Chios, où, selon Grégoras, il perdit un temps précieux (1). Il avait dépossédé en 1329 le seigneur génois de Chios, Martino Zaccaria (2) et n'avait pas besoin de « prendre » l'île en 1335, comme veut notre chroniqueur, qui, pour une fois se trompe, nommant une île célèbre à la place d'un autre île célèbre (3). De Chios Andronic passa en Asie mineure et mit le siège devant Phocée. L'émir turc du pays de Sarukhan (qui avait sa résidence à Magnésie sur le Sipyle) l'aidait, nous dit Grégoras, et le ravitaillait. Cantacuzène, qui était présent, nous apprend qu'un véritable traité de paix et d'alliance fut conclu entre l'émir turc et l'empereur grec, exactement comme veut notre chronique (4). Ni Grégoras, ni Cantacuzène, ne précisent la date du départ d'Andronic pour Lesbos (5). Notre chroniqueur, qui dit « au mois de mai », suivait évidemment une autre source, digne de foi sans nul doute. Car on ne peut pas lui attribuer le *lapsus* qui substitue Chios à Lesbos, et moins encore le terme *παρέλαβε*. Ce dernier est, rigoureusement parlant, inexact. Andronic ne prit pas lui-même Mitylène, qui se rendit en hiver 1336-1337 à son général Alexis Philanthropène, et il n'entra pas à Phocée, dont le seigneur consentit seulement à le reconnaître comme suzerain.

30. Annexion du despotat

6846/1338 (ind. 6) V

Greg. XI 6,1 = I 544,19-545,15 — Cant. II 32 = I 495,4-504,3

Le ⟨..⟩ mars, sixième indiction, année 6846, l'empereur s'en alla dans l'Ouest avec une grande armée, et prit Arta et d'autres

(1) Greg. XI 1,9 = I 529,2-14; cf. Cant. II 29 = I 479,19-24.

(2) Sur Martino Zaccaria v. ci-dessus p. 10 et P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin*, 50-57.

(3) Est-ce bien l'auteur qui se trompe? Un copiste n'a-t-il pas « corrigé » son texte?

(4) Cant. II 29 = I 479,24-480,21. Lemerle, *L'émirat*, 102-115. Dölger, *Regesten*, 2821.

(5) Grégoras (XI 1,9 = I 528,23-24) dit que ce fut pendant l'été (6843/1335). Cantacuzène (476,1-3) dit que la nouvelle des usurpations de Cattaneo parvint à Constantinople peu de jours après que l'empereur y fut rentré, venant de Thessalonique. — Sur la place de ce récit dans l'œuvre de Cantacuzène, voir mon étude « Ordre et désordre dans les Mémoires de Jean Cantacuzène », R.É.B. 22 (1964).

places. Il y prit aussi l'épouse du comte et le fils du comte et les emmena à Thessalonique, et il donna le fils comme gendre au grand Domestique Cantacuzène et le fit panhypersébaste.

L'éclipse lunaire du 15 février 6845/1337, l'éclipse solaire du 3 mars suivant et la comète du 26 juin donnent au récit de Grégoras, qui les mentionne (1), pour l'année 1337 une autorité exceptionnelle, dont bénéficie encore le premier récit daté de l'année suivante. Au début du printemps (1338) Andronic III, qui avait renforcé son armée de 2000 mercenaires turcs enrôlés dans l'émirat d'Aydin (2), attaqua les Albanais, qui molestaient les villes-frontières grecques (3). Mais la campagne albanaise n'était pas le but principal de l'expédition. L'empereur projetait l'annexion du despotat d'Arta, et voulait assurer ses derrières en vue de cette opération politico-militaire. Il la réalisa en effet après la campagne d'Albanie. Cantacuzène est ici en plein accord avec Grégoras, mais plus détaillé que lui (4). Seulement sa chronologie est vague, comme d'habitude. « Peu de temps » avait passé depuis que le seigneur génois de Phocée, Domenico Cattaneo, avait reconnu Andronic III comme suzerain (5). Or, cet événement étant datable de décembre 1336, plus d'une année s'était écoulée avant le départ de l'empereur pour l'Albanie et le despotat (6). Il est vrai que les préparatifs pour l'expédition avaient dû commencer plus tôt. De toutes façons un *ὀλίγον* de Cantacuzène ne pèse pas lourd dans la balance.

D'accord avec Grégoras notre chronique place le départ en mars 1338. Elle ajoute que l'empereur, rentrant à Thessalonique après l'occupation du despotat, emmena la veuve et le fils du comte (de Céphallénie). Ici le vrai et le faux sont mêlés, peut-être par suite d'une abréviation excessive. En automne 1338 Andronic III emmena à Thessalonique la basilissa Anne Paléologine, veuve de Jean II Orsini, comte de Céphallénie (devenu despote d'Arta sous

(1) GREG. XI 3,1 = I 536,4-8 (éclipses); XI 5,1 = I 542,4-5 (comète); cf. pour l'éclipse *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 7 (1910) 140 nº 54.

(2) GREG. XI 6,1 = I 545,4-6; CANT. II 32 = I 496,2-13. LEMERLE, *L'émirat*, 109.

(3) GREG. XI 6,1 = I 545,6-10; CANT. II 32 = I 496,13-499,6.

(4) GREG. XI 6,1 = I 544,19-545,15; CANT. II 32-33 = I 495,22-504,16.

(5) CANT. II 32 = I 495,4.

(6) DÖLGER, *Regesten*, 2829.

le nom de Jean Doucas), et régente au nom de leur fils mineur, Nicéphore Doucas (1). Mais Nicéphore lui-même s'était enfui à Tarente, auprès de Catherine de Valois, impératrice de Constantinople et régente de la principauté d'Achaïe (1333-1346) pour son fils mineur, l'empereur et prince Robert d'Anjou-Tarente (2). C'est seulement en novembre 1340, après une insurrection suscitée en son nom, et la reddition de Thomokastron, que Nicéphore dut suivre Andronic III à Thessalonique puis à Constantinople (3), et reçut le titre de panhypersébaste, en attendant qu'il eût l'âge d'épouser Marie, fille du grand Domestique Jean Cantacuzène, qu'on lui avait fiancée en 1338.

Nous avons daté de 1338 l'évasion de Nicéphore Doucas. Notre chronique l'ignore. Grégoras dit qu'elle eut lieu « l'année suivante » (4), c'est-à-dire en 6847, année qui commence le 1er septembre 1338. Or le 15 novembre 1338 Catherine de Valois s'embarqua pour la Morée, où elle resta deux ans (5). Et Cantacuzène dit que Nicéphore alla la trouver à Tarente. Il est un témoin plus autorisé que Grégoras, qui le fait rejoindre Catherine à Patras (6) confondant probablement le lieu d'arrivée avec le point d'où le jeune prince repartit au printemps ou en été 1339, pour revendiquer son héritage paternel (7).

31. Concile de Sainte-Sophie

6849/1341 (ind. 9) VI.10

Cant. II 40 = I 551,8-557,10. — Greg. XI 10,4-5 = I 557,19-559,12

Le 10 juin de l'année 6849 on célébra un concile à Sainte-Sophie contre Barlaam, en présence de l'empereur, du sénat et (du peuple) de Constantinople.

(1) S. Cirac Estopañan, *Bizancio y España. El legado de la basilissa Maria y de los despotas Thomas y Esaú de Joannina*, I, Barcelona 1943, 187.

(2) Cant. II 33 = I 503,19. J. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, Paris 1949, 322-327.

(3) Cant. II 38 = I 534,6-18; Greg. XI 9,4 = I 553,21-554,2.

(4) Greg. XI 6,3 = I 545,22-546,7.

(5) Longnon, *L'empire latin*, 324.

(6) Cant. II 33 = I 503,17-23; Greg. XI 6,3 = I, 546,6.

(7) Cant. II 34 = I 510,3-23. Le nom de la ville ne figure pas dans le récit. Mais Catherine de Valois se trouvait en Morée, et la flotte qui porta son protégé à Thomokastron dut partir de Clarenza ou de Patras.

Cantacuzène et Grégoras racontent tous les deux comment un concile réuni à Sainte-Sophie en présence de l'empereur Andronic III condamna le Calabrais Barlaam, coupable d'avoir calomnié les moines hésychastes et leur méthode d'oraison. Grégoras mentionne comme notre chronique la présence d'une foule de fidèles (1). Ni l'un ni l'autre historien précise la date. Le tome synodal *'Επαινετὸς ἀληθῶς* promulgué en juillet 1341, dit seulement que l'assemblée se réunit avant le décès d'Andronic III (2). Cantacuzène dit que l'empereur décéda le soir du quatrième jour après le concile, 15 juin 6849, neuvième indiction. En réalité, comme nous verrons au paragraphe suivant, Andronic mourut dans la nuit du 14 au 15 juin. La date que notre chronique — et elle seule — assigne au concile de Sainte-Sophie se trouve donc en accord avec les faits et — malgré les apparences — avec Cantacuzène.

32. Mort et sépulture d'Andronic III

6849/1341 (ind. 9) VI.14.15

Cant. II 40 = I 557,10-560,18. — Greg. XI 11,1 = I 559,13-560,7. — Chron. br. 47,10; 52,8-9; 15,5-6.

Ensuite l'empereur se rendit à l'Hodégétria et tomba gravement malade. Et le 14 du même mois l'empereur monseigneur Andronic Paléologue décéda, et le 15 il fut enseveli dans le même monastère, laissant empereur son fils, monseigneur Jean, qui avait neuf ans et se trouvait auprès de sa mère, l'impératrice madame Anne, avec leurs autres enfants. Et il confia au grand Domestique le gouvernement de l'état.

D'après Cantacuzène (560,14-18) Andronic III décéda le soir du quatrième jour après le concile de Sainte-Sophie, 15 juin 6849,

(1) Greg. XI 10,4 = I 557,23-558,2. Voir aussi le tome de condamnation de Jean Calécas *"Οντως οὐδεὶς* de février 1347 « *συγκροτεῖται σύλλογος ἀρίστων, χεῖται πᾶσα ἡ πόλις αὐτεπάγγελτος πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν* »; Fr. Miklosich-J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi*, I, Vienne 1860, nº 109, 245,15-16; *P.G.*, t. 152, col. 1275 C. Les passages de ce tome qui sont grattés dans le registre patriarcal et qui manquent dans les éditions citées sont publiés dans G. T. Dennis, *The deposition of the patriarch John Calecas*, Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft, 9 (1960) 51-55.

(2) Miklosich-Müller, *Acta*, I, nº 96, 202-216; v. p. 203 lin. 17-21. *P.G.*, t. 152, col. 1242 C.

neuvième indiction. Mais Grégoras (560,2-3) précise que l'aube du 15 juin n'était pas venue. L'empereur mourut donc dans la nuit du 14 au 15 juin, assez tard pour que Jean Cantacuzène pût donner comme date du décès le 15 juin, qui est celle où le décès fut connu et où eut lieu l'enterrement (1). Le compilateur de la chronique suivait une source autre que les deux historiens, et excellente. Elle était, semble-t-il, favorable à Jean Cantacuzène, car on insiste sur le fait que le défunt empereur avait désigné Jean Cantacuzène, le grand Domestique, pour régent durant la minorité de Jean V Paléologue. Or sur ce point les avis étaient partagés, car le patriarche Jean XIV revendiquait pareillement la régence (2) et dans ses Mémoires Cantacuzène fait valoir longuement ses titres à lui, signe qu'ils étaient discutés (3). — A partir de la notice présente notre chronique change de caractère. On y note des événements qui passionnaient sûrement les contemporains, mais qui perdirent vite leur intérêt pour les chroniqueurs; p.e. les faits et gestes d'Alexis Apocauque ou l'évasion des partisans de Jean Cantacuzène racontée dans la notice suivante.

33. Cantacuzène à Didymotique.

6849/1341 (ind. 9) VII-IX

Cant. III 9-11 = II 66,7-82,23. — Greg. XII 7,1-8,1 = II 596,13-599,17

Le ⟨..⟩ juillet, neuvième indiction, le grand Domestique Cantacuzène sortit de la Ville et alla en Macédoine, à Didymotique et en d'autres places, et pourvut à leur sûreté.

A la mort d'Andronic III les voisins de l'empire s'agitèrent, comme il était normal. Les Albanais envahirent la Thessalie, Ser-

(1) *Chron. br.* 52 (lin. 8-9) donne comme date du décès d'Andronic III le 15 juin et dit correctement que ce fut un vendredi. Dans *Chron. br.* 47 (lin. 10) la date « 17 juin » et dans *Chron. br.* 15 (lin. 5-6) celle « 15 juillet » sont des fautes de copie qui déparent des documents par ailleurs excellents. — Grégoras prononça l'éloge funèbre d'Andronic III et l'inséra dans son Histoire romaine (XI 11,2-3 = I 560,8-565,13). Sur l'éloge funèbre du cod. Coislin. gr. 192, f. 100v-103v, que le catalogue donne à tort comme celui d'Andronic III, voir plus haut, p. 13 n. 2.

(2) Cant. III 2 = II 14,9-16,14; Greg. XII 2 = II 576,18-579,22.

(3) Cant. III 1 = II 16,17-19,7; Greg. XII 3 = II 579,23-584,2.

bes et Bulgares menaçaient, les Turcs s'apprêtaient à piller et à rançonner plus que jamais. Pour faire face aux ennemis de terre ferme, Jean Cantacuzène se rendit à Didymotique, où l'armée se concentrait. Dans ses Mémoires il parle longuement de ce qu'il fit alors, et de ce qu'il aurait fait si ses adversaires politiques lui en avaient laissé le temps. Mais il ne donne aucune date. On voit seulement qu'il assista d'abord à la seconde session du concile de Sainte-Sophie, qui eut lieu en juillet (1) et qu'il était de retour à Constantinople avant le 28 septembre, jour où il quitta de nouveau la capitale (§ 35). Grégoras dit qu'il partit quand l'étoile Arcturus devint visible, ce qui, d'après Jean Boivin, nous porterait au 26 ou 27 août (2). La date de notre chroniqueur semble s'accorder mieux avec le recit de Cantacuzène. Elle provient en tout cas d'une source autre que les ouvrages des deux grands historiens qui étaient jusqu'ici les seuls à nous informer de ces événements.

34. Apocauque à Épibates.

6849/1341 (ind. 9) VIII.28 — 6850/1341 (ind. 10) IX.8
Cant. III 10 = II 70,14-71,14. — Greg. XII 8,1 = II 599,11-14; XII 9,1-2 = II 602,5-603,17.

Ensuite, le 28 août de la même année, Apocauque, le parakoimomenos, partit de Constantinople et s'en alla à son château-fort d'Épibates. Ensuite l'impératrice madame Anne informa le grand Domestique Cantacuzène, qui était absent, à Didymotique, et il vint à Constantinople en septembre, dixième indiction.

Notre chroniqueur ne dit pas pourquoi Alexis Apocauque se retira dans son château-fort d'Épibates (Bogados). Grégoras dit en termes généraux qu'il intrigua pour s'emparer du pouvoir, au détriment du prince, à savoir, de Jean V Paléologue. Cantacuzène est plus détaillé. Apocauque projetait de s'emparer du jeune empereur. Ni lui ni Grégoras ne précisent la date. Celle du 28 août cadre bien avec l'ensemble des événements.

(1) Sur ce concile voir ce que j'ai dit dans « *Dix-huit lettres de Grégoire Acindyne analysées et datées* », Or. Chr. Per. 23 (1957) 117-118.
(2) Greg., t. II, p. 1260 ad p. 596,13.

35. Cantacuzène empereur

6850/1341 (ind. 10) IX.23 – X.26

Cant. III 16-23.26-27 = II 104,2-139,12; 164,4-167,6. — Greg. XII 8,3-12,2 = II 600,9-612,5.

Le ⟨..⟩ octobre, dixième indiction, le grand Domestique sortit (de Constantinople) pour se rendre à Didymotique. Et en passant à Épibates il donna sécurité jurée à Apocauque, qui sortit de son château-fort. Et il lui permit de rentrer à Constantinople. Et quand il y fut il indisposa l'impératrice contre le grand Domestique. Et il prédisposa tout pour faire arrêter aussi les nobles. Et eux l'apprirent, brisèrent la Porte du Porphyrogénète et s'en allèrent à Didymotique. Et Apocauque souleva le peuple, qui s'empara de tous leurs biens et démolit leurs maisons. Et eux le surent, et avec l'armée ils firent prendre la pourpre à Cantacuzène et ils l'acclamèrent empereur le 26 octobre. Ensuite il y eut une brouille grave entre eux et le reste du monde.

Cantacuzène (104,2-3) dit qu'il partit de Constantinople le 23 septembre (*ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος*). Comme Didymotique se trouvait à quatre jours de marche de la capitale ([1]) il aurait pu y arriver le 26 septembre. Mais il s'arrêta au moins un jour à Épibates pour négocier avec Alexis Apocauque (104,14-105,6; cf. Greg. 604,10-605,9). Il a pu s'arrêter ailleurs et arriver à Didymotique au début d'octobre, ce qui sauverait l'autorité de notre chroniqueur. Grégoras (600,9-10) ne donne aucune date. — Pendant son séjour à Constantinople Cantacuzène avait négocié par lettres et par messagers avec Alexis Apocauque, lui promettant, et faisant promettre par l'impératrice, sous la foi du serment, pardon et sûreté s'il rentrait à Constantinople ([2]). Mais Apocauque avait déclaré qu'il ne se fiait et ne se fierait pas aux serments. Or plus tard, apprenant que le grand Domestique passait à Épibates en route pour Didymotique

([1]) « Del mese di Novembre del detto anno (1360) un grande signore de' Turchi di Bocca d'Ave... vennesene ad assedio alla nobile e antica città hoggi chiamata Dometico, la quale siede tra Constantinopoli e Salonichi, presso a quattro giornate a Constantinopoli... », Matteo Villani, *Istorie* X 76 in L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XIV, Milan 1729, col. 672 D-E.

([2]) Cant. III 16 = II 103,1-11. Grégoras garde le silence sur cet épisode.

il alla à sa rencontre et se remit entre ses mains sans aucune garantie [1]. En contredisant ce témoignage explicite de Cantacuzène notre chroniqueur se trompe. Peut-être a-t-il confondu cet épisode avec les négociations qui précédèrent. Pour le reste il est d'accord avec Cantacuzène et Grégoras.

36. Couronnement de Jean V Paléologue

6850/1341 (ind. 10) XI.19, lundi

Cant. III 36 = II 218,3-10; cf. III 30 = II 190,7-11. — Greg. XII 13,1 = II 616,7-11; XII 12,6 = II 614,1-5. Chron. br. 47,11; 52,10-11; 15,7-8.

Le 20 novembre, dixième indiction, à Sainte-Sophie, l'empereur monseigneur Jean Paléologue fut couronné par le patriarche monseigneur Jean. Il avait dix ans. Et il nomma Apocauque grand Duc, et Asanès panhypersébaste. Et le grand Duc eut tout le pouvoir, et le patriarche lança l'excommunication contre tous ceux qui reconnaîtraient empereur Cantacuzène.

Cantacuzène (218,9-10) mentionne le couronnement de Jean V après le sien mais sans le dater. Grégoras (616,7-11) dit que ce fut le 19 novembre, qui n'était pas, dit-il, un jour de fête. La différence d'un jour prouve que le chroniqueur anonyme suivait une source différente de Grégoras. — D'après Cantacuzène (218,6-18) Isaac Asanès et Alexis Apocauque reçurent leurs nouvelles dignités le jour même du couronnement. Grégoras n'en parle pas. Lui et Cantacuzène mentionnent l'excommunication de Cantacuzène, mais ils la placent avant le couronnement de Jean V, après la proclamation de Cantacuzène comme empereur [2]. — Jean étant né le 18 juin 1332 il n'avait pas tout à fait neuf ans révolus à la mort de son père, et venait entrer dans sa dixième année quand il fut couronné, comme dit correctement notre chroniqueur, qui, par ailleurs, n'a pas enregistré le jour de sa naissance. — La date que nous venons d'assigner à la naissance de Jean V a été contestée [2]. Il y a donc lieu de la justifier.

(1) Cant. III 16 = II 104,14-105,6; Greg. XII 9,4-5 = II 604,10-605,9.

(2) Cant. III 30 = II 190,7-11; Greg. XII 12,6 = II 614,1-4.

(3) « John Palaeologus... was born in November 6840 (1331) »; P. Charanis, *An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century*, Byzantion, 13 (1938) 344, avec renvoi (n. 9) à *Chron. br.* 47,11-12.

Grégoras dit que Jean V nacquit à Didymotique, le 18 juin qui suivit le décès d'Andronic II, lequel mourut le 12 février de l'année 6840 du monde, 1332 de l'ère chrétienne (1). Un contemporain anonyme, qui inscrivit plusieurs notices chronologiques dans un Horologion manuscrit non catalogué du monastère *τοῦ Λειμῶνος* à Lesbos, dit, au folio 312:

Μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ εἰς τὰς ιη', τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Λεοντίου, ἐγεννήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ κύρις Ἰωάννης, ἔτους ‚ϛωμ', ὁ Παλαιολόγος (2).

Ces témoignages concordants de témoins oculaires permettent d'interpréter et de corriger celui de la chronique brève 47 (lin. 11-12) où la notice sur le couronnement de Jean V se présente comme suit:

Ἔτους ‚ϛων', Νοεβρίῳ ιθ', ἡμέρᾳ β', ἐστέφθην βασιλεὺς ⟨ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης⟩. ἐγεννήθη δὲ ‚ϛωμ' [Νοευρίω] Ἰουνίῳ ιζ'.

Les mots que nous ajoutons entre ⟨ ⟩ se justifient d'eux-mêmes. Celui placé entre [] est évidemment de trop, bien qu'il ne soit pas biffé. Le copiste l'a écrit d'un trait, sans déposer la plume, liant la première lettre à la dernière du chiffre qui précède. Au contraire entre *νοευρίῳ* et *ἰουνίῳ* il y a un espace. Le copiste avait d'abord répété par erreur le nom du mois qu'il lisait au début de la notice. Puis il répara son erreur mais oublia de biffer le mot superflu. La différence d'un jour entre sa date et celles de Grégoras et de l'anonyme de Lesbos prouve qu'il suivait une source différente. — Les chroniques brèves 47, 52 et 15 s'accordent avec Grégoras sur la date du 19 novembre 1341 pour le couronnement de Jean V, contre notre chronique. — Grégoras (XII 13,2 et 4 = II 616,16-617,6 et 617,22-618,9) rapporte que le jeune empereur, revêtu de ses insignes, parut au balcon du palais le 24 décembre 1341 et le 6 janvier 1342.

R.-J. Loenertz, O. P.

(1) Greg. X 3,1 = I 482,1-3.
(2) *Ἐκκλησιαστικη Ἀληθεια,* 23 (1903) 382.

The Ruthenian Patriarchate

Some remarks on the project for its establishment in the 17th century

The Union of Brest, concluded in 1595/6 between the Holy See and the Ruthenian (Ukrainian and Byelorussian) bishops of the territories under the control of the Polish king, entailed an important change in the Ruthenian traditional hierarchical structure. Those who promised allegiance to Rome broke away from the patriarch of Constantinople to whom they had looked with great reverence for centuries. Even after Brest the tendency to remain loyal to a " patriarch " did not die. During the great discord between the Catholic and dissident Ruthenians, the project of a common patriarch seemed to bridge the wide gap existing between both religious camps, and it was viewed as a panacea for the many wounds from which the Ruthenian Church suffered.

The main function of this article is to give a survey of these repeated attempts at the erection of a Ruthenian patriarchate and to describe the reaction to the plan provoked in the interested parties, in the king of Poland, in the Catholic Ruthenian hierarchy, and in the Roman Curia (1).

Among the East Slavic population it was for generations a holy rule that without the concurrence of the patriarch of Constantinople no important decision could be taken. Those who were hostile to the agreement of Brest, blamed the Catholics for having deserted their former spiritual leader. Already a century earlier when Joseph Soltan who was appointed metropolitan of Kiev in 1498, was approached by advocates of the Florentine union, he answered that " absque sententia Constantinopolitani patriarchae

(1) The same problem was object of the article by D. Tanczuk, *Quaestio Patriarchatus Kioviensis tempore conaminum Unionis Rutheno-rum (1582-1632). Analecta OSBM*, 1949 (VII), 128-144.

se nihil posse agere » ([1]). When Sigismund III convened a meeting of both Roman and patriarchal obediences the dissidents without paying attention to the royal initiative, proposed their own scheme: " Ut patriarcha Constantinopolitanus in persona sua veniat et conciliat dividentes " ([2]). During the negotiations that ensued in 1658, the dissidents wanted to assure themselves of the blessing of an Eastern patriarch; they received what they were looking for from the patriarch of Antioch, Macarius, who on his return from Moscow stayed for several months in the Ukraine. When twenty years later, in an antmosphere somewhat favorable to the Catholic Ruthenians, King John III convoked a colloquium at Lublin, the confraternity of Luck refused to show up on the ground that they must consult beforehand the patriarch of Constantinople. This prelate found much support among the stauropegean confraternities, i. e. religious associations of burghers and gentry who were exempt from the power of the local bishops and who arrogated control of the whole Ruthenian Church. Still more authority was enjoyed by the patriarch among the country population and the Cossacks. " Apud universam plebem schismaticam nomen hoc adoratur et glorificatur ", writes the metropolitan Rutskij ([3]). The anti-Catholic polemists pictured the patriarch in sympathetic colours, as the abode of holiness and wisdom; he is the very image of Christ: " The patriarch is Christ's living and animated image, giving by his words and deeds a faithful likeness of truth " ([4]).

The Catholics on the contrary, considered the Greek dignitary as the champion of schism and never grew tired of undermining his authority among the Slavic population. Was he not simoniacally elected? Is he not a servant of the infidels? And who is the real holder of authority when three rivals claim the leadership of Orthodoxy? Cyril Lukaris whose heretical leanings were known, greatly impaired patriarchal authority among his own

([1]) *Arkhiv Yugo-Zap. Rossii*, VIII, 469.

([2]) From a letter of the metropolitan Rutskij, from 10 Nov. 1629; *Zapiski Nauk. Tov. imeni Ševčenka*, 116 (1913), 37.

([2]) *Ibid.*, 22.

([4]) Zach. KOPYSTENSKI in his *Palinodia. Russk. istor. biblioteka*, IV, col. 1151. This lofty image of the patriarch is taken from the Byzantine canonist Matthew BLASTARES. His work *Syntagma alphabeticum* was very popular among the Slavic dissidents. PG 145, col. 107, 108.

faithful. The correspondence of the years 1628-1630 between Ruthenia and the Holy See shows well how the Catholics tried to take advantage of this situation (1). The Roman Curia, viewing the problem from an international point of view, was alarmed by Lukaris' connections with the Reformed of England and the Low Countries. Fr. Peter Skarga drew attention to the small number of faithful under the charge of the Eastern patriarchs. Has not one Western ecclesiastical province more faithful than the patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch taken together? Did the dissident churches not fall a victim of their own stagnancy, while the Roman Church in the past as in our own days converted new tribes and nations, up to now unknown and unheard of — Indians, Japanese, Mexicans — eastward and westward... (2)? A truly powerful argument in the " age of power " in the atmosphere of the Catholic restoration, full of vigor and activity.

Even many Ukrainian and Byelorussian Neo-Catholics could not free themselves from a certain uneasiness before the objection of " acephalism "; without a patriarch they had become a " headless " body. Ingoli, secretary of the Propaganda, voiced the opinion that the Ruthenians were now better off than they had been before. After having embraced the Catholic Church, they were under the protection of the pope, who is Patriarch of the West and superior to any other dignitary. But this was a small consolation for the newly United, because they could not consider the pope as their *own* patriarch. The repeated efforts of the Catholic hierarchy to establish a patriarchate in " Russia " aimed not only at winning separated brethren, restoring peace in the Ruthenian lands, and heightening their own prestige, but was also motivated by the endeavor to revive a venerable inherited tradition.

One cannot say that before the union of Brest the patriarch of Constantinople administered the Ruthenian lands in a monarchic way, though he invigorated his influence at the end of the sixteenth century. No deep-cutting changes were noticeable in the life of

(1) *Litterae S.C. de Propaganda Fide*, I, 93, 99, 76, 131. *Epistolae metropolitarum Kieviensium Catholicorum* I, 131, 200, 237. These and other references from the Roman archives are taken from the publications of the Basilian Fathers: *Analecta OSBM*, series II, sectio III.

(2) *Russk. Istor. biblioteka*, VII, 345-346.

the Ruthenian Church after 1596. The Catholic hierarchy refused, as a matter of course, any dealing with patriarchal agents. The metropolitan commemorated at services only the Roman Pontiff, not the patriarch as in the past. The bishops did not ask for chrism in Constantinople any longer, a custom long obliterated anyway. Before the union they had used at confirmation the oil of the sick. But Hypatius Potij, revising with the help of Peter Arcudius, the Slavonic liturgical texts for the preparation of the chrism according to the Greek original, consecrated the chrism himself, and his colleagues did likewise, each for his own diocese (1).

The difference between the United and non-United was usually reduced to the statement: The Orthodox remainded faithful to their patriarch, while the Catholics betraying him, promised obedience to the Pope. Even if the dissidents glorified their patriarch, they did not make him a supreme head of all Eastern Christianity. There are four hierarchs, they said, on whom Greek Christianity and its daughter Churches rest: " There are four columns of the Church, the four Greek patriarchs, representatives of the apostles, our shepherds and advocates " (2). To the bishop of Constantinople was reserved in Russian lands a special distinction because he « baptized them ". If there is any precedence among the four great Eastern prelates, this pertains to the head of the Church of Jerusalem. On this city were bestowed the most majestic epithetes of the Old Testament vocabulary. If Rome boasts of harboring within its walls the vicar of Christ, — because Peter received there the crown of martyrdom, what praise does the see of Jerusalem deserve, where " King of kings, Christ, Creator, Lord and Master of Peter and Paul and of all of us suffered death? " (3).

The number four remained sacred in the West Russian lands even after the erection of the Muscovite patriarchate in 1589; the latter was disregarded for a long time. The formula of 1638, to

(1) Petrus ARCUDIUS, *De concordia Ecclesiae Occidentalis et Orientalis in septem sacramentorum administratione*, Paris 1673, 91. Thus were eliminated, at least for the territories of Catholic Ruthenians simoniacal practices of Greek adventurists ... Nonnulli Graecorum in Russiam parvam ampullam chrismatis ducentis aureis Ungaricis vendiderint.

(2) Gerasim Danilovič SMOTRICKIJ, in *Arkhiv Yugo-Zap. Rossii*, VII, 248.

(3) *The answer of the cleric of Ostrog* to Hypatius Potij, in *Russkaya istor. biblioteka* XIX, 416.

be recited by those priests who on leaving Catholicism returned to Orthodoxy insisted on fidelity " to the true Spouse of Christ, the Eastern Church, abiding under the four most holy Orthodox patriarchs " (1). Zacharias Kopystenski devoted several pages of his *Palinodia* to the institution of the patriarchal dignity (2). He enumerated even the less conspicuous heads of the national churches, the archbishops of Okhrida, Peć, Trnovo and others, without mentioning the patriarchate of Moscow. In one text (3) he assured his readers that four patriarchs were quite sufficient for a synod; not so long ago, he says, the original pentarchy was reinstated by the promotion of the metropolitan of Moscow. But the Ukrainian and Byelorussian ecclesiastical circles were strongly opposed to the northern upstart. This may be gathered from the marginal note, added to the above mentioned text of Kopystenski in the manuscript preserved in the synodal library. The added remark blamed the Muscovites for their anticanonical procedure. They should have remained under the metropolitan of Kiev as in old times. The new patriarchate is said to have been arbitrarily instituted by the detestable practice analogous to the customary method of the Roman popes creating patriarchs out of their cardinals. " Yes, we must disapprove of this new patriarchate " (4).

In the first part of the seventeenth century the Ukrainian and Byelorussian clergy ignored the Muscovite *parvenue*. They were aware that if in any place in the East Slavic lands a patriarchate was to be established, then it must be in Kiev, in the heart of the ancient Rus', not in the peripheral northern provinces.

The bright figure of a venerable hierarch lost in the course of the seventeenth century much of its former halo. The authorities of the *Rzeczpospolita* did not miss calling attention to the real or supposed espionage in favour of the infidels. The intrigues, frequent requests for alms, interference in the internal affairs of the Ruthenian Church, a better knowledge of what was going on within the walls of the Phanar, venality, heresy and the frequent changes of occupants of the patriarchal throne did the rest. The traditional figure was degraded to a slogan and a weapon of some

(1) S. Golubev, *Petr Mogila i ego spodvižniki*, II, Kiev 1898, App., 141.

(2) *Russk. istor. biblioteka*, IV, col. 1151-1168.

(3) *Ibidem*, col. 570.

(4) *Ibidem*.

anti-Catholic pamphleteers or to a tool of demagogues inciting the Cossacks against the Church.

The nuncios of Warsaw often drew attention to the fact that the progress if the union depended mainly on the king and his advisers. Though the initiative for the union with Rome came from the Ruthenian bishops, they found in Sigismund a zealous protector. It was at the court and among the senators that the idea of an independent Ruthenian patriarchate took firm root.

The first ruler of the Vasa dynasty soon after the synod of Brest, anxious to establish religious peace in this Ruthenian possessions, wrote a letter to the Holy See dealing with the way to achieve it [1]. In it he asked the Roman authorities for permission to call a synod of Catholic and dissident Ruthenians and insisted on the creation of an independent Ruthenian patriarchate. The Royal petition, a masterpiece of clear theological and political thinking, delineated religious policy for the rest of Sigismund's reign as well as for that of his successors. The first part of the letter contained clean-cut scholastic arguments, both theological and historical to prove the liceity and usefulness of such meetings between the dissidents and Catholics and solved possible difficulties. The second part insisted on such meetings and on the creation of the common patriarch for political reasons.

1. His Holiness should consider that the dependence of Ruthenians on Constantinople opens all doors to Turkish spies and agents, so that all secrets of the state lie open to the worst enemy. What is in store for the whole of Christianity, if our kingdom — the *antimurale Christianitatis* — becomes a prey of infidels? — *Arcana regni* and *Ratio Status* belonged to the very first concepts of political theory in the age of Baroque.

2. His Holiness should realize that only by yielding to this request, could he enlist full support of the king for admitting the Catholic Ruthenian bishops into the senate. — The pope promised at the conclusion of the union of Brest to intercede with the Polish government on behalf of the Ruthenian hierarchy.

3. If His Holiness wants to rest assured of the success of the union, he should bestow the patriarchal or at least primatial

(1) *Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor*, III, Bukuresci 1880, 540-542.

dignity on the metropolitan of Kiev. Such elevation is quite appropriate, because under his jurisdiction are vast, densely populated territories. What is Spain or France in comparison with Russia (i. e. Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands)? — Both concepts, *vastissimae et populatissimae regiones* were cherished by the theoreticians of political economy of those times.

4. His Holiness should take into account that as soon as the whole of Russia is united with Peter's See, the path to the mysterious Muscovy lies open. The liturgical language is identical in both states, the vernacular of each differs less than Spanish from Italian. — Whenever any mention was made of Muscovy, the Curia became attentive. All the dreams of the past, in no way scattered by the sobering reports of Possevinus, seemed to come to life again. Russia will be the steppingstone to Muscovy and a powerful anti-Turkish league might become a reality.

Neither Sigismund nor his successors added anything substantial later to the motives for the erection of the Ruthenian patriarchate. This holds true for the negotiations of 1629, whose fruit was the meeting of Lvov, of the farreaching plans of Vladislav IV in 1639 and again in 1647/8. This is valid for the years 1657/8 when, together with the political disputes between Poland and the Ukraine, religious controversies were also to be settled; this holds true for John Sobieski's plans in 1763/4 and in 1680 which ushered in the *colloquium Lublinense*.

Vladislav IV (1632-1648) was tolerant of all dissenters and painstakingly anxious to avoid the political implications of religious controversies. To reconcile the Catholic hierarchy with the schismatic established in the Ukraine by the patriarch of Jerusalem in 1620, he planned a universal union, at which both obediences would fraternally embrace under the ample cloak of the newly created patriarchal dignity (1). John Casimir's reign (1648-1668) was a series of disasters and humiliations. They were due to his own haphazard way of dealing with some urgent problems, to the failure in diplomacy, to increasing disorder and selfishness at home among the gentry and last, but not least to the avidity of the neighboring countries. The Ruthenian Catholics were left at

(1) Mikołaj ANDRUSIAK, *Sprawa Patriarchatu Kijowskiego za Władysława IV*. In: *Prace Historyczne w 30-lecie działaności profesorskiej Stanisława Zakrzewskiego*, Lwów 1934, 271-285.

the mercy of their worst enemies. After the short but troubled reign of Prince Michal Wisniowiecki (1669-1673), John III Sobieski (1674-1696) temporarily restored splendour to the Polish armies and glory to his kingdom. Both rulers were in a particular way interested in the peace and prosperity of the Ukrainian lands. The memory of the military exploits of Jeremias, (father of Michael), implacable enemy of the Cossacks, lived in the Ukraine for a long time. Sobieski was supported in his candidature to the royal throne at home by the Ruthenian and south-Polish nobility.

Governmental distrust of the Eastern patriarchs as agents of their Turkish overlords culminated in the law enacted at the coronation diet in 1676. Any interference of the Phanar in the Church within the territory of His Majesty was strictly forbidden. The stauropegean confraternities came under the jurisdiction of the local bishops (1). The application of the law was slow and sporadic as with many other enactments in Poland.

While the influence of the patriarch of Constantinople was waning, the Polish ecclesiastical policy had to face a more dangerous enemy in the patriarchate of Moscow. The first unpleasant contacts were made during the Cossack uprising and the Muscovite invasion of Poland-Lithuania. The vice-chancellor of Lithuania Leo Sapieha, complained bitterly in 1653 to the ambassadors of the Tsar of the interference of the Muscovite patriarch in Church affairs in the Smolensk area (2). Nikon's lust for power and his true intentions were made clear by the letters he had sent to Polock and Vitebsk in 1656 and 1658 which significantly were introduced by the words: " Nikon by God's grace most holy archbishop of the ruling city of Moscow and of the whole Great and Small Russia... " (2). This detailed title was more dangerous and more insistent than the general " patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia ", hitherto used. Behind the figure of the churchman was rising the terryfying shadow of the Tsar, stubbornly claiming all territories inhabited by the Orthodox population and even more.

It seems that the nuncios did not at first pay much attention to this development, and that they were taken by surprise.

(1) *Vol. legum* V, 362.

(2) *Litterae nuntiorum apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes*, VIII, 116.

(3) *Drevniaya rossiyskaya biblioteka*, III, Moskva 1788, 400, 346.

The nuncio Galeazzo Marescotti reported in a letter dated 16 November 1668 about the negotiations between the commissaries of the kingdom and the Muscovites and about the Tsar's intention to force all dissidents to have recourse in Church affairs exclusively to the patriarch of Moscow. It is the only means, the northern autocrat concluded cunningly, to subtract the whole of the Ukraine from the influence of the Turks (1). The nuncio was aware of the importance of the question and included in the dispatch a copy of a memorial composed and signed by hetman Dorošenko to be presented at the coronation diet in June 1669. He included also another note, written by one Cagini, one of the royal commissaries, in which the skilful maœuvre of the Muscovite diplomacy was frankly described. The population of the whole Ukraine, even of territories under the control of the Polish king should be placed immediately under the care of the patriarch of Moscow. Against the recalcitrants violence and force should be used. Only thus could the Christian powers enjoy their security. Only thus will any foolish thought about the Ottoman Porte be banished from Christian territories. After all, is it not a great service that Moscow renders to the Polish kingdom? — The Poles realized the danger and refused approval of the scheme.

Recourse to the patriarch of Constantinople was forbidden. To acknowledge the patriarch of Moscow as supreme head of the dissidents of Poland was equal to suicide; there was only one solution left: To create a patriarchate in Poland (2).

But the Roman Curia remained deaf to such appeals or answered evasively. King John Sobieski seeing hope vanishing for a "universal second union" and for the establishment of a patriarchate in his dominions, tried to deal with single bishops and not without success. In March, 1681, the bishops of Peremyšl and Lvov made their profession oh faith to a Catholic bishop, though their steps remained secret and officially unknown. The bishop Innocent Winicki of Peremyšl joined the Catholic Church openly in 1691; Szumlański of Lvov, in 1700. They were followed by Dionysius Żabokricki of Luck in 1702. On the threshold of the eighteenth century almost all territories placed under the control of the Polish king became Catholic.

(1) Archives of the Propaganda, *Congreg. particolari*, vol. 14, fol. 8-16.
(2) *Congregationes particulares*, I, 59; *Epistolae metropolitarum*, III, 52.

It seems that the first two united metropolitans, Michael Rahoza and Hypatius Potij, did not pay too much attention to the project of establishing a patriarchate for the Ruthenian territories. The plan was, however, aired in their time at the royal court and among the senators. The metropolitan Joseph Velamin Rutskij (1614-1637) wrote in 1629 that it was only a few years ago (aliquot abhinc annis) that the idea of an independent Ruthenian patriarchate found animated reception among the dissidents. Rutskij favored this project, not because it meant a reinstatement of a precious Oriental heritage, but " that the simple people, who do not know anything save that they should obey a patriarch, whatever his creed, might be attracted to the holy union ". He declared that the metropolitans of Kiev enjoy all the privileges of the patriarchs and that this had been confirmed by Clement VIII, so " that nothing is lacking to the perfection of the patriarchal dignity but the name alone " (1).

The Catholic Ruthenian bishops at their meeting at Novogrodek in 1624 listened to the proposals of the dissidents and for their part offered for consideration several methods of establishing the patriarchate. They were concerned esclusively with apostolic preoccupations and did not shrink even from the possibility of a pious fraud: after the election of a patriarch, common to both religious bodies, only the bishops would promise allegiance to the Holy See and the people would slowly conform to the new situation (2).

Rutskij never lost view of this great project, but when the Cardinals of the Propaganda decided that first all Ruthenians should make a profession of faith and only then start talking about the patriarchate, he complied readily (3).

The efforts of Vladislav IV for a universal union and for the erection of a Ruthenian patriarchate coincided with the period of Rutskij and his successors Raphael Korsak (1637-1640) and Anthony Sielava (1641-1655). The extensively conceived action of the king was inaugurated by his *universal* of Sept. 1st 1636 in

(1) *Zapiski nauk. Tov. imeni Ševčenko*, 116 (1913), 21.

(2) About the pious fraud in the same question see the *Summaria Relatio* from 1624: E. ŠMURLO, *Le Saint-Siège et l'Orient Orthodoxe Russe 1609-1654*, Prague 1928, II 36.

(3) *Epistolae metrop.*, I, 193.

which he declared that " after the example of Moscow and other countries " the patriarchal dignity will be set up in Ruthenia (1). Rutskij supported with all his forces the initiative of his king and wrote on the eve of the diet concerned with the project and on the eve of his own death, to the secretary of the Propaganda: " To all of us, who are ready to die for the Catholic faith and for the Roman Primacy, it seems that this should be conceded... " (2).

Korsak's activity as metropolitan aimed at two goals: The beatification of Josaphat Kuncevič and the union of all Ruthenians under the authority of one patriarch.

During the Cossack uprisings and the wars with the Muscovite and Sweedish invasion no other group had more to suffer than the Catholics of the Greek rite. The hierarchy and the members of the Basilian order were dispersed, and the political authorities of the kingdom deemed that to appease the Cossacks it would be better to abandon the union. In the treatise of Hadiač of 16th Sept. 1658 only " the old Greek religion as it existed when the Ruthenians joined the crown of Poland ", i. e. Orthodoxy and the Latin form of Catholicism, were admitted. The report on the religious situation on Poland-Lithuania prepared for the nuncio in 1665 omits any mention of Ruthenian Catholicism, treating it as non existent (3).

But already by 1660 the first signs of a new tide are noticeable. The pact of Hadiač was not put into practice. By the treaty of Andrušovo the left bank of the Ukraine with its strongly schismatic-minded population fell to Muscovy, the right bank remained within the Polish-Lithuanian community. By the diet constitution of 1667, all the Church goods of those of " Greek religion in union with the Catholic Church " were freed from taxes and military burdens (4). These facts pointed to a turn for the better, but the overall picture was still unsatisfactory (5).

(1) *Supplementum ad Historica Russiae Monumenta* by TURGENEV, Petropolis 1848, No 72.

(2) *Epistolae metrop.* I, 380.

(3) E. RYKACZEWSKI, *Relacye Nuncyuszów.......*, Berlin-Poznań 1864, II, 325.

(4) *Vol. legum* IV, No. 1007.

(5) As late as 1670, before the meeting of Ostróg between the Cossacks and the representatives of the kingdom, the nuncio expressed his fears about the total ruin of the Ruthenian Cotholicism: " ...Parmi di preve-

An important step forward was achieved when Gabriel Kolenda was approved as metropolitan (1666-1674), though internal discords between him and the Basilian order retarded fast recovery. The chances to win over the dissidents were, in the diminished territory of the state, substantially improved. There reappeared again the idea of a common Ruthenian patriarchate, by means of which both obediences would slowly merge. The historian of the Brest union says that Kolenda " opposed the erection of the Ruthenian patriarchate... maybe to the disadvantage of the Union " (1). This statement should be slightly modified. It is true that there are in his letters two or three passages in which he violently resists any idea of an independent patriarchate (2). This negative attitude was conditioned by some particular circumstances. We find in his letters frequent complaints against the Polish Primate and archbishop of Gniezno Prażmowski, who favored the dissidents to the disadvantage of the United. The Primate was a man of politics, interested in the pacification of Ruthenia by any means, however detrimental these might be to the Catholic Church. Prażmowski, as chancellor of the kingdom, already favored the approval of the pact of Hadiač and abolition of the union, and patronized the appointment of a schismatic patriarch, thus leaving to the Catholic metropolitan of Kiev only a second place, if any (3).

Kolenda's real view of the project of the Ruthenian patriarchate should be learnt from other sources. Ten years earlier, in 1659, as administrator of the metropolitan see, he sent to Rome a Basilian monk, Innocent Terpilovskij, with a memorial directed to the Congregation of the Propaganda " Modus uniendi Ruthenos ab Ill.mo Archiepiscopo Polocensi inventus " (4). Among other

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dere il gran crollo all'Unione. Voglia Dio, che io m'inganni, e che lo zelo di questi Signori in difesa della Fede Cattolica riesca maggiore di quello io mi figuro ". Archives of the Propaganda: *Congregazioni Particolari*, vol. 14, f. 107.

(1) J. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, II, Wien 1881, 270.

(2) *Epistolae metrop.*, II, 289.

(3) The nuncio wrote on Nov. 16 1669, about complaints of the Ruthenian metropolitan against the archbishop of Gniezno who was supporting the dissidents. Archives of the Propaganda, *Congregazioni Particolari*, vol. 14, fol. 18.

(4) Printed in: Joannes Praszko, *De Ecclesia Ruthena Catholica sede metropolitana vacante 1655-1665*, Romae 1944, 135.

items he placed before the Roman authorities a plan for the Ruthenian patriarchate:

1. If dissidents will agree with us on controversial points of dogma, and if the patriarch of Constantinople will abide by this, are we not allowed to receive him as our common shepherd?

2. If the patriarch refused to comply, the way to an indepedent Ruthenian patriarchate lies open. But for fear of the people, secrecy is recommended. It should appear outwardly that we Catholics have joined the non-United, not viceversa.

When the royal commissaries met the representatives of the Cossacks at Ostrog in 1670, to discuss contested points, Kolenda upon advice of the nuncio Marescotti sent Cyprian Žochovskij, at that time archimadrite of Derman, to act as adviser to the commissaries. Žochovskij later sent a minute report on the negotiations and included his own considerations (1). They are presented in short, confused sentences, culminating in the plan to transfer the see of Constantinople to Russia, leaving only an exarch on the Bosphorus. Or, there is another compromise, acceptable to Catholics and plausible to dissidents: The patriarch of Constantinople will send his profession of faith to the king and to the metropolitan to be then forwarded through the nuncio to the Holy See. The metropolitan of Kiev will make his profession of faith in the presence of the nuncio and will receive the pallium from Rome. He will commemorate at Mass first Holy Father, then the patriarch. This will save both the immediate dependence on the patriarch and the mediate dependence on Rome.

All these plans seem to us today artificial, lacking in clear thinking and straightforwardness. They were born in particular times, when a compromise was to be reached at all costs. The formula " dependentia immediata a patriarcha Constantinopolitano, dependentia mediata a Roma " occurred often, already in the *Summaria Relatio* written by the Catholic Ruthenian bishops in 1624 (2). Such a principle would have been disconcerting to the Latins but it represented a genuine Eastern tradition, a living tradition among the Ukrainian and Byelorussian population for centuries. Highly illuminative in this regard is the letter sent by

(1) *Epistolae metrop.*, III, 11-23.

(2) E. Šmurlo, *op. cit.*, II, 35.

the metropolitan Misael and the Ruthenians to Sixtus IV in 1467. In majestic biblical diction with flowery Byzantine oratory the petitioners avow themselves to be members of the Catholic Church according to decree of the council of Florence. The pope is considered the real source of the living water but the faithful draw it though the four rivers — the four Eastern patriarchs; " from these rivers ... we quenched our thirst, we, living in the northern land, near the Eastern regions " (1). The signatories of this message declare that they and their nation were won for Christ through the four evangelists — the most holy Greek heads of Eastern Christianity, but Sixtus IV is considered the " supreme forefather of the Orthodox patriarchs " (2)

The same genuinely eastern concept of the hierarchical structure we find also in the project of union that was presented to the Marescotti by the dissident archimandrite Theodosius Vasylevič (3). All the faithful of Greek religion in the territories of His Majesty should depend on the patriarch of Constantinople, provided that he is a true Christian (not a heretic), validly consecrated and that his position is not contested by a rival. He should send to the king his profession of faith in accordance with the teaching of the council of Florence. Upon these terms he will have confirmed all the privileges the patriarchs enjoyed while they were in union with the Holy Roman Church.

The Congregation of the Propaganda did not respond to such proposals. And no wonder. They must have appeared too fantastic; they were not in tune with the western course of development. The current interpretation of the *plenitudo potestatis* did not leave space to intermediate hierarchs between the bishops and the centre of ecclesiastical unity.

Whenever the project of the Ruthenian patriarchate was submitted for discussion, it was done always in connection with the plan of the " second union " bringing into the Church all the Ruthenians of the kingdom. The dissidents' repeated appeal to the patriarch was a clever manœuvre to outwit authorities. Or did they consider the patriarchate an integrating part of their

(1) *Istoričeskii Russkii Arkhiv*, VII, 219.

(2) *Ibidem*, 204, 207.

(3) The memoriale is almost entirely printed in PRASZKO, *op. cit.*, 149-151.

ecclesiastical life so that the Ruthenian Catholic " acephalism " constituted a serious obstacle to any dialogue? On the side of the lay confraternities and the instigators of the Cossacks the frequent referrals to the old man of Phanar were often a mere palliative stratagem. This cannot be said, however, about many members of the dissident hierarchy nor about some Ruthenian magnates and gentry.

This class of people, deeply rooted in the traditions of Eastern Christianity, would have been easier won for Catholicism by the creation of a patriarchate. For them this high dignity was a constituent part of the vision they had of the Church and a sure guarantee that the cherished inherited customs and ways of worship would not be replaced by alien elements. Very revealing in this respect is a petition that was presented at the diet of 1681, though not approved (1). Some members of the aristocracy, after having cited several instances in which the much desired equality between the Greek and Latin clergy would be achieved, conclude that as soon as the patriarch of Constantinople returns to dependence in the Holy See, no hindrance should be put up, " quatenus (Rutheni) ad antiquam redeant cum episcopis ad eodem patriarchatu dependentiam ".

In this class of people favorable to Catholicism, should be included several Cossack leaders of the second half of the seventeenth century, certainly the hetman John Vyhovski and Paul Tetera. The same should be said of several bishops and archimandrites, who looked to the union as a remedy to rejuvenate the Ruthenian Church. By joining the Catholic Church they hoped to get rid of the unbecoming control exercised by the lay associations. Peter Mohyla, on whom Rutskij was ready to bestow the patriarchal dignity, was one of them.

In the view of the Ruthenian hierarchy — Rutskij says it expressly — the patriarchal privileges consisted principally in the power to name bishops. They were aware that this dignity would increase their prestige before the Latin Church and they understood that this religious leader would be a guardian of the purity of their way of life in ecclesiastical discipline and liturgy.

(1) Archives of the Propaganda, *Scritture Rif. nei Congressi 1675-1699*, vol. 2, Fol. 82 sq... Also in Michael Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, Leopoli 1862, 466-477 in Polish.

Already in the time of Rutskij, Rome emphatically urged the introduction of the constitution on matrimony, prescribed by the council of Trent. Its regulations were salutary in themselves, but Korsak rightly pointed to the consequences such innovations would entail. He affirmed that dissidents and even many Catholics were afraid that their own rite would be supplanted. " We continuously repeat to the people that the Holy Roman Church does not want anything else but the union established at the council of Florence. Now it is pretty well known among all the people what articles this council proclaimed... Besides, not all the paragraphs of this constitution are in accord with very old customs of the Eastern Church ... No question of faith is involved " (1).

The same is true of the liturgy. Rutskij wrote in 1636: Though forty years have elapsed since the union of Brest, we have still observed the identical rite in its purity, " though some private persons (i. e. not of the hierarchy) seem to latinize " (2). At that time the Ruthenian Church had embarked already on the latinizing tendencies leading to the synod of Zamość.

The patriarchal dignity was a symbol of purity of rite and authority in liturgical and disciplinary practices and would have prevented many false steps. Probably the archimandrite Theodosius Vasylevič had the same thing in mind in his memorial. After he had enumerated all the rites and customs to be faithfully observed, he concluded his list with the project of the erection of an independent Ruthenian patriarchate as seal and guarantee of fidelity to the revered legacy of the past.

The latinization was due more to the force of several circumstances than to one factor alone (3). Judging the history of the patriarchates of smaller Eastern Churches, we have to confess that this dignity was not always strong enough to preserve in its entirety their own heritage (4). But given the size of the Slavonis group, chances would have been better; after all, much would have depended on the bearer of this title.

(1) *Epistolae metrop.*, II, 78, 79.

(2) *Ibidem*, I. 380.

(3) This question has been judiciously discussed by Jo. Praszko, *op. cit.*, 243-308.

(4) Cf. the recent book by Fr. Wilhelm de Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens*, Freiburg-München 1963.

The Ruthenians wanted a real patriarchate, not a mere name without content. In this sense should be interpreted the passage of a memoriale, composed at Żyrowice 12 August 1679, and signed by all Catholic bishops and six prominent Basilians. In it they asked for the erection of the Russian patriarchate " cum facultatibus Constantinopolitani " (1). It seems that the same idea underlies another rather startling expression in the letter sent by the Catholic Ruthenian bishops to the dissident clergy of Kiev (2). They propose the establishment of the patriarchate and that the titulary " should not ask blessing from anybody ", i. e. a real patriarchate with all the privileges of old.

For Rome's attitude to the project of a patriarchate in Poland-Lithuania the opinion of the nuncios to both, the patriarchate and to the union of Brest is important. As a rule they proved to be real protectors of the union and did not spare time and energy to defend it, even in the hours of its greatest distress after the treaty of Hadiač (3).

Exceptional was the case of John Francis Lancellotti, nuncio from 1622 to 1627. This unhappy prelate could not forget the sunny sky of his native Italy. " I beg God to free me from this country in which I have spent two years " and with trepidation in his heart he sees the approach of the third year (4). This could have been at the root of his general pessimism. In his way of thinking the Ruthenian priests, dissident and Catholic alike, were quite slovenly in their performance of ceremonies. They are regarded, he says, in the eyes of Polish public opinion as the Italians regard the Jews in Rome. He is altogether horrified along with some Polish bishops, at the thought that Ruthenian priests might be allowed to hear the confessions of Latins. The metropolitan Rutskij is a holy man, but he fights a lost cause. He shows an edifying zeal for union, but he has become a prey of a chimera. He asks the Holy See to send some letters to eminent persons in Poland-Lithuania interceding for the United but he exaggerates the importance of his cause. The nuncio heavily critized the

(1) *Epistolae metrop.*, III, 59.

(2) From January 20 , 1624. *Akty Zap. Rossii*, IV, 514.

(3) We shall have a better overall picture as soon the remaining volumes of the *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum* will be published.

(4) The letter from 8 III 1625, *Litterae nuntiorum Apost.*, IV, 165, 166.

endevour of the metropolitan to forbid passage from the Eastern rite to the Latin rite. " Does he not know, that it is the rite of popes, kings and prominent persons? " Certainly the zeal of the Holy See favoring the United is risky. Certainly right is the Polish bishop, who said: " The Holy See will be sorry for this union as soon, as she realizes what a bad reputation the union has " (1).

But in Rome, the secretary of the Propaganda Cardinal Bandino and pope Urban VIII, elected in 1623, did not share the pessimistic view of their nuncio. It was during Lancellotti's office that the most promising answer concerning the Ruthenian patriarchate was dispatched from the supreme authority. " When the Holy Father had learnt that the patriarchal dignity would aid the spread and advancement of the Ruthenian Church — Sanctissimus a nova Patriarchae totius Russiae creatione non abhorruit (2).

In the course of the century the most common reaction to the repeatedly broached project was silence on the whole question. Sometimes the answer was evasive: As soon as all the Ruthenians are united with the Church, then we shall start talking about the patriarchate; at other times the request passed to the Holy Office.

The most unpleasant answer on the project was received by Cyprian Žochovskij, at that time coadjutor of the metropolitan: The Cardinals of the Congregation of the Propaganda think he should stop talking about the patriarchate (3).

The most detailed and the most revealing answer the Curia gave, contains the draft of that particular Congregation of June 4, 1629 (4). The authors of the outline think that is risky to create prelates with patriarchal powers, because they easily become arrogant with the Holy See (erigunt cornua). This had been the case of the patriarch of Constantinople, and Rome had encountered similar difficulties in the large dioceses in Germany. Not without reason had the Holy See established the patriarchate of India, and then determined, that the place of the residence of this dignitary should be Spain, far from the base of his power.

(1) *Ibidem*, IV, 145, 150, 155, 165.

(2) *Litterae S.C. de Propaganda Fide*, I, 26.

(3) *Ibidem*, II, 93. " Rispetto poi all'erettione del patriarchato nella Russia nulla hanno voluto deliberare questi Eminentissimi miei Signori nelle presenti congiunture, et a V. S. se ne dà quest'avviso perchè possa astenersi in avvenire dal portare in questo proposito le sue istanze ... »

(4) E. Šmurlo, *op. cit.*, II, 54-57.

The plan of a Ruthenian patriarchate, continues the draft, should be, however, taken into consideration, since its realization may entail some important advantages: The power of the patriarch of Constantinople who has been for centuries a rival of the Roman Pontiff will herewith shrink substantially. In addition there is well founded hope that the Balkan provinces will prefer to join the patriarch of Russia than to remain subject to one who lives under the Turkish yoke. It is to be hoped that the Muscovites will join the patriarchate of Kiev, if the son of the Polish king succeeds in gaining the throne of Moscow; no serious difficulties should be met in suppressing the northern patriarchate.

In this scheme, destined for the nuncio of Warsaw, all circumstances were taken into account , though, as often before and after, not without fantastic dreams concerning Muscovy. Only one aspect did not receive the slightest attention: that the patriarchal dignity is something intimately connected with eastern, truly Catholic traditions. The draft is partly favorable to the Ruthenain patriarchate, but for reasons alien to the Ruthenian population.

There is no gainsaying that there was a certain universal-mindedness in the Catholic restoration. However, this period saw at the same time a return to the principle of complete uniformity in liturgy and Canon Law. This resurgence of narrow-mindedness, just as it had been for centuries a blight to the admirable efflorescence of post-Gregorian Christianity, could not but be baneful to the particular exigencies of the East. What use could there be in the erection of a new patriarchate? Would it not be to lead in yet another Troyan horse? So, the medieval papacy tried hard to encroach on the authority of metropolitans (the results were beneficial for the Western Church) and did succeed. Latin Christendom started to think of the hierarchical structure of the Church in categories which did not always take into account the unity of Christendom as a whole. These new ways of thinking could evidently, refer only to what was not divinely established.

In this clash of two milleniums, between the Eastern heritage and the new development in the West, the Eastern Christians, joining the Roman See, remained loosers in the sense that their heritage suffered.

At the close of the seventeenth century any discussion about the erection of a Ruthenian patriarchate vanished. Later in the

nineteenth century Gregory XVI in 1843 seriously considered the establishment of the Ukrainian patriarchate for the Greek Catholics of the Habsburg possessions (1). He was led by a desire to help the recovery of the Ruthenian Church and to create a counterpoise against the Tsarist government that was destroying Ukrainian and Byelorussian Catholicism in its territories.

J. KRAJCAR S. J.

(1) A. BARAN, *Progetto del Patriarcato Ucraino di Gregorio XVI*. *Analecta OSBM*, III (1958-1960), 454-488 with added documents.

Die Päpste von Avignon und der christliche Osten

Einleitung

Die Zeit zwischen den beiden Unionen von Lyon (1274) und Florenz (1439) hat für die Geschichte der Haltung der Päpste gegenüber dem christlichen Osten eine besondere Bedeutung. Sie dürfte wohl den Tiefpunkt des Verständnisses für den Osten darstellen. Es wird schwer sein, eine Zeit zu finden, die so wenig Bereitschaft zeigte, der Eigenart der Ostkirche entgegenzukommen, wie das 14. Jahrhundert. Gerade eine Untersuchung über diese Periode kann es deutlich machen, in welchem Ausmass tatsächlich eine Entwicklung in der Haltung Roms gegenüber dem Osten vorliegt, und zwar eine Entwicklung im Sinne eines immer besseren Verständnisses und einer grösseren Bereitschaft zum Entgegenkommen.

Wir greifen die Zeit der Avignonesischen Päpste heraus (1305-1378), nicht als ob der Aufenthalt der Päpste in der französischen Stadt als solcher an dem mangelnden Verständnis für den Orient schuld sei, sondern weil diese Periode der geschichtlichen Umstände wegen für die Zeit zwischen Lyon und Florenz die wichtigste ist. Nach dem endgültigen Scheitern der Union von Lyon waren die Beziehungen zwischen den Päpsten und Konstantinopel etwa 40 Jahre lang völlig unterbrochen. Unter dem zweiten Avignonesischen Papst, Johannes XXII. (1316-1334), wurden sie auf Initiative des Kaisers aus politischen Gründen wieder aufgenommen und sie gestalteten sich im Laufe dieser Periode immer intensiver. Nach der Rückkehr der Päpste nach Rom brach bekanntlich sehr bald das abendländische Schisma aus, und die Päpste hatten deshalb andere vordringlichere Sorgen als die Union mit dem Osten. Nach Überwindung des Schismas beginnt dann die Zeit der

unmittelbaren Vorbereitung des Unionskonzils von Florenz. Der Hl. Stuhl hat in der Dokumentensammlung zur Vorbereitung des neuen orientalischen Kirchenrechts in den letzten Jahren selbst für die Veröffentlichung des Materials zur Avignonesischen Periode gesorgt. Es gereicht ihm nur zur Ehre, wenn er so die Fehler und Mängel dieser Zeit offen zugibt (1).

Der Grund der im ganzen negativen Haltung des Hl. Stuhles gegenüber dem Osten in dieser Geschichtsperiode liegt zunächst einmal in der Enttäuschung über den Fehlschlag der Union von Lyon. Es sei nur *ein* Zeugnis dafür angeführt: Benedikt XII. macht dem Archimandriten Barlaam, der im Jahre 1339 im Auftrage des Kaisers Andronikos III. nach Avignon kam, darauf aufmerksam, wie schwer es ihm sei, den Griechen zu vertrauen, die nach der Annahme der Union « wieder zurückschauten, ihr Glaubensbekenntnis in verwerflicher Weise zurücknahmen und zu ihrem Auswurf zu ihrem eigenen Verderben und zur Enttäuschung der Römischen Kirche zurückkehrten » (2). Die Zeit von Avignon war eine Zeit der immer strafferen Zentralisierung der Kirchenregierung. Diese Zentralisierung erreichte damals ihren Höhepunkt. Schon Clemens V. (1305-1314) machte alle nur möglichen Gründe geltend, um immer mehr Ernennungen von kirchlichen Amtsträgern, besonders wenn das Amt mit einem Beneficium verbunden war, dem

(1) Die Darstellung der Avignonesischen Periode ist durch die Veröffentlichungen der Päpstlichen Kommission zur Vorbereitung des neuen orientalischen Kirchenrechts sehr erleichtert worden. Bisher sind folgende Bände über die Avignonesischen Päpste erschienen: *Acta Clementis PP V (1305-1317)* Fontes Series III, Volumen VII, Tomus 1, Vatikan 1955; *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317-1334)*, Vol. VII, Tom. 2, Vatikan 1952: *Acta Benedicti XII (1334-1342)*, Vol. VIII, Vatikan 1958; *Acta Clementis VI (1342-1352)*, Vol. IX, Vatikan 1960; *Acta Innocentii VI (1352-1362)*, Vol. X, Vatikan 1961. Alle Bände sind herausgegeben von Aloysius Tăutu. Der XI. Band über Urban V. ist im Druck. Durch gütige Erlaubnis des Hochw. Msgr. A. Tăutu konnten die Druckbogen für diese Arbeit bereits benutzt werden. Es sei ihm für dieses Entgegenkommen aufrichtig gedankt. Wir zitieren im folgenden diese Bände der Pontif. Commissio ad redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis einfach: Vol. VII, 1; VII, 2; VIII usw. — Vgl. zur Sache auch: M. Viller, *La question de l'union entre Grecs et Latins depuis le concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence*, in *Rev. de l'Hist. Eccl.* XVII (1921) 260-305, 515-532; XVIII (1922) 20-60.

(2) Vol. VIII S. 80 nº 207.

Hl. Stuhl zu reservieren. Es spielten dabei auch finanzielle Gründe eine Rolle. Unter Gregor XI. (1370-1378) war das letzte Stadium dieser Entwicklung erreicht mit der grundsätzlichen Reservierung der Besetzung aller Patriarchensitze, aller erzbischöflichen und bischöflichen Stühle und aller Abts-Stellen überhaupt (1).

Dass bei einer solchen Lage der Dinge wenig Verständnis für die der östlichen Tradition wesentliche relative Autonomie der kirchlichen Verwaltung vorhanden war, ist begreiflich. Das Unionsideal der Päpste von Avignon war das der völligen Absorbierung der Ostkirchen, die überhaupt nicht mehr als unterschiedene, irgendwie doch noch eigenständige Einzelkirchen bestehen bleiben sollten. Josef Gill schreibt hierzu: « Unter Union verstanden sie (die Päpste) nicht die Vereinigung von zwei Körperschaften, die denselben Glauben bekannten und *eine* höchste Autorität anerkannten, im übrigen aber alle ihre charakteristischen Züge, die einer solchen Einheit nicht widersprechen, beibehalten, sondern die Angleichung der östlichen Kirche an die westliche im Glauben, in der Disziplin und im Ritus » (2). Die allgemeine Abneigung gegen alles Östliche und gegen die Häretiker und Schismatiker wird noch dazu beigetragen haben, eine solche Haltung zu stärken.

Es geht uns in diesem Aufsatz nicht darum, im einzelnen die verschiedenen Phasen der Kontaktnahme der Avignon-Päpste mit den Ostkirchen, insbesondere der griechischen darzustellen, sondern das Grundsätzliche herauszuschälen, das für die damalige Haltung des Hl. Stuhles gegenüber den mit der Existenz einer eigenständigen Ostkirche gegebenen Problemen charakteristisch ist. Um dies zu verstehen, muss freilich zuvor eine kurze Darstellung der damaligen Lage im christlichen Osten und ein Überblick über den Gang der Ereignisse geboten werden. Katholische Ostchristen gab es damals vor allem im kleinarmenischen Königreich von Cilicien und in den griechischen Gebieten — auf dem Festland und auf den Inseln — unter lateinischer Herrschaft, dazu in Sizilien und Süditalien. Die katholischen Maroniten konnten damals wegen der Mamelukenherrschaft mit dem Hl. Stuhl keine effektiven Bezie-

(1) Vgl. G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon 1305-1378* Paris 1949, S. 526-528.

(2) In W. de Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens*, Freiburg i. Br. 1963, S. 63. Hier gibt J. Gill auch eine kurze Darstellung der Periode von Avignon: S. 53-62.

hungen unterhalten. Die wichtigsten schismatischen Mächte, mit denen der Hl. Stuhl damals zu tun hatte, waren: das Byzantinische Reich, das Serbische Reich, dessen König Stephan Dušan sich im Jahre 1346 zum Kaiser der Serben und der Griechen krönen liess, und das Bulgarische Reich. Serbien dehnte sich in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts stark auf Kosten der Byzantiner aus, während in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts die ottomanischen Türken den grössten Teil der Balkanhalbinsel eroberten. Nichtkatholische Ostchristen gab es ausserdem noch in den Fürstentümern Walachei und Moldau und im katholischen Ungarn. Die Ostslawen, die damals vom Hl. Stuhl bereits als Schismatiker angesehen wurden, waren auf mehrere Staaten verteilt: das Königreich Polen, das Grossherzogtum Litauen und das Grossfürstentum Moskau. Mit all diesen Staaten sind die Avignonesischen Päpste in Beziehung getreten, besonders natürlich mit dem Byzantinischen Reich.

Zu Beginn der Avignonesischen Periode bestand bei den Päpsten die Absicht, dieses Reich wieder unter lateinische Herrschaft zu bringen, was sie als das einzige Mittel betrachteten, dort die Union zu sichern. Aber schon Johannes XXII. änderte im Jahre 1330 seine Politik, aus der Einsicht heraus, dass die wachsende Türkengefahr nicht bloss Byzanz, sondern auch die lateinischen Besitzungen im Osten bedrohte. Von da an bemühten sich die Päpste um den Kreuzzug gegen die Türken und sie stellten den Byzantinern die militärische Hilfe gegen die Türken als Preis der Union in Aussicht, während die byzantinischen Kaiser die Union als Gegenleistung für die bereits gewährte Hilfe anboten. Erst der letzte der Avignon-Päpste, Gregor XI. (1370-1378) war wegen der immer stärkeren Bedrohung auch des Westens durch die Türken zu bedingungsloser Unterstützung der Griechen bereit, immer jedoch in der Hoffnung, so die Union zu erreichen.

Die wichtigsten Phasen der Verhandlungen sind folgende: die freilich inoffizielle Sendung des Archimandriten Barlaam durch Andronikos III. im Jahre 1339, die Verhandlungen Clemens' VI. (1342-1352) mit Johannes Kantakuzenos in den Jahren 1347 und 48, der Unionsvorschlag des Johannes V. Paläologos (1355), dessen persönlicher Übertritt in Konstantinopel im Jahre 1357 zur Zeit Innozenz' VI. (1352-62), desselben Kaisers Reise nach Rom und sein Anschluss an die lateinische Kirche im Jahre 1369 unter Urban V. (1362-72). Johannes V. war Sohn einer von Haus aus

lateinischen Mutter, der Prinzessin Anna von Savoyen. So erklärt sich seine Hinneigung zum lateinischen Ritus.

Mit den katholischen Armeniern trat vor allem Benedikt XII. (1334-42) in Beziehung. Auf Grund von Informationen sehr zweifelhaften Wertes schickte er ihnen (1341) eine Denkschrift mit 117 Anklagepunkten, die von wenig Verständnis für die Eigenart der Ostkirche zeugt. Eine armenische Synode von Sis vom Jahre 1345 antwortete auf die Vorwürfe. Die Kontroverse zog sich bis in die Zeit Innozenz' VI. hin.

Zur Zeit dieses Papstes zeigte der serbische König Stephan Dušan aus politischen Gründen eine gewisse Unionsbereitschaft (1). In der Gegend des heutigen Montenegro gelang es unter Urban V., einige serbische Fürsten für die katholische Kirche zu gewinnen (2). Der Papst ernannte fünf lateinische Bischöfe für dieses Gebiet (3). Zur Zeit Gregors XI. trat der Fürst der Moldau Latzco zur katholischen Kirche über (4). Gregors Vorgänger, Urban V., hatte dort bereits einen lateinischen Bischofssitz in Siret gegründet (5). In der Walachei errichtete Gregor XI. ein lateinisches Bistum (6). Das war das damals übliche Mittel, um die Konversion der Schismatiker zu fördern. Derselbe Papst ernannte einen lateinischen Bischof für die Gegend von Halicz, das damals zu Polen gehörte (7). Er dachte sogar an die Gründung eines lateinischen Bistums in Kiev (8). Den Fürsten Oligerd und Lubard von Litauen kündigte Gregor im Oktober 1373 die Sendung eines Nuntius an (9). Schon Urban V. schickte im August 1370 Franziskaner-Missionare nach Russland und Litauen (10) und erwog auch die Sendung von solchen in das

(1) Vol. X S. 75 n° 153 ff.

(2) Vgl. O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome*, Warschau 1930, S. 181.

(3) A.a.O. S. 209.

(4) Raynaldi *Annales* 1372 n° XXXII.

(5) Halecki S. 210, 283.

(6) Raynaldus 1374, n° IX.

(7) Rainaldus 1372 n° XXXII. Gregor verlangte vom Bischof von Krakau, für die Unterdrückung aller orthodoxen Bistümer im Königreich Polen zu sorgen. Vgl. A. G. Welykyj, *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*, Vol. I, Rom 1953, S. 91/92 n° 54, Brief vom 19. Juli 1372.

(8) Halecki S. 313.

(9) Raynaldus 1373 n° XVIII.

(10) Vol. XI S. 347 n° 762.

schismatische Georgien [1]. Dort hatte bereits Johannes XXII. das lateinische Bistum Tiflis gegründet [2].

Die apostolischen Interessen der Avignon-Päpste waren also sehr weit gespannt. Überall ging es ihnen um das Heil der Seelen, das sie aber nur durch die völlige Absorbierung der Ostchristen in die lateinische Kirche hinein gesichert glaubten. Das sollte sich freilich als eine Utopie erweisen. Eine wirklich organische Wiedereinfügung der Ostkirche in die universale Kirche, die gewiss das Richtige gewesen wäre, lag ausserhalb der Vorstellungswelt dieser Epoche.

I. – Die Haltung der Avignon-Päpste gegenüber Schisma und Häresie

Der tiefste Grund der negativen Haltung der Avignon-Päpste gegenüber dem Osten ist ihr Abscheu vor dem Schisma und der Häresie. Das Schisma ist ein « verabscheuungswürdiges Verbrechen », tatsächlich gleichzeitig auch immer ein Verstoss gegen den wahren Glauben [3]. Schismatiker werden, wie wir noch sehen werden, ständig und selbstverständlich mit den Ungläubigen auf eine Stufe gestellt. Die byzantinischen Schismatiker sind gleichzeitig auch Häretiker, schon weil sie den Ausgang des Hl. Geistes auch vom Sohn leugnen [4]. Für den mittelalterlichen Menschen waren Schisma und Häresie etwas ganz anderes als für uns Moderne, die wir an eine pluralistische Gesellschaft gewöhnt sind, in der Menschen verschiedener Weltanschauung gleichberechtigt nebeneinander leben. Für das Mittelalter war der christliche Glaube *die* Grundlage der einheitlich geprägten christlichen Gesellschaft, die vor allem durch die im Papsttum verkörperte höchste Autorität zusammengehalten wurde. Wer sich gegen diesen Glauben versündigt oder sich gegen diese höchste Autorität auflehnt, der rührt damit an die Grundlagen der bestehenden Ordnung und stellt sich deshalb ausserhalb der wesentlich christlichen menschlichen Gemeinschaft. Er wird dadurch einfachhin rechtlos und vogelfrei.

(1) Vol. XI S. 352 n° 771.
(2) Im Jahre 1329, s. Vol. VII, 2 S. 208 n° 360.
(3) S. Johannes XXII. vgl. Vol. VII, 2 S. 227 n°. 386.
(4) So Clemens VI. s. Vol. IX S. 295/96 n° 624.

Diese Konzeption ist es, die unausgesprochen der Handlungsweise der Päpste zugrunde liegt und ohne die ihre Art voranzugehen völlig unverständlich, ja monstruös erscheinen müsste.

Wenn die beiden ersten Avignon-Päpste ernstlich daran dachten, das Byzantinische Reich zu erobern, um das Schisma zu beseitigen, dann deswegen, weil es ihnen selbstverständlich war, dass ein schismatisches Reich einfach keine Existenzberechtigung habe. Die Gewalthaber dieses Reiches sind « von der Einheit des christlichen Glaubens abgewichen ». Der Eifer für den Glauben gebietet es deshalb, das Reich « aus den Händen der fremden Söhne » zu befreien (1). Den Johannitern, die den Schismatikern die Insel Rhodos abgenommen hatten, bestätigt Clemens V. ihren Besitz. Die Insel war in den Händen der « ungläubigen, schismatischen Griechen ». Die Johanniter haben diese ungläubigen Schismatiker von der Insel vertrieben. Sie bitten nun den Papst — ihr Gewissen war also doch nicht ganz ruhig —, ihnen ihre Rechte auf die Insel zu bestätigen. Diese Forderung ist — so Clemens — gerecht. Die Johanniter besitzen die Insel « durch die Gnade Gottes ». Durch seine apostolische Autorität überlässt der Papst den Rittern für ewige Zeit die Insel (2). — Clemens VI. lobt den ungarischen König, dass er die schismatischen Nachbarländer bekriegt, und überlässt ihm kraft seiner apostolischen Autorität von vornherein alle Provinzen und Städte, die er mit der Hilfe Gottes den Händen der Schismatiker entreissen wird (3). Der Papst verfügt als der Statthalter Gottes auf Erden über alle Länder und Reiche. Das ist eine mittelalterliche, zeitbedingte Konzeption, die uns Modernen schwer begreiflich ist.

Schismatiker haben also kein Recht, ein Land zu besitzen. Man tut ein gutes Werk, wenn man sie aus dem Land verjagt, das sie widerrechtlich unter ihrer Macht halten. Schismatiker und Häretiker haben überhaupt keine Rechte, sie sind deshalb überhaupt nicht vertragsfähig. Ein mit ihnen etwa abgeschlossenes Bündnis ist von vornherein null und nichtig. Die Venezianer hatten im Jahre 1356 mit den schismatischen Serben einen Pakt geschlossen. Papst Innozenz VI. erklärt in einem Brief an den Dogen Johannes Gradenigo vom 17. Juli 1356 diesen Vertrag für ungültig und be-

(1) So Clemens V. s. Vol. VII, 1 S. 1 n° 2.3.

(2) Vol. VII, 1 S. 32 n° 95.

(3) Brief vom 15. Juli 1352, s. Vol. IX S. 325 n° 715.716.

freit die Venezianer von dem geleisteten Eid. Mit den « Feinden Gottes und des katholischen Glaubens » kann man sich überhaupt nicht rechtsgültig verbünden. Der ungarische König Ludwig tut dagegen gut daran, gegen die Serben Krieg zu führen, um « die häretische Bosheit » bei ihnen auszurotten (1). Ebenso hebt der gleiche Papst das Bündnis, das der polnische König Kasimir mit den schismatischen Ruthenen abgeschlossen hatte, auf, das heisst genauer gesagt er erklärt kraft seiner apostolischen Autorität, dass es « null und nichtig sei » (2). Das Bündnis ist eine Beleidigung gegen den « ewigen König und die hl. Römische Kirche », die doch Kasimirs Mutter ist (3). Ein schismatischer Fürst hat nicht einmal das Recht, gegen die Türken Krieg zu führen. Urban V. schreibt am 8. April 1370 dem von Rom getrennten Fürsten der Walachei Ladislaus, um ihn zur Union einzuladen. Der Papst freut sich zwar, dass Ladislaus so tapfer gegen die Türken kämpft. Aber dieser Kampf ist illegitim und bringt ihm deshalb nicht die ewige Krone ein (4).

Der Kampf gegen die rechtlosen Schismatiker und Häretiker wird von den Päpsten immer wieder als gut und verdienstlich hingestellt; sie fordern dazu auf, belohnen ihn mit Ablässen und erklären ihn zum Kreuzzug. Clemens V. z. B. bewilligt denen, die gegen die Schismatiker Krieg führen, dieselben Ablässe wie den Kreuzfahrern (5). Ähnlich gewährt Johannes XXII. den Polen, die gegen die Schismatiker kämpfen, einen vollkommenen Ablass (6). Benedikt XII. sichert den Ungarn, die im Kampf gegen die Schismatiker in den ihnen benachbarten Ländern fallen, einen vollkommenen Ablass (7).

Gegen die Häretiker, die in katholischen Ländern leben, kann und soll mit Gewalt vorgegangen werden. Die Päpste bestellen Inquisitoren, mit dem Auftrag, « die häretische Bosheit » auszurotten. Sie können zu diesen Zweck um die Hilfe der weltlichen Gewalt nachsuchen. So beauftragt z. B. Johannes XXII. Domini-

(1) Vol. X S. 147 n° 329.

(2) Vol. X S. 189 n° 433, Brief vom 24. Januar 1357.

(3) A.a.O. n° 432.

(4) Vol. XI S. 327 n° 703; vgl. Raynaldus 1370 n° VI.

(5) So in einem Brief an den Dogen von Venedig vom 14. Januar 1306, s. Vol. VII, 1 S. 8 n° 22; vgl. S. 99 n° 265.

(6) Vol. VII, 2 S. 162 n° 271; vgl. S. 266 n° 437.

(7) Vol. VIII S. 71 n° 182.

kaner mit der Inquisition in den lateinischen Besitzungen in Griechenland. In einem Brief an den dortigen Dominikaner-Prior heisst es ausdrücklich, dass sie gegen Widerspenstige « die Hilfe des weltlichen Armes » anrufen können (1). Derselbe Papst fordert den Fürsten Stephan von Bosnien auf, « die Pest der Häresie mit der Wurzel auszurotten ». Es wäre eine Schande, dies nicht zu tun. Der Papst hat einen Inquisitor aus dem Franziskanerorden ernannt, und der Fürst soll dessen Wirken unterstützen (2). Es handelt sich hier allerdings nicht um Angehörige der orthodoxen Kirche, sondern um Sektierer wie die Bogomilen. Innozenz VI. schickt im Dezember 1353 Legaten nach Albanien und in serbische Gebiete unter lateinischer Herrschaft und beauftragt sie, mannhaft gegen die dortigen Schismatiker und Häretiker (hier handelt es sich um Orthodoxe) vorzugehen, wobei sie, wenn nötig, den weltlichen Arm zu Hilfe nehmen können (3). Diese Beispiele mögen genügen. Sie liessen sich beliebig vermehren.

Mit diesem gewaltsamen Vorgehen gegen Häretiker und Schismatiker scheint allerdings nicht gemeint zu sein, dass man sie zum Übertritt zwingen solle. Man soll nur die öffentliche Ausübung des nichtkatholischen Kultes und vor allem die Propaganda unterbinden. Clemens V. betont einmal, dass bei der Aufnahme der Schismatiker in die katholische Kirche deren Aufrichtigkeit feststehen müsse. In einem Brief an seinen Legaten in Serbien, wo der König Uroš Bereitschaft zur Union gezeigt hatte, verlangt der Papst als Bedingung für die Aufnahme, dass Heuchelei ausgeschlossen sei. Er legt also keinen Wert auf bloss fingierte und erzwungene Konversionen (4). Die Päpste sorgen dafür, dass die Schismatiker durch die Predigt eifriger Missionare wirklich innerlich gewonnen werden (5).

Der nichtkatholische Gottesdienst wurde tatsächlich trotz der Inquisitoren sicher nicht überall unterbunden. Das geht schon daraus hervor, dass man den Katholiken verbot, diesem Gottesdienst beizuwohnen (darüber weiter unten S. 104). Es bleibt aber doch wahr, dass die damalige Art, mit Andersdenkenden umzu-

(1) Vol. VII, 2 S. 32 nº 61.
(2) Brief vom 5. Juni 1325, s. Vol. VII, 2 S. 160/61 nº 270.
(3) Vol. X S. 60 nº 130; vgl. Clemens VI., Vol. IX S. 297 nº 629.
(4) Brief vom 1. April 1308, s. Vol. VII, 1 S. 48 nº 135.
(5) Z. B. Urban V., s. Vol. XI S. 337 nº 729.

gehen, unserer modernen Geistesart völlig zuwider ist. Sie muss aus der von der unsrigen radikal verschiedenen Gesellschaftsauffassung des Mittelalters verstanden werden.

Die für Ost und West immer bedrohlicher werdende Türkengefahr brachte den letzten Papst von Avignon doch dazu, sich über den Geist seiner Zeit zu erheben und den Schismatikern, statt sie auszurotten und sie mit den Waffen zu bekämpfen, Hilfe zu gewähren, und zwar ohne die Bedingung der Union zu stellen. In einem Brief an Kaiser Johannes V. Paläologos vom 21. Juni 1373 versichert Gregor die Griechen, « obwohl sie von der hl. katholischen und apostolischen Kirche durch das alte Schisma getrennt sind », seines Wohlwollens und verspricht ihnen Hilfe gegen die Türken. Er gibt freilich dabei der Hoffnung Ausdruck, dass sie « zur einen Herde und zur Einheit mit dem Hl. Apostolischen Stuhl » zurückkehren mögen (1).

Es ist aus den bisherigen Ausführungen bereits klar, dass die Päpste damals die Schismatiker und Häretiker ganz selbstverständlich als böswillig ansahen. Den Menschen der damaligen Zeit war die katholische Lehre so einleuchtend, dass sie es nur aus bösem Willen erklären konnten, wenn jemand sie nicht annahm. Schismatiker und Häretiker werden gemeinhin mit den Ungläubigen auf eine Stufe gestellt. Clemens V. z. B. redet vom « Unglauben der schismatischen Griechen » (2). Johannes XXII. spricht von den « Griechen und anderen Ungläubigen », mit denen es die Lateiner zu tun hatten (3). Innozenz VI. sorgt dafür, dass auf Kreta in einem Kloster, das bisher « von Ungläubigen oder Schismatikern » (infideles *seu* schismaticos ») besetzt war, ein katholischer Abt eingesetzt werde (4). Gregor XI. schickt Dominikaner-Missionare « in die Länder der Sarazenen, der Heiden, der Griechen, Bulgaren..., Ruthenen, Jakobiten, Nubier, Nestorianer... und anderer ungläubiger Nationen des Ostens » (5).

Die Päpste brauchen schärfste Ausdrücke nicht bloss gegen die Häresie und das Schisma, sondern auch ebenso gegen die

(1) Raynaldus 1373 n° II.

(2) Vol. VII, 1 S. 32 n° 95.

(3) Vol. VII, 2 S. 120 n° 204; vgl. Benedikt XII: « Schismatiker und andere Ungläubige »: Vol. VIII S. 18 n° 44; ebenso Clemens VI.: Vol. IX S. 325 n° 715; Innocenz VI.: Vol. X S. 232 n° 527.

(4) Vol. X S. 236 n° 536.

(5) Raynaldus 1374 n° VIII.

Häretiker und Schismatiker. Clemens VI. spricht von solchen in Albanien, in Serbien und slavonischen Gegenden. Er nennt sie « Söhne der Bosheit, die sich nur dem Namen nach als Christen bekennen, dem christlichen Glauben aber völlig entgegen sind ». Ihre Irrtümer sind unter andern, dass sie den Ausgang des Hl. Geistes auch vom Sohn leugnen, dass sie die Konsekration von ungesäuertem Brot als ungültig ansehen, dass sie die Art der Spendung von Taufe und Firmung im römischen Ritus nicht anerkennen usw. (1). Derselbe Papst nennt Schismatiker, die bereits Bekehrte wieder abspenstig machen wollen, « Diener Satans, Söhne des Verderbens und Schüler der Bosheit » (2). Ganz im gleichen Sinne redet auch Innozenz VI. (3). Urban V. teilt in einem Brief vom 22. Februar 1370 dem griechischen Klerus und den Mönchen von Konstantinopel die Konversion des Kaisers mit und fordert auch sie auf, « zur einen heiligen katholischen und apostolischen Kirche, ausser der kein Heil ist, zurückzukehren ». Man sollte in einem solchen Brief eine konziliante Redeweise erwarten. Das ist jedoch nicht der Fall. Der Papst wirft den Griechen vor, dass sie dem Schisma « damnabiliter et pertinaciter » anhängen. Als mildernder Umstand wird allerdings angeführt, dass sie « durch teuflischen Betrug getäuscht » seien (4).

Hier ist also ganz vorsichtig angedeutet, dass vielleicht nicht bloss der böse Wille schuld am Verharren im Schisma sein könnte. Deutlicher wird dieser Gedanke ausgesprochen in einem Brief Urbans V. an den Fürsten der Walachei Ladislaus, den er zur Union einlädt. Der Papst äussert hier die Vermutung, der Fürst könnte vielleicht doch meinen, « in statu salutis » zu sein. Wir würden sagen, er könnte im guten Glauben sein (5).

Die Haltung der Avignon-Päpste gegenüber den Schismatikern und Häretikern ist also durchaus rigoros. Wir können freilich hie und da Ansätze zu einer milderen Beurteilung feststellen. Innozenz VI. unterscheidet immerhin in einem Brief an den polnischen König Kasimir die schismatischen Ruthenen von den ungläubigen Tataren, die gegen alle « Christicolae », zu denen im Zusammenhang

(1) Vol. IX S. 295/96 n° 624 ff.
(2) Vol. IX S. 126 n° 259.
(3) Vol. X S. 59 n° 128.
(4) Vol. XI S. 311 n° 674, vgl. RAYNALDUS 1370 n° II.
(5) Vol. XI S. 327 n° 702.

auch die Ruthenen gehören, wüten (1). Bisweilen wird zugegeben, dass Schismatiker doch auch Christen seien. Urban V. spricht in einem Brief vom 24. Juli 1370 an die Bischöfe von Prag, Breslau und Krakau von dem Volk der Moldau, das zwar « sich des christlichen Namens rühmt » aber bislang schismatisch war. Der Ausdruck findet sich allerdings in einem Brief des bereits übergetretenen Fürsten Latzco. Aber der Papst macht ihn sich doch zu eigen (2). Gregor XI. fordert den ungarischen König Ludwig zum Kampf gegen die Türken auf, die weite Gegenden von Griechenland und Serbien besetzt haben, wo Völker wohnen, die « sich zum Christentum bekennen » (professione christiana), wenn sie auch mit Schisma und Häresie befleckt sind (3).

Aber mögen die Schismatiker und Häretiker auch Christen sein, sie stehen jedenfalls ausserhalb der einen wahren Kirche Christi. Das ist der damaligen Zeit eine Selbstverständlichkeit, die gar nicht zur Diskussion steht und deshalb auch gar nicht besonders betont zu werden braucht. Unter der Voraussetzung, dass alle Häretiker und Schismatiker durch eigene Schuld im Schisma und in der Häresie verharren, ist diese Annahme ja auch ganz logisch. Das heute viel diskutierte Problem, in welcher Beziehung gutgläubige Andersdenkende zur Kirche stehen, wurde damals überhaupt noch nicht gesehen. Gelegentlich wird in den Briefen der Päpste ausdrücklich gesagt, dass die Schismatiker ausserhalb der Herde Christi stehen. So spricht z. B. Clemens VI. von den « mit der Makel des verfluchten Schismas Behafteten und andern, die in verwerflicher Weise der Herde Christi fern sind » (4). Innozenz VI. beklagt in einem Brief an den serbischen König Stephan Dušan vom 24. Dezember 1353, dass viele von Satan getäuscht durch Häresie und Schisma vom Leibe der Kirche getrennt seien (5). Urban V. ermahnt den byzantinischen Kaiser Johannes V., mit seinem Volk zur Einheit zurückzukehren, und stellt ihm für diesen Fall Hilfe in Aussicht. Wenn die Griechen aber — was Gott verhüten möge — im Schisma verharren, dann wird der Apostolische Stuhl sie als Zöllner und Heiden ansehen und als « abgeschnitten

(1) Brief vom 24. Januar 1357, Vol. X S. 188 n° 431.
(2) Vol. XI S. 337 n° 729.
(3) Raynaldus 1372 n° XXVIII, 15. Mai 1372.
(4) Vol. IX S. 126 n° 258, Brief vom 11. Juli 1346.
(5) Vol. X S. 53 n° 115, vgl. S. 56 n° 119; S. 105 n° 229.

vom Leib der universalen Kirche ». Deswegen wird er ihnen auch nicht helfen können und nicht helfen dürfen, wenn sie etwa von Gläubigen oder Ungläubigen angegriffen werden (1). Hartnäckige Schismatiker muss man also ihrem Schicksal überlassen. In einem früheren Brief an den Kaiser zeigt sich jedoch derselbe Papst den Griechen gegenüber milder. Er vergleicht sie mit dem verlorenen Sohn. Sie sind wie dieser aus dem Vaterhaus fortgegangen; aber sie sind doch noch Söhne der Kirche, die ihrer Rückkehr sehnsüchtig entgegensieht (2). Hier ist immerhin ein Ansatz zu einer weniger rigorosen Auffassung festzustellen. Aber solche Texte sind leider äusserst selten.

Die der Kirche fernstehenden Schismatiker und Häretiker werden immer wieder eingeladen und aufgefordert, um des Heiles ihrer Seelen willen zu der einen wahren Kirche, der sie den Rücken gekehrt haben, zurückzukehren. Solche Texte finden sich natürlich auf Schritt und Tritt, und es wäre unnütz, sie aufzuzählen. Die Rückkehr geschieht durch Abschwörung und Absolution. Auch das ist eine Selbstverständlichkeit, die gar nicht zur Diskussion steht. Ihren Legaten, die sie in schismatische oder gemischte Länder schicken, geben die Päpste die Fakultät, Schismatiker und Häretiker nach Abschwörung zu absolvieren und wieder in die Kirche aufzunehmen (3). Der Kaiser Johannes V. Paläologos wurde am 18. Oktober 1369 nach seiner Abschwörung in den Schoss der einen wahren Kirche aufgenommen (4). Auch zurückkehrende Bischöfe müssen abschwören, sie sind zu absolvieren und so mit der Kirche zu versöhnen (5).

Da die Häretiker und Schismatiker der Kirche fernstehen, ausser der kein Heil ist, so gehen sie, falls sie sich nicht bekehren, ewig verloren. Das « extra quam nulla salus » ist in den Papstbriefen geradezu ein ständiges epiteton ornans der Ecclesia (6).

(1) Brief vom 24. Januar 1366, Vol. XI S. 149 n° 307.

(2) Brief vom 18. April 1365, Vol. XI S. 122 n° 268.

(3) Z. B. Clemens VI. am 31. August 1346, Vol. IX S. 164 n° 335; Innozenz VI., Brief vom 31. Juli 1356, Vol. X S. 159 n° 361.

(4) Vol. XI S. 287 n° 623.

(5) Urban V., Vol. XI S. 75 n° 154.155.

(6) Johannes XXII. an den Kaiser von Trapezunt am 1. Dezember 1329. Vol. VII, 2 S. 220 n° 380; Innozenz VI., Brief vom 16. Januar 1353, Vol. X S. 6/7 n° 21; derselbe, Brief vom 24. Dezember 1353, Vol. X S. 57 n° 122; Urban V., Brief vom 18. April 1365, Vol. XI S. 122 n° 268.

Die rigorose Folgerung, dass also, wer ausserhalb der Kirche steht, der ewigen Hölle verfallen ist, wird nicht selten auch ausdrücklich gezogen, vor allem in Briefen, die eine Einladung zur Union enthalten. So schreibt Johannes XXII. an ruthenische Fürsten: Wer die katholische Lehre nicht annimmt, « wird dem Urteil der Verdammung unterliegen » (1). Innozenz VI. antwortet dem Kaiser Johannes V. auf dessen Unionsvorschlag und gibt seiner Freude Ausdruck, dass die Griechen, die bisher das höllische Feuer erwartete, jetzt wieder Hoffnung auf das Paradies haben können (2). Clemens VI. verlangt von den Armeniern geradezu, dass sie es als Glaubenssatz annehmen, dass alle, die sich von der Gemeinschaft der Römischen Kirche getrennt haben, Schismatiker und Häretiker seien und dass niemand, der nicht den Glauben dieser Kirche annimmt und dem Papst Gehorsam leistet, gerettet werden könne (3).

Das Mittelalter schreckte vor solchen doch eigentlich furchtbaren Konsequenzen der Lehre von der Heilsnotwendigkeit der Kirche nicht zurück. Also all die frommen und heiligmässigen Mönche und Aszeten etwa des Berges Athos oder der Meteoren-Klöster waren unrettbar dem ewigen Höllenfeuer verfallen. Es steckt doch auch ein gut Stück Anmassung in solch einer Annahme! Da man nicht begriff, dass Menschen im guten Glauben irren und so rein äusserlich der Kirche fernstehen können, sah man keine Möglichkeit, diesen Folgerungen zu entgehen.

Bei dieser Einstellung ist es nur zu begreiflich, dass man Mischehen kategorisch ablehnte. Der Legat Clemens' V. für Ungarn verbietet unter Androhung der Exkommunikation jede Mischehe: « Es passt sich nicht, dass die Söhne des Gehorsams mit den Söhnen des Ungehorsams in irgend einer Form Gemeinschaft pflegen » (4). Clemens V. erteilte für die Insel Cypern, um Mischehen zu vermeiden, Dispensen vom Ehehindernis der Blutsverwandtschaft

(1) Brief vom 3. Februar 1317, Vol. VII, 2 S. 1 nº 2, vgl. S. 155 nº 262.

(2) Vol. X S. 156 nº 356, Brief vom 21. Juli 1356.

(3) Brief vom 29. September 1351 an den armenischen Katholikos, Vol. IX S. 303 nº 636.

(4) Brief vom 25. Dezember 1309, Vol. VII, 1 S. 67/68 nº 183. 185. Clemens VI. schärft dieses Verbot erneut ein: Vol. IX S. 169/170 nº 347 ff.

und der Schwägerschaft (1). Johannes XXII. beklagt, dass in Kaffa (Krimhalbinsel) nicht selten katholische Männer schismatische Frauen heiraten, die allerdings verprechen, katholisch zu werden. Viele von diesen Frauen haben ihr Versprechen nicht gehalten und haben sogar häufig die Männer und die Kinder zu deren Verderben zu ihrer eigenen Häresie herübergezogen. Der Bischof soll diese Frauen, wenn nötig mit Strafen, zum katholischen Glauben zurückführen und soll derartige Skandale für die Zukunft unterbinden, also die Mischehen verbieten (2). Zwischen Lateinern und Schismatikern besteht nach Johannes XXII. das trennende Ehehindernis der « disparitas cultus », da die Griechen Häretiker sind. So scheint es wenigstens zu sein (3).

Wenn schon die Einzelnen in keiner Weise zur Kirche gehören, dann folgt daraus, dass erst recht die Gemeinschaften, die von ihnen gebildet werden, nicht Teile der einen wahren Kirche Christi sein können. Diese eine wahre Kirche kann nicht in sich gespalten sein. Ihr ist die Einheit wesentlich. Die von ihr abgespaltenen kirchenähnlichen Gebilde können also nicht Kirchen im strengen Sinne des Wortes sein. Das ist die Auffassung, die wir in den päpstlichen Dokumenten finden. Clemens VI. lädt den Kaiser Johannes V. zur Wiedervereinigung mit der Römischen Kirche ein, von der sich der griechische Klerus und das Volk (das Wort « Kirche » wird geflissentlich vermieden) durch das Schisma getrennt haben. Christus hat nur einen einzigen Schafstall und einen einzigen Hirten gewollt. Im Credo bekennen wir *eine* katholische und apostolische Kirche. Sie ist der eine Schafstall, ausserhalb dessen es kein Heil gibt (4). Im gleichzeitigen Brief an den Patriarchen fügt der Papst noch hinzu, die Griechen hätten sich eine andere Kirche zurecht gemacht, wo es doch nur eine einzige geben könne. Sie hätten vergebens versucht, den ungenähten Leibrock des Herrn zu zerreissen, ohne zu beachten, dass es nur *eine* Arche Noes gibt und dass, wer nicht in sie eintritt, in der Sündflut elend

(1) Vol. VII, 1 S. 79 n° 209, Brief vom 26. April 1312, ebenso Johannes XXII. für Kaffa: Vol. VII, 2 S. 18 n° 24, Benedikt XII., Vol. VIII S. 18 ff n° 44-48; Clemens VI., Vol. IX S. 195 ff n° 402 ff; Innozenz VI., vol. X S. 63 n° 136.137.

(2) Vol. VII, 2 S. 14/15 n° 20.

(3) Vol. VII, 2 S. 127 n° 400.

(4) Brief vom 21. Oktober 1343, Vol. IX S. 46 n° 98, vgl. S. 48 n° 101.

zugrunde geht (1). Durch die Abspaltung der Schismatiker und Häretiker wird die Kirche in ihrer Einheit in keiner Weise beeinträchtigt. Innozenz VI. äussert sich in diesem Sinne in einem Brief an den serbischen Patriarchen Joannichius, den er zur Union einlädt. Es haben sich viele durch Häresie oder Schisma vom Leib der Kirche getrennt. Das hat der Kirche aber keinen Eintrag getan, ebenso wenig wie das Weizenkorn durch die Absonderung der Spreu geschädigt wird oder wie das Licht eines Sternes dadurch, dass der Nebel von ihm weicht, schwächer wird. Im Gegenteil, sein Licht leuchtet um so heller auf. So ist es auch mit der Kirche (2).

Es ist deshalb nicht zu verwundern, dass in päpstlichen Dokumenten die griechische Kirche bisweilen eine «Sekte» genannt wird. Es soll mit dieser gewiss zu bedauernden Ausdrucksweise unterstrichen werden, dass sie nicht Kirche im strengen Sinne des Wortes ist. Innozenz VI. richtete am Kaspischen Meer eine lateinische Diözese für eine Bevölkerung ein, die « früher zur Sekte der Griechen » gehörte und die nun wegen der Nachlässigkeit dieser Griechen in Gefahr ist, überhaupt vom christlichen Glauben abzufallen (3). Im selben Schreiben ist von der « ungläubigen (perfida) Sekte Mohammeds » die Rede (4). In manchen Papstbriefen wird das Wort « Kirche » für die Gemeinschaft der Griechen offensichtlich mit Absicht vermieden, in anderen dagegen wird es unbedenklich gebraucht. Es ist aber auch dann aus dem Zusammenhang klar, dass es nicht im eigentlichen Sinne gemeint ist. Urban V. richtete im Jahre 1367, als die Union des Kaisers Johannes V. in Vorbereitung war, eine Reihe von Schreiben an verschiedene Persönlichkeiten des Byzantinischen Reiches, so an die Kaiserin, an die Magnaten der Stadt Konstantinopel und des Reiches, an die Patriarchen usw. Es ist hier immer nur von der Union « der Griechen » die Rede, nie von der Union der « griechischen *Kirche* » (5). In der Anrede ist allerdings in diesen Briefen zweimal das Wort « Kirche » zu lesen, so in dem Schreiben an die Patriarchen

(1) Vol IX S. 48/49 n° 102.103.

(2) Vol. X S. 56 n° 119.

(3) Brief vom 22. Juni 1358, Vol. X S. 216 n° 497.498, vgl. S. 246 n° 565.

(4) Vol. X S. 217 n° 498.

(5) Vol. XI S. 201-213 n° 427-446.

vom 6. November 1367, von denen es heisst, dass sie die « patriarchales ecclesiae » nach der Sitte der Griechen leiten (1). Die Patriarchen werden freilich nur mit « nobiles viri » angeredet, was wieder deutlich macht, dass der Papst sie nicht als legitim anerkennt. Die « patriarchales ecclesiae » existieren als juristische Personen weiter, auch wenn der Patriarchenthron von einem Schismatiker besetzt ist. Die konkreten aus Schismatikern bestehenden Gemeinschaften werden nicht als echte Kirchen anerkannt. In der Anrede im Brief an die griechischen Prälaten heisst es: « Prudentibus viris universis Praelatis ecclesiarum Graeciae » (2). Hier sind die Einzelgemeinden gemeint, denen diese « prudentes viri » vorstehen. Auch für deren Gesamtheit wird bisweilen das Wort « Kirche » verwandt, so von dem gleichen Papst Urban V., der es sonst zu vermeiden sucht, in einem Schreiben vom 22. Februar 1370, in dem er dem Klerus und den Mönchen von Konstantinopel die Konversion des Kaisers Johannes V. mitteilt. Hier spricht der Papst von der Einheit « der westlichen und der östlichen Kirche », die er herbeisehnt. Im selben Brief ermahnt er aber die Griechen, zu der « *einen* heiligen und apostolischen Kirche » zurückzukehren, « ausser der kein Heil ist » und von der sie sich durch das « verdammungswürdige Schisma » getrennt hatten (3). Die Union wird also auch hier nicht aufgefasst als Zusammenschluss von zwei mehr oder weniger gleichberechtigten Kirchen, sondern als Rückkehr der Getrennten zur *einen* wahren Kirche. Eine ähnliche Ausdrucksweise wie im soeben zitierten Brief Urbans V. findet sich auch sonst gelegentlich in Dokumenten der Avignon-Päpste. So spricht Clemens VI. von dem « negotium unionis latinae et graecae ecclesiarum » (4). Genau so drückt sich Innozenz VI. aus in einem Brief an den Kaiser Johannes Kantakuzenos vom 15. März 1353 (5). In einem Schreiben an zwei vornehme Griechen in Konstantinopel ermahnt derselbe Papst die Adressaten, sie möchten sich für die Rückkehr « der griechischen Kirche » « in den Schoss der hl. Römischen katholischen und universalen Kirche » einsetzen. So wird « der griechischen Kirche » das wahre

(1) Vol. XI S. 204 n° 432.
(2) Vol. XI S. 205 n° 434.
(3) Vol. XI S. 311 n° 673.
(4) Vol. IX S. 258 n° 537.538.
(5) Vol. X S. 17 n° 46.

Licht des wahren Glaubens wieder aufleuchten (1). In einem späteren Brief desselben Papstes an den Kaiser Johannes Kantakuzenos ist wieder von der « Sache der Union beider Kirchen, der lateinischen nämlich und der griechischen » die Rede. Auch hier ist aus dem Zusammenhang klar, wie dies zu verstehen ist. Der Papst ermahnt den Kaiser, mit seinem Volk « zur Einheit der hl. Römischen und universalen Kirche » und zur Einheit des Glaubens, dessen Spaltung Christus nicht zulässt, zurückzukehren (2). Die Päpste sind in ihrer Ausdrucksweise also nicht skrupulös. Ihre Lehre über Schisma und Häresie ist so eindeutig, dass ein Missverständnis ausgeschlossen sein sollte. Jedenfalls wäre es verfehlt und unhistorisch, solche Ausdrücke aus dem Zusammenhang herauszureissen und daraus übereilte Schlüsse zu ziehen.

Wenn die schismatischen Kommunitäten nicht Kirchen im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes sind, dann können auch ihre Oberhäupter nicht das Recht haben, einen Teil der wahren Kirche zu regieren. Mit andern Worten, sie sind weil illegitim ohne jede jurisdiktionelle Vollmacht. Diese Auffassung finden wir tatsächlich in nicht wenigen päpstlichen Dokumenten der Avignonesischen Zeit. Clemens V. entfernt den schismatischen Bischof von Naupaktos (am Golf von Korinth), der sich, wie der Papst ausdrücklich sagt, zu Unrecht (temere) Erzbischof dieser Stadt nennt und nur tatsächlich die dortige Kirche regiert, und setzt an seine Stelle einen katholischen Bischof. So gibt er sich der Hoffnung hin, diese « Diözese zum Gehorsam der hl. Römischen Kirche zurückzuführen » (3). Benedikt XII. fordert in einem Schreiben vom 25. Juli 1335 den Dogen von Venedig auf, einen schismatischen Bischof aus Kreta zu vertreiben. Dieser Schismatiker gibt sich als Bischof aus. Er ist geschickt « von jenem Schismatiker, der sich Patriarch von Konstantinopel nennt ». Er dispensiert von Ehehindernissen und « versucht öffentlich noch vieles andere Falsche und Schismatische » zu tun. So etwas ist unerträglich. Der Doge soll diesen Schismatiker von der Insel verjagen (4). Derselbe Papst berichtet dem französischen König Philipp VI. über die Verhandlungen mit dem Abgesandten des byzantinischen Kaisers, dem Archimandriten Bar-

(1) Vol. X S. 19 n° 47.
(2) Vol. X S. 40 n° 91, Brief vom 27. Oktober 1353.
(3) Vol. VII, 1 S. 33/34 n° 98.
(4) Vol. VIII S. 4 n° 13.14.

laam. Benedikt fragte den Unterhändler, ob er « von dem, der sich Patriarch von Konstantinopel nennt », geschickt sei (1). Gregor XI., der sonst den Griechen gegenüber sehr milde ist, nennt auch das Oberhaupt der Kirche von Konstantinopel einen « Antipatriarchen » (2).

Schismatische Bischöfe, die etwa katholisch werden, müssen durch einen eigenen Akt zur Ausübung der Autorität befähigt werden. Sie werden nicht etwa durch die blosse Wiederherstellung der Gemeinschaft mit Rom ohne weiteres wieder legitim. Ausserdem bedürfen sie der Befreiung von der Irregularität, die sie sich zugezogen haben, weil sie im Schisma bischöfliche Funktionen ausübten (3). Ebenso sind schismatische Priester von der Irregularität zu dispensieren. Das ist eine von den Fakultäten, die gewöhnlich den päpstlichen Legaten gegeben wird, die in den Orient gehen (4). Wir haben anderswo gezeigt, dass der Hl. Stuhl nicht immer die rigorose Auffassung vertrat, die wir bei den Avignon-Päpsten finden (5).

Wenn diese Päpste die schismatischen Hierarchen auch als illegitim und jeder Regierungsvollmacht bar ansahen, so brauchen sie doch in ihren Briefen an sie eine respektvolle Anrede. Es wurden oben schon Schreiben angeführt, in denen Patriarchen « nobiles viri » und Prälaten « prudentes viri » tituliert werden, mit der deutlichen Absicht, Titel zu vermeiden, die als eine Anerkennung gedeutet werden könnten. Bisweilen sind die Päpste in ihren Briefen jedoch grosszügiger. Clemens VI. lädt im Jahre 1343 den Patriarchen und die Bischöfe der Griechen zur Union ein. Es heisst hier in der Anrede: « Dilectis in Christo fratribus ... patriarchae et universis archiepiscopis et episcopis Graecorum spiritum gratiae salutaris » (6). Die übliche Anrede an einen katho-

(1) Vol. VIII S. 81 nº 208, vgl. S. 82 nº 212, wo das gleiche auch von den andern Patriarchen gesagt wird.

(2) Raynaldus 1373 nº XVIII, Brief an den Dogen von Venedig vom 27. Oktober 1373, vgl. Halecki S. 286.

(3) Urban V. in einem Schreiben an den lateinischen Erzbischof von Nicosia vom 21. September 1363, Vol. XI S. 75 nº 155.

(4) Z. B. Clemens V., Vol. VII, 1 S. 63 nº 173; Johannes XXII., Vol. VII, 2 S. 23 nº 34.

(5) W. de Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens*, Freiburg 1963, S. 337 ff. 353 ff.

(6) Vol. IX S. 47 nº 100, Brief vom 21. Oktober 1343.

lischen Bischof ist: « Venerabilis frater ». Der Unterschied ist also nicht sehr gross. Innozenz VI. wendet sich folgendermassen an den serbischen Patriarchen: « Joanichio patriarchae Serviae gratiam in praesenti, quae perducat ad gloriam in futuro » (1). Die Päpste erkennen die Tatsache an, dass die schismatischen Patriarchen ein Hirtenamt ausüben, so Innozenz VI. in dem soeben angeführten Brief an den serbischen Patriarchen. Der Papst schreibt ihm: « Du übst das Amt eines Hirten aus, wenn auch auf unerlaubte Weise, da Du nicht durch die Tür, das heisst durch die Kirche selbst in die Hürde der Schafe hineingekommen bist, sondern von anderswoher » (2). Es wurde oben schon der Text aus dem Brief Urbans V. angeführt, wo von den « nobiles viri » die Rede ist, die « more graecorum » die Patriarchalkirchen regieren (3). Derselbe Papst spricht in dem schon zitierten Brief an den Klerus und die Mönche von Konstantinopel von deren Hirtenaufgabe: « Estis ad animarum curam et alias ad Dei obsequium deputati ». Deshalb sollen sie das Volk zur Union führen (4).

Mit der Auffassung der Päpste von Schisma und Häresie hängt die Frage der Erlaubtheit der gottesdienstlichen Gemeinschaft mit den Häretikern und Schismatikern aufs engste zusammen. Für die einfachen Gläubigen ist diese unbedingt verboten. Den Missionaren gewähren die Päpste des Mittelalters, um das Apostolat zu erleichtern, in diesem Punkt sehr weitgehende Erlaubnisse. Johannes XXII. beklagt in einem Brief an den lateinischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, dass die lateinischen Katholiken in Achaja die Messe der Schismatiker besuchen, die Sakramente bei ihnen empfangen und auch umgekehrt die andern zum Gottesdienst in den katholischen Kirchen zulassen. Damit ist Gefahr für die Seelen verbunden, die göttliche Majestät wird beleidigt, und der christlichen Religion wird nicht geringer Schaden zugefügt. Es soll dies deshalb auch unter Androhung von Kirchenstrafen streng verboten werden (5). Ebenso scharf wendet sich Urban V. gegen ähnliche Missbräuche in Cypern. Der Papst be-

(1) Vol. X S. 56 nº 119.
(2) Vol. X S. 57 nº 122.
(2) Vol. XI S. 204 nº 432.
(4) Vol. XI S. 311 nº 674. Der Herausgeber A. Tăutu hebt dies mit Recht hervor: S. 312 Anm. 2.
(5) Vol. VII, 2 S. 120/121 nº 204, Brief vom 1. Oktober 1322.

fiehlt dem katholischen Erzbischof, im hl. Gehorsam und unter Androhung der Exkommunikation, diese Missbräuche auszurotten (1). Urban erklärt es für absolut unzulässig, dass katholische und schismatische Frauen gemeinsam bei Begräbnissen die Klagelieder singen (2). Einem konvertierten griechischen Priester in Kreta wird ausdrücklich verboten, weiterhin mit den Schismatikern gottesdienstliche Gemeinschaft zu pflegen. Wer das tut, ist ob Kleriker oder Laie ohne weiteres der Exkommunikation verfallen. Nur unter der Bedingung, dass er diese Gemeinschaft aufgibt, kann der konvertierte Priester ein Beneficium erhalten (3).

Es geht aus diesen Texten, nebenbei gesagt, auch hervor, dass nicht alle Griechen in den lateinischen Besitzungen im Osten als katholisch galten und dass der Gottesdienst der Schismatiker nicht mit Gewalt unterdrückt wurde.

Auch Missionare brauchen für die gottesdienstliche Gemeinschaft mit den andern eine besondere Erlaubnis. Diese wird ihnen aber leicht gegeben. Urban V. gewährt den Obern der Dominikaner, die im Osten arbeiten, die Fakultät, ihre Untergebenen von den Exkommunikationen loszusprechen, die sie sich aus Unwissenheit zugezogen hatten, weil sie die ihnen bereits von Johannes XXII. gewährten Fakultäten bezüglich der Gemeinschaft mit den Exkommunizierten « in officio » zu weit ausgelegt hatten (4). Tatsächlich gewähren die Päpste den Missionaren, die sie in den Osten senden, regelmässig zusammen mit anderen Fakultäten auch *die*, mit den Exkommunizierten « in officio », bisweilen heisst es auch « in divinis », Gemeinschaft zu pflegen (5). Innozenz VI. gibt dem Apostolischen Delegaten Petrus und dessen « familia » die Erlaubnis, auch « in divinis » mit den Exkommunizierten zu verkehren. Es wird aber eigens bemerkt, dass dies eigentlich de iure verboten sei und dass die Erlaubnis nur gelten solle, wenn die Gemeinschaft nicht gut vermieden werden könne (6). Urban V. konzediert dem

(1) Vol. XI S. 232/233 n° 489.490.

(2) Vol. XI S. 234 n° 492.

(3) Vol. XI S. 252 n° 543.546.547.

(4) Vol. XI S. 113 n° 246/247.

(5) Einige Beispiele dafür: Clemens V., Vol. VII, 1 S. 26 n° 69; Johannes XXII., Vol. VII, 2 S. 22 n° 27; derselbe, Vol. VII, 2 S. 95 n° 155, S. 151 n° 252, S. 173 n° 289; Benedikt XII., Vol. VIII S. 62 n° 154 usw.

(6) Vol. X S. 231 n° 525.

lateinischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Petrus, der gleichzeitig auch Apostolischer Legat war, ebenfalls die Fakultät, mit den andern « in divinis » zu verkehren, fügt aber noch eine weitere Einschränkung hinzu, nämlich, dass es sich nicht um namentlich Exkommunizierte handeln dürfe (1). Clemens VI. autorisiert konvertierte armenische Priester, unter den Schismatikern die Sakramente zu verwalten, nicht um deren Schisma zu billigen, sondern um sie zum Gehorsam gegenüber der wahren Kirche zu führen (2).

Wenn wir die bisherigen Ausführungen überschauen, so wird deutlich, wie schwierig es bei der geschilderten Geisteshaltung der Päpste sein musste, die Union zu verwirklichen. Wenn die schismatischen und häretischen Gemeinschaften ein juridisches Nichts sind, dann ist eigenlich eine Union durch Zusammenschluss der bisher getrennten Kirchen unmöglich, dann kann es nur eine Wiedervereinigung durch die bedingungslose Kapitulation der einzelnen Schismatiker und Häretiker geben. Tatsächlich nähert sich die Konzeption der Avignon-Päpste von der Union dieser Auffassung, wenn auch hie und da liberalere Gedanken auftauchen.

Es ist aus der damaligen Einstellung der Päpste verständlich, dass sie den von den Griechen immer wieder vorgebrachten Vorschlag, die Union auf einem gemeinsamen Konzil abzuschliessen, konstant ablehnten. Eine solche Union hätte den Anschein eines zweiseitigen Vertrages wie zwischen zwei gleichberechtigten Partnern gehabt. Die ausführlichste Begründung für den Konzilsvorschlag der Griechen gab der Archimandrit Barlaam, der im Jahre 1339 Papst Benedikt XII. in Avignon aufsuchte. Demnach soll das Konzil vom Papst einberufen werden. Das war ein ganz bedeutendes Zugeständnis von seiten der Griechen, das man eigentlich hätte würdigen sollen. Auf dem Konzil soll man sich durch Verhandlungen über die Frage des Ausgangs des Hl. Geistes einigen. Was auf einem gemeinsamen, universalen Konzil beschlossen wurde, das wird auch das griechische Volk annehmen. Es darf aber nicht wie in Lyon die Union durch den blossen Willen des Kaisers den andern aufgezwungen werden. Der Papst soll Legaten in den Orient zu den vier alten Patriarchatssitzen schicken und sie zum Konzil zu gemeinsamer Beratung einladen. Darauf

(1) Vol. XI S. 106 nº 234.
(2) Vol. IX S. 150 nº 309.

werden Kaiser und Patriarchen gern eingehen. Man wird sich über Zeit und Ort des Konzils einigen (1).

Die Antwort des Papstes war: Eine schon definierte Wahrheit wie die vom Ausgang des Hl. Geistes vom Vater und vom Sohn, die zudem von den Griechen selbst in Lyon bereits angenommen wurde, kann nicht wieder zur Diskussion gestellt werden, vor allem nicht auf das Verlangen von Schismatikern und Häretikern hin (2). Ausserdem antworteten Papst und Kardinalskollegium gemeinsam: Wenn die Griechen von der Gnade erleuchtet « zum Gehorsam und zur Einheit und Ergebenheit gegenüber der Römischen Kirche zurückkehren wollen », wird man sie mit offenen Armen aufnehmen (3). Der Hl. Stuhl will also nicht einen Unionsabschluss durch Verhandlungen, sondern durch einseitige, bedingungslose Rückkehr der Abgeirrten zur einen wahren Kirche.

Der Gegenvorschlag, den Benedikt XII. dem Archimandriten Barlaam machte, weist in dieselbe Richtung: Das Ziel der Bemühungen soll sein, die Irrtümer aus den Herzen der Griechen zu vertreiben und sie zur Wahrheit der katholischen Einheit zurückzuführen. Die Griechen sollen Vertreter der alten Patriarchate in den Westen schicken. Diese sollen mit gelehrten Leuten der westlichen Kirche, die der Papst ernennen wird, zusammenkommen. Bei dieser Zusammenkunft wird es aber keine Diskussionen geben, sondern man wird die Griechen in der katholischen Wahrheit unterweisen und so zum einen Schafstall zurückführen (4). — Die griechische und die lateinische Konzeption von der Union und dem Weg zu ihr stehen also unversöhnlich einander gegenüber. Ebenso lehnt Urban V. wiederum das Verlangen der Griechen nach einem Konzil ab. Was die Römische Kirche lehrt, darf nicht zur Diskussion gestellt werden. Die Griechen sollen kommen und sich belehren lassen (5).

Johannes XXII. erklärt sich dagegen in einem Brief an den georgischen König vom 15. Oktober 1321 bereit, auf den Vorschlag der Georgier hin ein Konzil zur Wiederherstellung der Einheit zu berufen. Er wird die Abgesandten der Georgier gern auf-

(1) Vol. VIII S. 85/86 nº 218; S. 87/88 nº 222-224.
(2) VIII S. 81/82 nº 210, vgl. S. 91 nº 232.
(3) Vol. VIII S. 95 nº 239.
(4) Vol. VIII S. 82 nº 212.
(5) Vol. XI S. 312 nº 676.

nehmen und « dem Leib der Kirche seine Glieder » wieder einfügen. Er wird sich über ihre Rückkehr freuen wie der Vater über die Heimkehr des verlorenen Sohnes (1). Das Konzil war in diesem Falle nur eine ganz vage und kaum praktische Möglichkeit. Aber auch auf diesem hypothetischen Konzil kann es sich nur um eines handeln: um die Rückkehr des verlorenen Sohnes in das Vaterhaus der Kirche (2). Ob Clemens VI. bei den Verhandlungen mit Johannes Kantakuzenos zu einem Konzil bereit war oder nicht, ist strittig. Halecki bezweifelt es stark, während Gay in seiner Monographie über Clemens VI. es behauptet (3).

Man fragt sich, wie es denn auf dem Konzil von Florenz plötzlich möglich war, über eine bereits definierte Glaubenswahrheit zu diskutieren und die Union nach der Form eines zweiseitigen Vertrages abzuschliessen, ohne Abschwörung und Absolution. Nun, inzwischen hatte sich einiges ereignet. Das westliche Schisma hatte vielleicht doch gelehrt, über Schismatiker etwas weniger rigoros zu denken. Eugen IV., der Papst des Konzils von Florenz, hatte das grösste Interesse daran, mit den Griechen zu einer Einigung zu kommen, um so dem rebellischen Konzil von Basel gegenüber einen Trumpf in die Hand zu bekommen. Die Frage bedürfte aber noch sehr der näheren Untersuchung.

Die Griechen bestanden nicht immer auf einem Konzil als Bedingung der Union. Kaiser Johannes V. Paläologos stellte diese Bedingung in seinem Unionsvorschlag vom Jahre 1355, der fast einer Kapitulation gleichkam, nicht. Er versprach, seine Untertanen zum Gehorsam gegenüber dem Papst zu führen (4). Man kann füglich daran zweifeln, ob er dazu imstande gewesen wäre. Das Wasser stand ihm der Art bis zum Hals, dass er zu allem bereit war. Damit soll sein ehrlicher Wille nicht in Zweifel gezogen werden. Papst Innozenz VI. schickte auf diesen Vorschlag hin einen Legaten ins Byzantinische Reich mit der Vollmacht, alle *einzelnen* Häretiker und Schismatiker, die zurückkehren wollten,

(1) Vol. VII, 2 S. 92 nº 150.

(2) Halecki S. 16.

(3) J. Gay, *Le Pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient (1342-1352)*, Paris 1904, S. 118. Das von Gay zitierte Dokument, ein Brief vom 28. Juni 1350, findet sich nicht in der von A. Tăutu herausgegebenen Sammlung.

(4) Vol. X S. 151 nº 338; vgl. Halecki S. 32 ff.

nach der Abschwörung zu absolvieren und aufzunehmen (1). Nach seiner Auffassung konnte die Union der Griechen sich also nur durch die Versöhnung aller Einzelnen vollziehen. In einem Brief an den griechischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel gibt der Papst denn auch der Hoffnung Ausdruck, dass der Patriarch selbst und eine grosse Menge von Griechen dem Beispiel des Kaisers folgend sich bekehren möchten (2). Gregor XI. hoffte durch Einzelkonversionen langsam zu einer Totalunion in Konstantinopel zu kommen (3).

Die Wiedervereinigung kann also nach den Avignon-Päpsten nicht anders verstanden werden denn als Rückkehr der verirrten Schäflein in den einen Schafstall Christi, das heisst zur Römischen Kirche (4).

II. – Die Haltung der avignonesischen Päpste gegenüber dem geistigen Erbe des Ostens.

Die Päpste waren also damals nicht bereit, dem Osten eine Eigenkirchlichkeit zu lassen. Unter Wiederherstellung der Einheit verstanden sie den einfachen Anschluss an die einzig wahre Kirche, die Römische, was in der Praxis die lateinische bedeutete. Eine solche Einheit hatte aber in Wirklichkeit niemals bestanden. Von ihrer Wiederherstellung zu sprechen, war eine Verkennung der historischen Tatsachen. Die Ostkirche war niemals ein Teil der westlichen, lateinischen Kirche gewesen. Die universale Kirche hatte doch tatsächlich tausend Jahre lang aus einer Mehrzahl von Einzelkirchen bestanden, die zusammengehalten wurden durch den einen Glauben und die von allen anerkannte höchste Autorität des Nachfolgers Petri, des Bischofs von Rom; die aber in ihrem Brauchtum, in ihrer hierarchischen Struktur, in ihrer Art, Theologie zu treiben, in ihren Frömmigkeitsformen und so fort erhebliche Unterschiede aufwiesen, die also wirklich eigenständige Teil-

(1) Vol. X S. 159 nº 361.

(2) Vol. X S. 172 nº 399.

(3) Vgl. Halecki S. 286.

(4) So Benedikt XII., Vol. VIII S. 28 nº 68, S. 30 nº 71.72; Clemens VI., Vol. IX S. 46 nº 98, S. 51 nº 108, S. 258 nº 538; Urban V., Vol. XI S. 171 nº 354, und an vielen anderen Stellen.

kirchen waren. Das sollte nun also alles verschwinden. An die Stelle der organisch gegliederten, im wesentlichen geeinten universalen Kirche sollte eine straff zentralisierte und uniformierte Einheitskirche treten. Vom uralten, verehrungswürdigen geistigen Erbe des Ostens sollte also nichts oder nicht viel mehr übrigbleiben.

Man zog allerdings — Gott sei Dank — nicht die letzten Konsequenzen aus diesem Einheitsideal, man verlangte nicht kategorisch die Abschaffung der orientalischen Riten, sondern war, wenn auch widerwillig, bereit, sie als das geringere Übel in Kauf zu nehmen, erkannte ihnen aber keinerlei innere Berechtigung zu. Die Avignon-Päpste sind die Erben der Geisteshaltung Innozenz' III., der bereits den griechischen Ritus am liebsten unterdrückt hätte (1). Clemens V. gibt seinen Nuntien, die er nach Serbien sandte, wo er auf die Union hoffte, die Weisung mit, den orientalischen Priestern den Gebrauch des gesäuerten Brotes bei der Liturgie zu gestatten, « bis etwas anderes durch den Apostolischen Stuhl verordnet werde ». Die Sonderbräuche der Orientalen werden, wie es ausdrücklich heisst, toleriert (2). Clemens scheint also damals daran gedacht zu haben, den byzantinischen Ritus abzuschaffen. Johannes XXII. hält sich für die Insel Cypern an die Anordnungen seiner Vorgänger, unter ausdrücklicher Bernfung auf sie; das heisst: die Verschiedenheit der Riten wird toleriert, soweit sie nicht mit dem Glauben im Widerstreit steht (3). Ganz allgemein wurde bei den Orientalen unter lateinischer Herrschaft die Ausübung des orientalischen Ritus geduldet, aber eben auch nur geduldet (4). Als das Ideal galt dies jedoch nicht. Bei der Gesamtunion der Griechen, die Urban V. im Zusammenhang mit der Konversion des Kaisers Johannes V. Paläologos zum lateinischen Ritus erhoffte, sollte, wie es scheint, einfach der lateinische Ritus eingeführt werden. In den Briefen, die Urban im Jahre 1367 an die Kaiserin, an die Notabeln, an den Patriarchen und an Prälaten schrieb, wird mit keinem Wort die Bewahrung des Ritus versprochen (5).

(1) Vgl. W. DE VRIES, *Rom und die Patriarchate* S. 186 ff.

(2) Vol. VII, 1 S. 48 n° 134.

(3) Vol. VII, 2 S. 75/76 n° 129.

(4) Vgl. auch Johannes XXII. für Sizilien: VII, 2 S. 125 n° 210, für Kreta: S. 165 n° 274, für Armenier in Italien: S. 177 n° 305.

(5) Vol. XI S. 201 ff. n° 427 ff.

Der tiefste Grund für die reservierte Haltung der Päpste den orientalischen Riten gegenüber war das Misstrauen gegen die Häretiker und Schismatiker, bei denen diese Riten im Gebrauch waren. Die Päpste neigten dazu, in der Verschiedenheit der Riten auch Verschiedenheit im Glauben zu sehen. Riten und Glaube gehörten in der Konzeption der Zeit sehr eng zusammen. Johannes XXII. spricht einmal in einer Ermahnung an einen armenischen Bischof in einem Atemzug von der « certissima et solidissima orthodoxae fidei et ritus ecclesiastici veritas » (1). Benedikt XII. zählt unter den « Irrtümern der Armenier » auch ihre von der lateinischen abweichende Art zu fasten auf. Sie sind der Auffassung, dass man nur dann faste, wenn man weder Fisch noch Eier noch Butter usw. geniesst. Wer es anders macht, gilt bei ihnen als Ungläubiger (2). Die Vermengung von Riten und Glauben ist also auf beiden Seiten festzustellen. Nicht wenige von den « Irrtümern der Armenier » sind einfach von den römischen verschiedene liturgische Gebräuche. Sie bereiten das Chrisma auf andere Weise als die Lateiner (3); sie zeigen das hlst. Sakrament nicht dem Volk, weil das Geheimnis verhüllt werden müsse (4); sie zelebrieren an gewissen Tagen nicht (5); sie haben nicht die richtige Zahl der Weihegrade (6); sie spenden die Weihe ohne die traditio instrumentorum (7). Clemens VI. sieht in der Spendung der hl. Eucharistie an die kleinen Kinder gleich nach der Taufe einen Irrtum im Glauben. Er fragt den armenischen Katholikos, ob er daran *glaube*, dass man niemandem vor Gebrauch der Vernunft die konsekrierte Hostie reichen dürfe (8). In zahlreichen Äusserungen der Päpste scheint das Misstrauen für die Riten der Häretiker und Schismatiker durch. Man vermutet in ihren liturgischen Büchern überall Irrtümer. Clemens V. schickt einen Visitator nach Kalabrien und Sizilien

(1) Vol. VII, 2 S. 38 n° 74.

(2) Vol. VIII S. 134/135 n° 344; vgl. Clemens VI., Vol. IX S. 311 n° 678; vgl. zum ganzen: F. TOURNEBIZE, *Les cent dix-sept accusations présentées à Bénoit XII contre les Arméniens*, in *Rev. de l'Or. Chr.* XI (1906) 163 ff, 274 ff, 352 ff.

(3) Vol. VIII S. 137 n° 353.

(4) Vol. VIII S. 144 n° 372.

(5) Vol. VIII S. 146 n° 377.

(6) Vol. VIII S. 149 n° 390.

(7) Vol. VIII S. 150 n° 392.

(8) Vol. IX S. 312 n° 688.

mit dem Auftrag, die Irrtümer aus den liturgischen Büchern der Griechen zu entfernen ([1]).

Die Gültigkeit der Sakramente der andern, insbesondere der Taufe und der Weihe wird nicht selten sogar in Frage gestellt und man tauft und weiht deshalb bedingungsweise von neuem. So gibt Johannes XXII. den Dominikanern, die er in den Osten schickt, die Fakultät, bei zweifelhaft Gestauften und Geweihten die Sakramente zu wiederholen. Es sei oft unklar, ob die Taufe « iuxta formam Ecclesiae » gespendet worden sei ([2]). Benedikt XII. befiehlt dem Erzbischof von Neapel, einen armenischen Bischof, der dort wirkt, gefangenzusetzen und zur Römischen Kurie zu schicken. Die Begründung ist, dieser Bischof sei nicht « secundum formam Ecclesiae » getauft und nicht « secundum ritum sacrorum canonum » geweiht worden ([3]). Clemens VI. ernennt einen armenischen Bischof für Cypern und ordnet an, dass er bedingungsweise wiedergetauft und wiedergeweiht werde, und zwar nach dem Ritus der Römischen Kirche, aber nur für den Fall, dass er die Sakramente bisher nicht « rite » empfangen haben sollte ([4]). Die Spendung dieser Sakramente im armenischen Ritus wurde also als zweifelhaft gültig angesehen. Diese These stellt Clemens VI. ausdrücklich, freilich ohne nähere Begründung auf, und zwar in einem langen Schreiben an den armenischen Katholikos von Cilicien, wo er von diesem verlangt, die bedingungsweise Wiedertaufe der Armenier zuzulassen ([5]). Es ist dies eigentlich zu verwundern, da derselbe Papst neun Jahre vorher eine Entscheidung zugunsten der armenischen Taufe gegeben hatte. Es war ihm im Oktober 1342 folgender Fall unterbreitet worden: Ein armenischer Mönch und Priester Johannes wurde gemäss der allgemeinen Anordnung Benedikts XII. von neuem getauft. Er liess sich aber nicht wiederweihen und übte doch weiter sein Priestertum aus. Nachher bekam er deswegen Bedenken. Papst Clemens VI., entschied, er solle ruhig weiter fortfahren, ohne Wiederweihe ([6]). Aus dem unter Benedikt XII. aufgestellten Katalog der Irrtümer der Armenier

([1]) Vol. XI S. 331 n° 711, vgl. S. 350 n° 766.

([2]) Vol. VII, 2 S. 259-260 n° 427.428; ebenso Urban V.: Vol. XI S. 322 n° 693; Gregor XI: Raynaldus 1374 n° VIII.

([3]) Vol. VIII S. 98/99 n° 243.

([4]) Vol. IX S. 41 n° 133; vgl. S. 150 n° 309.

([5]) Vol. IX S. 313 n° 690.

([6]) Vol. IX S. 23 n° 60.

erfahren wir, weshalb man an der Gültigkeit der Taufe der Armenier zweifelte. Hier wird behauptet, dass die Armenier manchmal mit Wein oder mit Milch tauften und dass sie alle möglichen zweifelhaften oder sogar sicher ungültigen Taufformeln gebrauchten (1). Die armenische Synode von Sis (1345) wies diesen Vorwurf als völlig grundlos energisch zurück (2).

Auch die Gültigkeit der Taufe bei den Byzantinern wurde in Zweifel gezogen. In einem Brief Clemens' VI. an den lateinischen Erzbischof von Soltania wird lobend erwähnt, dass dessen Suffragan, der Bischof von Tiflis, viele Schismatiker bekehrt und sie nach dem Ritus der Römischen Kirche getauft habe (3). Auch die Spendung der Weihe, wie sie bei den Orientalen im Gebrauch war, wurde als in sich selbst zweifelhaft betrachtet. Urban V. gewährt dem Erzbischof von Nicosia die Vollmacht, die von Häretikern und Schismatikern auf Cypern Geweihten wiederzuweihen, « si male ordinati fuerint » (4).

Die negative Beurteilung der Riten der andern findet manchmal einen recht drastischen Audruck, wenn in päpstlichen Dokumenten von dem « damnatus ritus Graecorum » die Rede ist (5). Es ist bei einer solchen Einstellung kein Wunder, wenn die Päpste die orientalischen Riten möglichst dem lateinischen anzugleichen suchten, ja daran dachten, wo dies anging, sie einfach durch den römischen zu ersetzen.

Was die Armenier betrifft, ist die Tendenz des Hl. Stuhles ganz klar, deren Riten allmählich und stufenweise völlig dem lateinischen anzugleichen. Man beanstandet bald dies bald das und verlangt Änderung mit der klaren, bisweilen auch offen ausgesprochenen Absicht, schliesslich zur einfachen Übernahme des römischen Ritus durch die Armenier zu kommen. Johannes XXII. drückt in einem Brief an den armenischen König vom 24. April 1319 seinen Wunsch aus, dass zwischen der lateinischen und der armenischen Kirche bei der Sakramentenspendung und überhaupt

(1) Vol. VIII S. 138/139 n° 355.
(2) Vol. VIII S. 203/204 n° 536-538.
(3) Vol. IX S. 126 n° 258.
(4) Vol. XI S. 74 n° 153.
(5) So im Schreiben Benedikts XII. an die venezianische Regierung vom 25. Juli 1335, Vol. VIII S. 4 n° 13; Urban V., Vol. XI S. 215 n° 450: « damnabilibis ritus », ebenso Vol. XI S. 216 n° 451. Vgl. auch Gregor XI.: Welykyj, Documenta Vol. 1 S. 89 n° 52.

in den kirchlichen Riten keinerlei Unterschied mehr bleibe. Im Augenblick bittet und beschwört er den König, er möge dafür sorgen, dass die Armenier bei der Firmung und der Krankenölung den römischen Ritus beobachten (1). Den Katholikos und die Bischöfe ermahnt der Papst gleichzeitig, unerschütterlich zu verharren im katholischen Glauben, in der Anerkennung des Primats und in der « Beobachtung der kirchlichen Riten ». Im Zusammenhang scheint unter « kirchlichen Riten » hier der römische Ritus verstanden zu sein (2). Clemens VI. lobt im Ernennungschreiben für einen armenischen Bischof für Cypern diesen wegen seiner Bereitschaft « sich in allem dem Ritus der Römischen Kirche anzugleichen » (3).

Auch was die Griechen und andere Christen des byzantinischen Ritus angeht, war damals das Ideal des Hl. Stuhles die völlige Latinisierung. Man wollte dieses Ziel freilich im allgemeinen nicht mit Gewalt erreichen, sondern auf gütlichem Wege, vor allem auch durch viele Einzelbekehrungen zum lateinischen Ritus. In manchen Fällen wurde allerdings auch Druck ausgeübt, besonders auf Priester. In dem schon erwähnten Brief Benedikts XII. an die venezianische Regierung, in dem der Papst die von dieser geduldeten Machenschaften eines schismatischen Bischofs auf Kreta beklagt, der die die Lateiner zum « verfluchten Ritus der Griechen » hinüberziehen will, verlangt der Papst, man solle vielmehr die Griechen « zu den heilbringenden Gebräuchen der hl. Römischen Kirche *einladen* », also nicht zwingen (4). Derselbe Papst lobt den Eifer des lateinischen Erzbischofs von Nicosia, die Orientalen, unter ihnen an erster Stelle die Griechen, « *zum Ritus*, zum Gehorsam und zur Ergebenheit der hl. Römischen Kirche gegenüber » zu bringen (5). Clemens VI. ermahnt einen katholischen Bischof an der dalmatischen Küste, die Irrenden — es handelt sich um Serben und Albanesen — « zur wahren Einheit des katholischen Glaubens und zu den ritus et mores der Römischen Kirche » zu führen... Dazu kann er auch die Hilfe des weltlichen Armes in Anspruch nehmen (6). So ganz auf gütlichem

(1) Vol. VII, 2 S. 38/39 nº 75; vgl. S. 105 nº 174, S. 106 nº 176.
(2) Vol. VII, 2 S. 40 nº 79.
(3) Vol. IX S. 68 nº 133.
(4) Vol. VIII S. 4 nº 13.14, Brief vom 25. Juli 1335.
(5) Vol. VIII S. 43 nº 91, Brief vom 30. Mai 1338.
(6) Vol. IX S. 297 nº 629.

Wege sollte das also doch nicht geschehen. Genau im gleichen Sinne, ja mit denselben Worten gibt Innozenz VI. seinen Nuntien in Serbien Anweisung (1). Urbans V. Latinisierungsabsichten sind klar aus den Instruktionen, die er seinem Legaten im Osten, dem lateinischen Patriarchen Petrus von Konstantinopel gab. Dieser sollte auf allen Bischofssitzen, die etwa durch das Kreuzheer aus der Hand der Türken befreit würden, sofort lateinische Prälaten statt der schismatischen einsetzen (2). Tatsächlich ernannte der Papst in dem von Lateinern eroberten Gallipoli sofort einen lateinischen Bischof, den er dem zum lateinischen Ritus übergetretenen Kaiser empfahl, da die Stadt zu dessen Reich gehörte (3). Derselbe Papst verlangt in einem Brief an den lateinischen Erzbischof von Kreta von den griechischen Priestern, die katholisch werden wollten, den Übertritt zum lateinischen Ritus und liess nur solche Kandidaten zu den Weihen zu, die bereit waren, diesen Ritus anzunehmen (4). Im gleichen Brief gibt Urban der Hoffnung Ausdruck, dass das Schisma auf Kreta bald ausgerottet sein möge. Damit wäre also die vollkommene Latinisierung der Insel Tatsache geworden. Die Kirchenpolitik Urbans V. in Süditalien scheint das gleiche Ziel gehabt zu haben. Er ernannte z. B. für die orientalische Diözese Rossano in Kalabrien einen lateinischen Bischof (5).

Wie schon gesagt, hofften die Päpste in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, durch viele Einzelkonversionen zum lateinischen Ritus im Patriarchat Konstantinopel schliesslich zur Gesamtunion zu kommen (6). Solche Konversionen von bedeutenden Männern waren damals nicht gerade selten. Urban V. empfiehlt zwei griechischen Adligen, « die das Schisma der Griechen völlig verlassen und im Ritus der lateinischen Gläubigen » sich der Römischen Kirche angeschlossen hatten, dem lateinischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel (7). Ungefähr gleichzeitig schreibt derselbe Papst an den König von Cypern zugunsten eines zum lateinischen Ritus übergetretenen griechischen Adligen und gibt seiner Hoff-

(1) Vol. X S. 60 nº 130, Brief vom 27. Dezember 1353.

(2) Vol. XI S. 108 nº 236, Brief vom 10. Juli 1364; vgl. HALECKI S. 87.

(3) Vol. XI S. 330 nº 710; vgl. HALECKI S. 207.

(4) Vol. XI S. 254 nº 550-552, Brief vom 28. Juli 1368.

(5) Vol. XI S. 138/139 nº 286-288, Brief vom 19. September 1365.

(6) Vgl. HALECKI S. 293/294.

(7) Vol. XI S. 124 nº 270, Brief vom 18. April 1365.

nung Ausdruck, dass viele andere dessen Beispiel folgen mögen (1). Den Protosynkellos des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Maximos Laskaris beglückwünscht der Papst zu seiner Bekehrung zum Ritus der Römischen Kirche und fordert ihn auf, andere zum gleichen Schritt zu führen (2). Im gleichen Sinne schreibt diesem hervorragenden Konvertiten auch Urbans Nachfolger Gregor XI. (3).

Der berühmteste Konvertit zum römischen Ritus ist der Kaiser Johannes V. Paläologos, von dessen Übertritt schon die Rede war. Dass der Kaiser den lateinischen Ritus annahm, ergibt sich aus einem Schreiben des Papstes vom 13. Februar 1370 an ihn, durch das Johannes V. das Privileg verliehen wird, für sich überall, aber nur durch einen lateinischen Priester, die hl. Messe feiern zu lassen (4). Johannes hatte schon im Jahre 1357 in Konstantinopel dem Schisma abgeschworen und die hl. Kommunion aus der Hand des päpstlichen Legaten Peter Thomas empfangen (5).

Trotz der im allgemeinen wenig günstigen Einstellung der Päpste zu den Riten können wir aber doch wenigstens hie und da Ansätze zu einer positiveren Denkweise feststellen. Bisweilen sind die Päpste selbst grosszügiger als ihre Legaten und als andere ausführende Organe. Clemens V. z. B. nimmt einen armenischen Priester in Süditalien gegen den Inquisitor in Schutz, der wegen dessen vom römischen abweichenden Ritus ihn bereits der Häresie verdächtigte. Der Papst erkennt in seinem Schreiben ausdrücklich an, dass die Riten der Armenier, wie allgemein bekannt, nicht gegen den orthodoxen Glauben verstossen. Der übereifrige Inquisitor hatte den Armenier ins Gefängnis werfen lassen. Dieser appellierte mit Erfolg an den Papst (6). Die Verdächtigung der armenischen Riten begann erst unter Clemens' V. zweitem Nachfolger, Benedikt XII. Johannes XXII. griff in einem Streit wegen der Riten auf Cypern zugunsten der Griechen ein. Ein Apostolischer Legat hatte bei diesen beanstandet, dass sie beim grossen Einzug die eucharistischen Gaben bereits anbeteten, und hatte sie

(1) Vol. XI S. 125 n° 271.

(2) Vol. XI S. 128 n° 275.

(3) Vgl. Halecki S. 294 Anm. 1, der zitiert: Reg. Vat. 270 fol. 58, Brief vom 26. September 1374.

(4) Vol. XI S. 310 n° 670; vgl. zur Sache Halecki S. 198-203.

(5) J. Smet, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières*, Rom 1954, S. 204.

(6) Vol. VII, 1 S. 102 n° 273.274, Brief vom 1. August 1312.

deshalb der Häresie bezichtigt. Deswegen und noch aus anderen Gründen hatte er sogar verschiedene Bischöfe gefangengesetzt. Diese appellierten an den Papst, der ihre Befreiung verfügte. Er ermahnt sie, das Volk darüber zu belehren, dass die eucharistischen Gaben beim grossen Einzug noch nicht Leib und Blut Christi seien (1). Urban V. musste einmal eine gegen einen orientalischen Brauch gerichtete Verfügung seines Legaten im Orient rückgängig machen. Dieser Legat, der lateinische Patriarch Petrus von Konstantinopel, hatte bei Strafe der Exkommunikation allen lateinischen Klerikern verboten, in Angleichung an die Orientalen einen Bart zu tragen. Urban hob diese odiöse Verfügung auf (2).

In sehr vielen Fällen bewiesen die Päpste katholischen Orientalen gegenüber ihr Wohlwollen und nahmen sie gegen willkürliche Behandlung durch lateinische Bischöfe in Schutz. So verteidigte Clemens V. ein orientalisches Kloster in Süditalien gegen die Übergriffe eines lateinischen Bischofs. Die Mönche hatten an den Papst appelliert (3). Benedikt XII. gibt einem an den Hl. Stuhl gegen seinen Metropoliten appellierenden Bischof recht. Der Metropolit wollte die Wahl dieses Bischofs nicht bestätigen, weil der Erwählte nicht genügend Latein könnte. Der Papst ordnet an, dass die Wahl trotzdem anerkannt werden solle (4). Es liessen sich noch viele ähnliche Beispiele anführen (5).

Die Verschiedenheit der liturgischen Riten, die den Päpsten schon recht wenig genehm war, wäre jedenfalls leichter zu ertragen gewesen als disziplinäre Unterschiede, vor allem wenn es um die im Osten traditionelle Selbstverwaltung ging, die mit dem Primat schwer vereinbar schien. Tatsächlich ist die Tendenz festzustellen, den Orientalen einfach das lateinischen Kirchenrecht und damit auch die im Westen bereits übliche Zentralisierung aufzuoktroyieren. Benedikt XII. verlangt von den katholischen Armeniern, dass sie auf einer Synode die «Decreta et Decretales» der Rö-

(1) Vol. VII, 2 S. 68 ff n° 116 ff; vgl. Johannes XXII., Vol VII, 2 S. 71 n° 124.

(2) Vol. XI S. 129 n° 276.

(3) Vol. VII, 1 S. 51/52 n° 142-150; ähnlich Johannes XXII., VII,2 S. 48 n° 91, S. 118 n° 201, S. 166 n° 276, S. 169 n° 280, S. 190/191 n° 326. 327, S. 245 n° 407.

(4) Vol. VIII S. 74/75 n° 189-195.

(5) Vgl. Vol. VIII S. 112/113 n° 266-268.

mischen Kirche annehmen sollen (1). Tatsächlich übernahm die Synode von Sis (1345) die lateinischen Gebräuche bezüglich der Abstinenz (2). Auch zeigte sie sich bereit, dem Verlangen des Papstes gemäss die Dekrete und Dekretalien zu akzeptieren (3). Clemens VI. ordnet an, dass den Armeniern auf deren eigenen Wunsch die lateinischen Kirchenrechtssammlungen geschickt werden (4). Hier ist auch ausdrücklich von den « Clementina » die Rede, das sind die Dekrete Clemens' V., die auf dem Konzil von Vienne erlassen worden waren. Schon Clemens V. selbst hatte diese Dekrete auch für die Orientalen, mindestens die im Westen lebenden anwenden wollen (5). Zur Zeit Innozenz' VI. wurden wie auch vor ihm und nach ihm Bestimmungen des lateinischen Kirchenrechts ohne weiteres auch auf die Orientalen ausgedehnt (6). Mindestens in einem Punkt erkannte man jedoch das besondere orientalische Recht an, nämlich bezüglich der Legitimität der Priesterehe (7).

Der wichtigste Punkt der orientalischen Kirchenordnung, nämlich die relative Selbständigkeit in der Verwaltung der Einzelkirchen wurde recht wenig oder gar nicht respektiert. Der allgemeine Zug zu einer immer strafferen Zentralisierung, der gerade die Zeit der Avignon-Päpste kennzeichnet, machte auch vor dem Osten nicht halt. Die theoretische Begründung hierfür gibt Clemens V., der aus dem klassischen Text bei Matthäus 16, 18 a priori die historisch unhaltbare These ableitet, die Römische Kirche habe alle Sitze von Patriarchen, Erzbischöfen und Bischöfen und überhaupt alle kirchlichen Würden geschaffen (8). Daraus folgt das Recht der Ernennung aller Amtsträger in der Kirche, ferner das Recht, sie zu versetzen und, falls sie sich als unwürdig erweisen,

(1) Vol. VIII S. 115 nº 275, S. 118 nº 282.

(2) Vol. VIII S. 185 nº 483.

(3) So nach dem Brief Clemens' VI. an den armenischen Katholikos vom 31. August 1346: Vol. IX S. 165 nº 340.

(4) Vol. IX S. 171 nº 352.

(5) Vol. VII, 1 S. XV.

(6) So A. TĂUTU in der Vorrede zur Ausgabe der Dokumente Innozenz' VI., Vol. X, S. X.

(7) Clemens VI., Vol. IX S. 182 nº 375.

(8) RAYNALDUS 1344 nº 58, vgl. Vol. IX S. XI.XII. Diese These wurde bereits von Bonifatius VIII. aufgestellt: RAYNALDUS 1298 nº XX, vgl. DE VRIES, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens* S. 361.

sie auch abzusetzten. Clemens VI. verlangt vom Katholikos der Armenier, dass er an die Machtfülle des Papstes in diesem Sinne *glaube* (1). Die Patriarchengewalt ist nur eine Teilnahme an der höchsten Vollmacht des Statthalters Christi auf Erden. Das wird bereits im Glaubensbekenntnis des Michael Paläologos ausgesagt, dessen Ablegung damals von allen, die katholisch werden wollten, verlangt wurde (2). Daraus folgt logisch, dass den Patriarchen ihre Autorität nur von Rom verliehen werden *kann*. Schon Clemens V. reservierte sich in der Tat die Besetzung des Stuhles von Konstantinopel, solange dieser von Schismatikern eingenommen werde. Clemens weist in dem betreffenden Dekret darauf hin, dass bereits Bonifatius VIII. die Ernennung der Patriarchen aller alten Sitze für sich in Anspruch genommen habe, unter Ausschluss des Wahlrechts der Kapitel (3). Es handelt sich hier um die lateinischen Patriarchen, die damals aber als die einzig legitimen Inhaber der alten Sitze angesehen wurden, da die schismatischen Patriarchen als juridisch inexistent galten. Zur Zeit der Avignon-Päpste ist das Bestreben deutlich, überhaupt alle Ernennungen auch im Osten in die Hand zu bekommen. Bei jeder Gelegenheit reserviert sich der Hl. Stuhl die Ernennung von Bischöfen und Äbten (4). Clemens VI. betont bei Ernennung eines armenischen Bischofs von Edessa, schon sein Vorgänger, Benedikt XII., habe sich die Besetzung aller frei werdenden Bistümer vorbehalten (5).

Die Ernennung und auch die blosse Bestätigung eines Erwählten ist gleichbedeutend mit der Übertragung der Vollmacht. Das ist aus der immer wiederkehrenden Formel « praeficimus te... curam et administrationem tibi committendo » eindeutig klar, die auch bei der Bestätigung eines Gewählten im Gebrauch ist (6).

Die Zentralisation war aber damals tatsächlich doch noch nicht vollständig durchgeführt. Es war noch nicht die Besetzung aller Bistümer Rom vorbehalten. Das geht z. B. daraus hervor, dass Johannes XXII. sich zwar die Besetzung des erzbischöflichen

(1) Vol. IX S. 304 n° 644.
(2) Vgl. de Vries, *Rom*... S. 360/361.
(3) Vol. VII, 1 S. 53 n° 152.
(4) So Benedikt XII., Vol. VIII S. 67; Clemens VI., Vol. IX S. 2 n° 9.
(5) Vol. IX S. 32 n° 74.
(6) Clemens V., Vol. VII, 1 S. 65 n° 179.180, S. 104 n° 279.280, S. 109 n° 294; Johannes XXII., Vol. VII, 2 S. 43 n° 82, S. 55 n° 102, S. 149 n° 249; Clemens VI., Vol. IX S. 104 n° 206 usw.

Stuhles von Nicosia auf Cypern vorbehält, dabei aber ausdrücklich bemerkt, es sei nicht seine Absicht, die griechischen Kirchen in diesem Gebiet dem Hl. Stuhl zu reservieren (1). Das Recht, den Bischof oder den Abt zu wählen, ist damals sicher noch nicht überall abgeschafft. Es ist nicht selten von solchen Wahlen die Rede, die der Papst nachträglich noch bestätigt. Aber, wie schon gesagt, auch in diesem Falle ist es der Papst, der die Vollmacht überträgt (2). Clemens VI. gibt seinen Legaten, die er in den Orient schickt, die Fakultät, gewählte Bischöfe und Äbte zu bestätigen. Wir finden hier bereits die später klassische Formel: « electi *seu postulati* », die darauf hindeutet, dass die Wahl in den Augen des Papstes eigentlich nur ein Vorschlag ist oder ein Verlangen, dass dem Gewählten das Amt durch den Hl. Stuhl übertragen werde (3). Es wurden damals aber bestimmt nicht alle erwählten Bischöfe und Äbte direkt durch Rom bestätigt. Das war nicht selten noch Sache der örtlichen Autoritäten, wie sich dies z. B. aus der Bestätigung eines Abtes in Sizilien ergibt, die Clemens VI. 1347 vornahm. Der Abt hatte sich an den Papst gewandt, da der zuständige Erzbischof sich weigerte, die Bestätigung zu gewähren (4).

Manchmal versuchen die dazu bislang kompetenten Körperschaften noch eine Wahl, obwohl der Hl. Stuhl sich die Ernennung bereits reserviert hatte. In solchen Fällen wird die Wahl für ungültig erklärt, aber nicht selten wird der Erwählte dann doch ernannt (5). In anderen Fällen ernennt der Papst jedoch nach Belieben einen andern (6). Es ist deutlich zu erkennen, dass die einfachen Ernennungen bei den späteren Avignon-Päpsten häufiger werden. Schliesslich ist kaum je noch von Wahl die Rede. Die Zentralisierung nimmt also im Lauf der Avignon-Periode zu.

(1) Vol. VII, 2 S. 185 nº 320.

(2) Beispiele: Clemens V., Vol. VII, 1 S. 35 nº 101, S. 64 nº 179, S. 104 nº 279, S. 105 nº 282; Johannes XXII., Vol. VII, 2 S. 43 nº 82, S. 53 nº 98, S. 149 nº 249; Benedikt XII., Vol. VIII S. 75 nº 194; Clemens VI., Vol. IX S. 193/194 nº 398, S. 218 nº 453.

(3) Vol. IX S. 163/164 nº 334.

(4) Vol. IX S. 193 nº 395.

(5) Beispiele: Clemens VI., Vol. IX S. 262 nº 543-546, S. 279 nº 586.587; Innozenz VI., Vol. X S. 179/180 nº 411-415, S. 213-215 nº 488-494, S. 256/257 nº 586-589; Urban V., Vol. XI S. 154/155 nº 319-323.

(6) So Innozenz VI., Vol. X S. 86/87 nº 181-187.

Es ist klar, dass so von der traditionellen Autonomie der Orientalen nicht viel übrigblieb. Das gilt vor allem von den Orientalen im Herrschaftsgebiet der Lateiner. Als Beispiel sei zunächst die Insel Kreta angeführt. Johannes XXII. ordnet die Aufstellung eines griechischen Weihbischofes an, der aber in allem dem lateinischen Erzbischof untergeordnet sein soll (1). Das war ein Fortschritt im Vergleich zur bisherigen Lage, da bislang überhaupt kein Bischof für die katholischen Griechen vorhanden gewesen war, obwohl diese ihre eigenen « ritus et mores » hatten, was der Papst durchaus gelten lässt. In Cypern waren die griechischen Bischöfe, die es immerhin noch gab, den lateinischen unterworfen (2).

Es war also damals bei den Päpsten wenig oder gar keine Bereitschaft vorhanden, den Orientalen eine gewisse Selbstverwaltung zuzugestehen. Auch, wo es darum ging, noch Getrennte für die Union zu gewinnen, stellen ihnen die Päpste nur in sehr vagen Worten die Wahrung ihrer Rechte in Aussicht, ohne eine klare Zusicherung einer echten Autonomie. Johannes XXII. lädt die Armenier von Altarmenien, das damals zum Reich der mongolischen Il-Khane Persiens gehörte, zur Union ein. Er versichert den Bischöfen, dass er ihre Ehre nicht mindern, sondern so weit wie möglich sie eher noch mehren wolle (3). Clemens VI. verspricht dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel und seinen Bischöfen, sie im Fall der Union mit Privilegien und Gunstbezeigungen zu überhäufen (4). Dem Demetrius Cydones, der bereits katholisch geworden war und den Urban V. auffordert, für die Union zu werben, stellt er « viele apostolische Gunsterweisungen » in Aussicht (5). Das alles ist sehr vage und unbestimmt. Die Lage der mehr oder weniger zwangsweise Unierten im lateinischen Herrschaftsbereich war jedenfalls für die selbständigen Griechen kein Ansporn zur Union und musste sie gegenüber den Versprechungen der Päpste misstrauisch machen.

Ein Ansatz zum Verständnis für die orientalische Selbstverwaltung findet sich lediglich in einem Unionsprojekt, das Clemens V. im Jahre 1308 dem serbischen König Uroš vorlegte. Die Erz-

(1) Vol. VII, 2 S. 165/166 n° 274/275, Brief vom 1. April 1326.
(2) Johannes XXII., Vol. VII, 2 S. 68/69 n° 115.117.
(3) Vol. VII, 2 S. 112 n° 192, Brief vom 22. November 1321.
(4) Vol. IX S. 49 n° 105, Brief vom 21. Oktober 1343.
(5) Vol. XI S. 334 n° 720.

bischöfe, Bischöfe, Äbte und Archimandriten sollen wie bisher gewählt werden. Das Recht der Bestätigung der Bischöfe wird den Metropoliten zukommen, die das Pallium vom Hl. Stuhl erhalten werden. Damit will der Papst etwaige Rechte des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel nicht antasten. Diese Rechte können aber erst dann wieder ausgeübt werden, wenn dieser Patriarch die Gemeinschaft mit dem Hl. Stuhl wiederhergestellt hat (1). Hier wird wieder die Konzeption deutlich, dass der Patriarchenstuhl von Konstantinopel als juristische Person fortdauert, auch wenn er von einem Schismatiker besetzt ist, der freilich keinerlei Rechte hat. Das ist aber das einzige Unionsprojekt dieser Art, das von einem Avignon-Papst ins Auge gefasst wurde.

Die einzige katholische orientalische Teilkirche, die damals in effektiven Beziehungen zu Rom stand, war die armenische des Königreiches Cilicien. Die maronitische Kirche konnte tatsächlich wegen der Herrschaft der Mameluken keinen Kontakt mit dem Hl. Stuhl aufrecht erhalten. Von einer echten Autonomie ist auch bei den Armeniern nicht sehr viel übriggeblieben. Der Katholikos brauchte allerdings nicht vom Papst bestätigt zu werden und wurde also erst recht nicht von ihm eingesetzt. Der Wahlmodus wird im Memorandum Benedikts XII. über die Irrtümer der Armenier und in deren Antwort darauf beschrieben. Die Bischöfe, Lehrer, Äbte und Erzpriester kommen nach dem Tode des Katholikos zusammen und wählen zwei oder drei Kandidaten, aus denen der König mit seinem Rat einen bestimmt. Die Bestätigung oder Einführung in das Amt gibt der König dadurch, dass er dem Erwählten einen Ring an den Finger steckt (2). Hier wird auch bereits der Grund deutlich, weshalb der Papst sich hier nicht einmischen konnte. Die armenische Kirche war eine Nationalkirche, die sehr stark vom König abhing. Der Katholikos hat nach der Auffassung der Armenier seine Autorität direkt von Christus durch Vermittlung der Apostel und ihrer Nachfolger (3). Er hat das Recht, alle Bischöfe zu weihen. Zur Aufstellung der Bischöfe bedurfte es der Zustimmung des Königs. Der Grund dafür war, dass der König über die Quellen der Einkünfte verfügte (4). Auch bei der Ernen-

(1) Vol. VII, 1 S. 45/46 n° 128.
(2) Vol. VIII S. 148 n° 385, S. 219 n° 586.
(3) Vol. VIII S. 220 n° 589.
(4) Vol. VIII S. 150 n° 394, S. 220 n° 590.

nung der Bischöfe im Königreich Armenien intervenierte der Papst nicht, eben wieder wegen des entscheidenden Einflusses des Königs. Der einzige Fall der Ernennung eines Bischofs dort ist der eines lateinischen Oberhirten (Vgl. hierüber weiter unten S. 124). Ausserhalb des Königreiches ernannte der Papst jedoch des öfteren auch armenische Bischöfe (1). Das beweist, dass es nicht etwa Respekt vor der Autonomie der Armenier war, wenn der Papst im Königreich Armenien in diesen Dingen nicht intervenierte.

Im übrigen besass der Katholikos jedenfalls nicht mehr die allgemeine Autorität, sein Patriarchat autonom zu verwalten, sondern er hatte nur ganz bestimmte Einzelvollmachten, über deren Umfang man diskutierte und die ganz und gar vom Gutdünken des Hl. Stuhles abhingen. Zur Zeit Clemens' V. wurde die Frage aufgeworfen, ob der armenische Katholikos vom Ehehindernis des 3. und 4. Grades der Blutsverwandtschaft und der Schwägerschaft dispensieren könne. Er hatte tatsächlich den König von einem solchen Hindernis dispensiert. Dieser bekam aber nachher Bedenken, ob der Katholikos nicht vielleicht seine Vollmachten überschritten habe, und wandte sich an den Papst, der ihm dann die Dispens erteilte (2). Johannes XXII. gewährte später dem Katholikos sehr eng begrenzte Dispensvollmachten: Er durfte zwei Personen aus der königlichen Familie vom Hindernis des dritten Grades und zehn Personen aus dem Adel vom Hindernis des 4. Grades dispensieren (3).

Es hat eine Kontroverse zwischen dem Katholikos und dem Papst Clemens VI. gegeben über die Frage, ob das Oberhaupt der armenischen Kirche befugt sei, von der Irregularität wegen illegitimer Geburt zu dispensieren. Der Katholikos beanspruchte diese Vollmacht auf Grund der alten Gewohnheit. Der Papst dagegen verlangte von ihm, anzuerkennen, dass diese Vollmacht an sich nur dem Römischen Pontifex zukomme, anderen Hierarchen dagegen nur auf Grund eines von diesem gewährten Privilegs (4).

(1) So Clemens VI. für Pera: Vol. IX S. 7 nº 27 und für Edessa: S. 33 nº 75.76; Innozenz VI. für Macu in Gross-Armenien: Vol. X S. 25 nº 55, für Apamea: S. 28 nº 65; Urban V. für Manzikart: Vol. XI S. 31/32 nº 55, für Seleucia S. 336 nº 726.

(2) Vol. VII, 1 S. 75/76 nº 203-204, Brief vom 22. Juni 1311.

(3) Vol. VII, 2 S. 86 nº 141, Brief vom 10. August 1321.

(4) Vol. IX S. 316 nº 695.

Gerade solche Fälle machen es deutlich, dass im Zentrum der Kirche einfach der Begriff der alten Autonomie verloren gegangen war. Johannes XXII. bewies jedoch dem armenischen Katholikos seine Achtung dadurch, dass er einen von ihm selbst ernannten lateinischen Bischof einer Stadt in Kleinarmenien dem Katholikos als Suffragan unterstellte oder dessen schon bestehende Abhängigkeit von diesem orientalischen Hierarchen anerkannte (1). Heute könnte man es sich schwer vorstellen, dass ein lateinischer Bischof von einem orientalischen Patriarchen abhängig wäre.

Der armenische Katholikos versuchte dem Papst gegenüber seine traditionelle Autonomie zu wahren, was ihm aber sehr verübelt wurde. Clemens VI. schickte im Jahre 1351 den Armeniern eine ganze Liste von Fragen, auf die sie antworten sollten. Hier ist von dem Verlangen des Katholikos die Rede, an der alten Autonomie festzuhalten. Dem gegenüber fragt der Papst, ob der Katholikos glaube, dass alle Apostel, auch der hl. Judas Thaddäus, den die Armenier als den Gründer ihrer Kirche ansahen, völlig der Autorität de hl. Patrus untergeordnet waren. Von der Autonomie will des Papst also nichts wissen (2).

Hinter diesem Streit steht eine tiefgreifende Verschiedenheit in der Auffassung von den Vorrechten eines Patriarchen. Für den Katholikos waren seine Rechte in der uralten, von den Aposteln überkommenen Tradition begründet, die auch der Papst zu achten verpflichtet sei. In den Augen der Päpste sind dagegen Patriarchalprivilegien undenkbar ohne ausdrückliche Konzession des Hl. Stuhles. « Deine Vorgänger, so schreibt Clemens VI. an den Katholikos, und die armenische Kirche haben all das von der Römischen Kirche empfangen und besitzen es noch » (3). Historisch ist diese These unhaltbar. Wir kennen im ganzen ersten Jahrtausend keinen einzigen Fall, dass irgend ein Papst in Angelegenheiten der armenischen Kirche interveniert hätte (4). Die Reise des hl. Gregor des Erleuchters nach Rom und die Übertragung der Patriarchenvoll-

(1) Vol. VII, 2 S. 203 n° 351, Brief vom 17. Oktober 1328.

(2) Vol. IX S. 303 n° 637-639.

(3) Vol. IX S. 303 n° 637.

(4) A. Tăutu hat alle Dokumente der Päpste des ersten Jahrtausends, die den Osten betreffen, sorgfältig gesammelt im 1. Band der « Acta Romanorum Pontificum » (Fontes Series III. Vol. I, Vatikan 1934). Es findet sich hier kein einziges Dokument, das die armenische Kirche betrifft.

machten an ihn durch Papst Sylvester ist eine spätere haltlose Legende. Man mag für die Patriarchenrechte aus dogmatischen Gründen eine stillschweigende Konzession Roms postulieren, aber historisch ist das nicht zu erweisen.

Ein weiteres Zeichen der strikten Abhängigkeit auch der Orientalen vom Hl. Stuhl zur damaligen Zeit ist die damals schon erhobene Forderung des Besuches ad limina auch der orientalischen Bischöfe. Ein armenischer Erzbischof von Manzikart richtete im Jahre 1346 an den Papst die Bitte, wegen der grossen praktischen Schwierigkeiten vom Besuch ad limina dispensiert zu werden (1).

Zum geistigen Erbe des Ostens gehört nicht zuletzt auch seine eigene Art, die Geheimnisse des Glaubens in menschliche Worte zu kleiden und mit der menschlichen Vernunft, so weit dies möglich ist, zu durchdringen, mit anderen Worten seine eigenständige Theologie. Auch in diesem Punkt zeigte der Westen zur Zeit der Avignon-Päpste wenig oder gar kein Verständnis für die Art des Ostens. Man verlangte von den getrennten Ostchristen als Bedingung der Union nicht bloss die Anerkennung der Substanz des katholischen Glaubens, sondern weitgehend auch die Übernahme der ihnen fremden Ausdrucksweise der westlichen Theologen. Das Glaubensbekenntnis des Michael Paläologos, das die Griechen in Lyon (1274) ohne jede vorhergehende Diskussion hatten ablegen müssen, wird in der Folgezeit *das* klassische Bekenntnis, dessen Ablegung von den unionswilligen Ostchristen regelmässig verlangt wird, so im Jahre 1309 vom serbischen König Uroš (2), von den Armeniern (1319) (3), vom litauischen König Gedeminas (1324) (4), und vom Kaiser Johannes V. (5). Urban V. schrieb im Jahre 1370 dieses Glaubensbekenntnis ganz allgemein für alle Orientalen vor, die katholisch werden wollten (6). Auch Gregor XI. verlangte von den Zurückkehrenden dasselbe Glaubensbekenntnis (7).

(1) Clemens VI., Vol. IX S. 173 nº 356.

(2) Vol. VII, 1 S. 43-45 nº 116-125; vgl. VII, 2 S. 139-141 nº 228-234. Den Text des Glaubensbekenntnisses s. bei Denzinger nº 461 ff.

(3) Vol. VII, 2 S. 36-39 nº 68-77.

(4) Vol. VII, 2 S. 157 nº 264.

(5) Urban V., Vol. XI S. 172-174 nº 355-362; vgl. S. 284-286 nº 616-621.

(6) Vol. XI S. 343-346 nº 752-761.

(7) Halecki S. 313, Raynaldus 1375 nº XXV.

Dessen Text musste in verschiedenen Punkten die Empfindlichkeit der Orientalen reizen, wo dies nicht nötig gewesen wäre. Es wird ihnen selbstverständlich die lateinische Formel des « Filioque » auferlegt (1). Die Griechen müssen entgegen ihrer Tradition anerkennen, dass die Spendung der Firmung Sache der Bischöfe sei, dass ungesäuertes Brot für die eucharistische Feier verwandt wird. Der griechische Brauch des gesäuerten wird überhaupt nicht erwähnt. Die Griechen müssen im Glaubensbekenntnis das ihnen fremde Wort « transsubstantiatur » gebrauchen (2). Der Primat wird hier mit aller Schärfe formuliert, und es werden Schlussfolgerungen daraus gezogen, die schwerlich im göttlichen Recht begründet sind: Die Römische Kirche hat den Patriarchen ihre Privilegien verliehen. Das ist nach dem damaligen *positiven* Recht richtig. Aber die Annahme, dies sei kraft göttlichen Rechts immer so gewesen, stösst auf die grössten historischen Schwierigkeiten. Die Vollmacht der Amtsträger in allen übrigen Kirchen ist Teilnahme an der Gewalt des Römischen Pontifex (3). Wenn man die hier gebrauchten Ausdrücke im strengen Sinne versteht, so würde daraus folgen, dass die Bischöfe nur Funktionäre des Papstes seien, was heute kaum jemand noch annimmt. Eine so unklare Formel wurde damals den Griechen als « der katholische Glaube » auferlegt. Man hat also mehr von ihnen verlangt, als man verlangen musste, und so die Union unnötig erschwert.

Der gleiche Mangel an Einfühlungsvermögen in die Geistesart des Ostens ist in der ganzen Kontroverse mit den Armeniern festzustellen. Immer und immer wieder verlangt man von ihnen eine klarere Antwort auf die Fragen nach ihrem Glauben. Die Päpste sind schliesslich nur dann zufrieden, wenn die Orientalen genau dieselben Formulierungen gebrauchen wie die lateinischen Theologen (4).

(1) DENZINGER n° 463.

(2) DENZINGER n° 465.

(3) DENZINGER n° 466: « Ad hanc autem sic potestatis plenitudo consistit, quod ecclesias ceteras ad sollicitudinis partem admittit; quarum multas et patriarchales praecipue diversis privilegiis eadem Romana Ecclesia honoravit, sua tamen observata praerogativa tum in generalibus Conciliis, tum in aliquibus aliis semper salva ».

(4) Innozenz VI., Vol. X S. 107/108 n° 233.

Ein gewisser Wille zum Verständnis für die theologische Eigenart der Orientalen ist bei Gregor XI. festzustellen, der sich wenigstens genau über die dogmatischen Unterschiede zu informieren suchte (1).

Zum Schluss noch ein kurzes Wort über die geistige Latinisierung des Ostens, die unter den Avignon-Päpsten festzustellen ist. Man begann, das orientalische Mönchswesen nach dem lateinischen Vorbild umzuformen. Clemens V. ordnete im Jahre 1308 die Reform eines orientalischen Klosters auf Cypern durch Lateiner an (2). Clemens VI. suchte bei den Armeniern westliche Orden einzuführen (2). Innozenz VI. verlangte von armenischen Mönchen, die sich in Italien niederlassen wollten, die Annahme der Augustinerregel und der Dominikanerregel (4).

Wenn wir die angeführten Tatsachen überblicken, so können wir wohl sagen, dass sie unsere eingangs aufgestellte These bestätigen, dass nämlich die Avignonesische Periode einen Tiefpunkt des Verständnisses für den Osten und seine Art darstellt, wie er kaum je wieder dagewesen ist. Wenn man die Haltung der Avignon-Päpste vergleicht mit der jetzigen Einstellung des Hl. Stuhles gegenüber dem christlichen Osten, so springt der gewaltige Unterschied in die Augen. Wenn man die polemischen Auslassungen dieser Päpste gegen Häretiker und Schismatiker mit Reden Johannes' XXIII. oder Pauls VI. konfrontiert, so glaubt man in eine andere Welt versetzt zu sein. Es wird so deutlich, in welchem Ausmass Entwicklung in der Kirche möglich ist. Gewiss, der katholische Glaube war im 14. Jahrhundert der gleiche wie heute. Die Struktur der Kirche war im wesentlichen keine andere als die heutige; und doch ist der Unterschied enorm. Es spielt hier gewiss die gewandelte Struktur der menschlichen Gesellschaft eine Rolle. Wir haben darauf hingewiesen, dass die Haltung der Päpste gegenüber Häretikern und Schismatikern nur aus der damaligen Auffassung von der Gesellschaft verständlich wird. Dazu kommt die Entwicklung des psychologischen Einfühlungsvermögens in die Denkungsart anderer. Aber es bleibt doch wahr, dass auch die

(1) Halecki S. 287/288.
(2) Vol. VII, 1 S. 41 n° 112.
(3) Vol. IX S. 162 n° 332.
(4) Vol. X S. 140 n° 316.

Kirche selbst sich gewandelt hat. Göttliches und Menschliches ist in ihr vermischt. Das Göttliche, der Glaube und die von Christus gegebene wesentliche Struktur, ist unwandelbar. Aber das Menschliche ist den Gesetzen des Werdens unterworfen. Die Kirche ist etwas Lebendiges, das in der Geschichte voranschreitet und wächst, sie ist immerfort unterwegs, sie ist die « Ecclesia semper reformanda », so lange sie der ewigen Heimat entgegenpilgert.

WILHELM DE VRIES S. I.

Le Centre Monastique de Scété dans la littérature du Ve siècle

Dans une étude justement célèbre, H. Evelyn-White s'est appliqué à regrouper tous les renseignements que l'on peut recueillir sur l'histoire des groupements monastiques égyptiens (1). L'importance des pages qu'il a consacrées au « désert » de Scété, dans le Wadi'n Natrûn, aux IVème et Vème siècles, n'a pas diminué avec le temps (2). Même si l'on peut regretter qu'il ait parfois accordé trop de crédit à certaines sources coptes postérieures comme le *Panégyrique de Jean le Colobos* par Zacharie le scholastique (3), sa contribution à l'histoire du centre monastique scétiote demeure fondamentale.

Pour connaître la vie et l'histoire des moines de Scété durant le premier siècle de l'histoire monastique, les *Apophthegmata Patrum* constituent la source par excellence (4). C'est là cependant une source difficile à utiliser, tant en raison de la façon encore imparfaite et fragmentaire dont ces textes sont édités (5), qu'en

(1) H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi'n Natrûn*, Part II: The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis (New-York 1932).

(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 26-36, 60-72, 95-124, 150-167.

(3) Edité par E. Amelineau, *Histoire des monastères de la Basse-Egypte* (« Annales du Musée Guimet », t. XXV, 1894) p. 316-410.

(4) Comme le remarquait déjà W. Bousset: « Festgestellt ist bereits, dass die Sammlung in ihrer ursprünglichen Form die Überlieferung des sketischen Mönchtums und einiger ihm verwandter Kreise enthält » (*Apophthegmata*..., p. 60; voir aussi p. 34). Cf. K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (Tübingen 1936), p. 144. Dans la seule série alphabétique grecque telle qu'elle est éditée par J. B. Cotelier (reproduit dans *PG* 65, 71-440), le mot « Scété » revient dans 86 apophtegmes, tandis que « Les Cellules » revient dans 13 seulement et « Nitrie » dans 6.

(5) W. Bousset, *Apophthegmata. Textüberlieferung und Charakter der Apophthegmata Patrum* (Tübingen 1923); cf. J.-Cl. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Bruxelles, 1962).

raison de leur genre littéraire lui-même. Recueil sans grand ordre de « paroles charismatiques » et de « faits vertueux », il est souvent malaisé d'y discerner ce qui appartient à l'histoire et ce qui n'a été consigné que pour l'édification spirituelle. De plus, à ceux des Pères de Scété, bien d'autres apophtegmes ont été joints, si bien que l'œuvre, dans son état actuel, se présente comme une compilation où se côtoient divers courants spirituels que l'on ne peut pas toujours distinguer entre eux (1).

Il est donc nécessaire, pour mettre un peu d'ordre et de clarté dans ces collections d'apophtegmes, d'entreprendre un minutieux travail prosopographique qui permette de déterminer autant que faire se peut la vie et la personnalité de chacun des moines dont le nom est cité. Nous espérons pouvoir publier prochainement le résultat de cette recherche. Dans le présent article, notre but est plutôt de nous situer à l'extérieur du centre monastique de Scété, et d'essayer de le voir et de le juger comme à travers les yeux des contemporains eux-mêmes, moines et historiens de la fin du IVème siècle et du Vème siècle. Hors du désert de Scété, que pensait-on de lui? De quelle réputation les moines de ce centre jouissaient-ils aux yeux de leurs contemporains? Ayant répondu à cette question, il sera plus facile ensuite de pénétrer à l'intérieur de ce groupement monastique pour essayer d'en retracer l'histoire.

Nous interrogerons successivement les anciennes histoires de l'Église, celles de Rufin d'Aquilée, de Socrate et de Sozomène, puis l'anonyme *Histoire des moines d'Egypte*, l'*Histoire lausiaque* de Pallade, les *Institutions cénobitiques* et les *Conférences des anciens* de Jean Cassien. Il faut en effet constater un silence surprenant dans deux écrits, pourtant fort importants, d'hagiographie monastique: la *Vie d'Antoine* par saint Athanase (2) et la *Vie de Pachôme* et de ses successeurs dans ses multiples rédactions coptes ou grecques (3). Il en va de même pour Théodoret de Cyr dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique*: bien qu'il prétende explicitement poursuivre

(1) Cf. J.-Cl. Guy, *Apophthegmata Patrum*, dans *Théologie de la vie monastique. Etudes sur la tradition patristique* (Paris 1961), p. 73-83.

(2) *PG* 26, 835-978.

(3) Cf. L.-Th. Lefort, *Les vies coptes de saint Pachôme et de ses premiers successeurs* (Louvain 1943); F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae* (Bruxelles 1932). Dans tout le dossier grec, le mot « Scété » n'apparaît qu'une seule fois, au chapitre 35 de l'*Epistola Ammonis* (Halkin, p. 120).

l'œuvre d'Eusèbe de Césarée (1), et donc écrire l'histoire de l'Eglise depuis le temps de Constantin jusqu'aux premières années du Vème siècle, les seuls moines qu'il mentionne sont ceux dont il rapporte aussi, plus en détail, la vie dans son *Histoire philothée* (2), c'est-à-dire les moines syro-palestiniens et antiochiens (3).

I. – Les historiens de l'Église

1) *Rufin d'Aquilée.*

En 403, Rufin d'Aquilée traduit et adapte en latin l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Eusèbe de Césarée. Celle-ci se terminant par la victoire de l'empereur Constantin sur Licinius en 324, il y ajoute un complément en deux livres, sans doute inspiré de Gélase de Césarée, et qui couvre les années 324-395.

Or, dans cette partie complémentaire, Scété n'est mentionné qu'une seule fois, et presque comme un *obiter dictum.* Il s'agit d'un catalogue de moines célèbres vers 375: au milieu de quelques grands noms d'ascètes vivant aux Cellules, à Nitrie, à Apéliote, à Pispir, aux « Foca » (4), apparaît *Isidorus in Scyti* (5). C'est là la seule connaissance que Rufin, pourtant bien au courant du fait monastique, possède de Scété (6).

(1) *'Εγὼ δὲ τῆς συγγραφῆς ἐκείνης τὸ τέλος ἀρχὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ποιήσομαι* (I, 1, 4 — *GCS* 19, p. 4; *PG* 82, 881 B).

(2) Cf. *PG* 82, 1283-1496.

(3) Nous ne tiendrons pas compte des allusions éparses et peu significatives que l'on peut glâner par exemple dans les Correspondances de l'époque, ni des renseignements fournis par des écrits, déjà postérieurs, comme sont les *Alloquia* de Zosime (*PG* 78, 1680-1701), les *Instructions* de Dorothée de Gaza (éd. L. Regnault, « Sources chrétiennes » 1963), le *Pré spirituel* de Jean Moschos (*PG* 87, 2851-3116), etc.

(4) *Paulus in Focis* (*H.E.*, II, 8 — *PL* 21, 517 B; *GCS* 9, 2, p. 1014,3): personne n'est encore parvenu à déterminer ce que pouvait être cette localité monastique. Il est possible qu'il s'agisse d'un des lieux-dits du désert de Scété.

(5) *H.E.* II, 8. Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'Isidore le prêtre de Scété dont parle Jean Cassien; quelques apophtegmes de lui ont été conservés.

(6) De même, aucune mention de Scété n'est-elle faite dans l'*Apologie contre Jérôme*, où pourtant Rufin se flatte d'être resté six ans en Égypte dans la fréquentation assidue des maîtres: « Et ut ad eremi magistros veniam quibus et attentius et frequentius vacabamus... » (II, 12 — *PL* 21, 594 D-595 A).

2) *Socrate.*

Socrate écrit l'histoire de l'Église des années 305 à 439. Tout le monde s'accorde à souligner, à défaut de qualités littéraires, sons souci d'information et d'objectivité.Et en efict, son information concernant Nitrie est sérieuse. Il souligne, et parfois avec force détails, les trois grandes circonstances dans lesquelles ce centre monastique intervient dans l'histoire événementielle de l'Église: après 373, lorsque l'arien Lucius, s'emparant du siège d'Alexandrie, dévaste les monastères avec l'appui de l'armée (1); en 399-404, lorsque l'archevêque d'Alexandrie, Théophile, après avoir condamné l'anthropomorphisme, fait volte-face, persécute les moines dits « origéniens » et, aidé de saint Jérôme, les poursuit de sa hargne jusqu'à Constantinople où le patriarche, Jean Chrysostome, les avait pris sous sa protection (2); après 413, lorsque l'archevêque d'Alexandrie, Cyrille, les appelle à l'aide dans sa lutte contre le préfet Oreste (3).

Concernant Scété, il faut noter seulement deux détails significatifs dans son catalogue des moines égyptiens les plus célèbres. Socrate dit d'abord que, grâce à l'influence d'Amoun, les déserts de Nitrie *et de Scété* se remplirent de moines: *Κατὰ μέρος ἐπληρώθη τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας καὶ* τ ὸ τ ῆ ς Σ κ ή τ ε ω ς *ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν μοναχῶν* (4).

Or, ceci n'est pas exact: Amoun fut, certes, le fondateur du groupement monastique de Nitrie, comme Socrate lui-même le rapporte quelques lignes plus haut en utilisant le témoignage de Pallade; mais il n'a eu aucune influence sur la fondation du centre scétiote dont le « Père » est incontestablement Macaire le Grand, dit aussi « l'Égyptien » ou le « Scétiote » (5), pour le contre-distinguer de son homonyme et contemporain, Macaire « l'Alexandrin »

(1) *H.E.*, IV, 22 et 24 (*PG* 67, 508 sv, 521 sv). Nous citons selon l'édition Valesius, reprise par Migne, de préference à celle de R. Hussey (Oxford 1853).

(2) *H.E.*, VI, 7-10 (*PG* 67, 684-696).

(3) *H.E.*, VII, 14 (*PG* 67, 765-768).

(4) *H.E.*, IV, 23 (*PG* 67, 512 B).

(5) « Qui habitationem scetioticae solitudinis primus invenit », écrit très explicitement JEAN CASSIEN (Conférences, XV, 3, 1; *Sources chr.*, 54, p. 212).

ou le « Citadin » qui, lui, demeura le plus souvent à Nitrie ([1]). Or, il se trouve que dans ce même catalogue de moines, les deux Macaires soient un peu plus loin cités, et que tout un développement soit même consacré à Macaire le Grand ([2]), sans que pourtant soit mentionnée son appartenance à Scété et encore moins le rôle prédominant qu'il y joua.

Comme dans le cas de Rufin, il y a donc là un silence dont il faudra trouver l'explication, silence d'autant plus surprenant que Socrate écrivait après 439, c'est-à-dire à une époque où, tant du fait des circonstances que par l'effet de sa vitalité propre, le monachisme s'était largement répandu en Égypte.

3) *Sozomène.*

L'histoire de l'Église qu'il écrit couvre les années 324-425. Il a certainement composé son œuvre avec 439, date de la rédaction de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Socrate, car il utilise souvent son prédécesseur.

Dans les chapitres du livre VI qui sont exclusivement consacrés aux moines, il s'inspire, pour l'Égypte, de l'*Histoire lausiaque* de Pallade (comme Socrate, et peut-être à travers lui), et de l'*Histoire des moines en Égypte*. Il dispose aussi d'autres sources partielles d'information, dont certaines sont difficilement identifiables ([3]).

Le mot « Scété » apparaît souvent dans son œuvre. Il importe d'examiner dans quelles circonstances. Pour le faire, nous distinguerons, en suivant l'ordre des livres et des chapitres, les renseignements topographiques ou géographiques, et les renseignements concernant les personnes.

a) Geographica.

— I,14. Amoun, dans la deuxième phase de son renoncement, lorsqu'il se sépare effectivement et définitivement de son épouse, est dit s'installer dans un lieu désert, au sud du lac Maréote, aux

([1]) Nous savons, en effet, qu'il était le prêtre des Cellules: cf. *Hist. laus.*, c. 18 et 25 (BUTLER, p. 47, 22; 56, 3; 79, 14).

([2]) *H.E.*, IV, 23 (*PG* 67, 513 C sv).

([3]) Cf. l'édition annotée de ces chapitres par J. BIDEZ, dans les *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philol.-hist. Klasse*, Bd 18 (Berlin 1935).

environs de Scété et du désert dit de Nitrie: *Ἀμφὶ τὴν Σκήτην καὶ τὸ καλούμενον τῆς Νιτρίας ὄρος* (1).

— Dans le même chapitre, à propos de la mort d'Amoun, Sozomène, qui s'inspire dans ce paragraphe de la *Vita Antonii* par saint Athanase, écrit que des frères viennent de Scété (*ἀπὸ τῆς Σκήτεως*) voir Antoine (2). Or, la *Vita Antonii* mentionne des frères venant *de Nitrie*, et non pas de Scété, pour visiter Antoine (3).

— VI,29. Dans le paragraphe consacré à Benjamin, Sozomène, tout en suivant assez littéralement le chapitre correspondant de l'*Histoire lausiaque*, indique que ce moine vivait *ἀνὰ τὴν Σκῆτιν* (4), tandis que Pallade, évidemment plus digne de confiance sur ce point, le situait *ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Νιτρίας* (5).

— Marc, *à Scété*, aurait reçu la communion eucharistique de Macaire, le prêtre des Cellules (6). Une telle affirmation implique ou bien qu'il n'y avait pas de prêtre à Scété — ce qui est manifestement faux (7) —, ou bien que les deux centres monastiques seraient très voisins (on verra prochainement qu'il n'en est rien) (8).

— VI, 31. La première partie de ce chapitre est consacrée à une présentation du désert de Nitrie et de son « annexe » des Cellules. Y sont rapidement décrites l'organisation en cellules séparées et la vie semi-anachorétique qu'y menaient les habitants. Cette description sommaire, dont les sources sont d'ailleurs facilement identifiables, pourrait s'appliquer à presque tous les centres semi-anachorétiques de Basse-Égypte (9). Mais, ce court développement

(1) *PG* 67, 901 A.

(2) *Ibid.*, 901 D.

(3) *Vita Antonii*, 60 (*PG* 26, 929-932).

(4) *PG* 67, 1376 B.

(5) *H.L.*, 12 (Butler, p. 35, 1).

(6) *PG* 67, 1376 C.

(7) Le même Sozomène reproduit quelques lignes plus bas le renseignement fourni par Pallade (*H.L.*, 19) que Moïse l'éthiopien est alors prêtre à Scété.

(8) Cf. *infra*, p. 139, l'analyse du témoignage porté sur ce point par l'*Histoire des moines d'Égypte*.

(8) La seule précision topographique est que les Cellules se trouvent plus à l'intérieur du désert, à presque 70 stades de Nitrie (*PG* 67, 1388 B). Ce renseignement se voit d'ailleurs assez bien confirmé par d'autres sources: l'*Histoire des moines d'Égypte*, recension latine, indique dix milles (c. 20; *PL* 21, 444 B); le « Récit de fondation » parle de douze « sèméia » (*Apophthegmata*, série alphabétique, Antoine 34; *PG* 65, 88 A).

achevé (qui, nous le soulignons, prétend décrire *Nitrie*), Sozomène conclut: *Τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ περὶ Σκήτεως εἰρήσθω καὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε φιλοσοφούντων* (1). D'où la question se pose: Nitrie-les Cellules d'une part, et Scété d'autre part, sont-ils pour Sozomène deux expressions interchangeables servant à désigner une seule organisation monastique?

b) *Nominalia.*

Il n'y a pas lieu de s'arrêter longtemps à ce point, tant les erreurs y foisonnent. Outre le cas d'abba Benjamin déjà mentionné (2), qu'il suffise de relever quelques méprises plus importantes.

Au chapitre 30 du livre VI, est donné un catalogue de moines qui vécurent *ἐν τοῖς Σκήτεως μοναστηρίοις* (3): Arsisios, Poutoubastès, Asion, Chronios, Ṣarapion, etc. La source de ce renseignement se laisse facilement identifier. Il s'agit une fois encore de l'*Histoire lausiaque* de Pallade (4). Mais alors, Pallade disait explicitement que ces moines étaient nitriotes (5)...

En VIII, 2, Isidore, l'hospitalier d'Alexandrie, dont Théophile poussa pendant un temps la candidature au siège de Constantinople contre celle de Jean Chrysostome, est dit être un ancien moine de Scété (6). Or on sait de façon certaine qu'il vécut à Nitrie où Pallade dit avoir vu lui-même sa cellule (7).

Plus curieux encore: en VI, 29, Sozomène, qui suit à nouveau Pallade, non seulement nous dit qu'Apollonius vivait à Scété (8), alors que Pallade le situe à Nitrie (8), mais il fait encore mention

(1) *H.E.*, VI, 31 (*PG* 67, 1388 C).

(2) Cf. *supra*, p. 134.

(2) *H.E.*, VI, 30 (*PG* 67, 1381 C).

(4) Ch. 7.

(5) *Εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας... ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ τῆς Νιτρίας...* (Butler, p. 24-25).

(6) *Ἐκ νέου ἀνὰ τὴν Σκῆτιν ἐφιλοσόφησεν* (*H.E.*, VIII, 2; *PG* 67, 1517 B).

(7) *Οὗ καὶ τὴν κέλλαν ἐθεασάμην ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Νιτρίας.* (*H.L.*, 1; Butler p. 15, 11-12). Sozomène semble confondre ici Isidore l'hospitalier avec son contemporain, Isidore le prêtre de Scété, connu tant par les *Apophthegmata Patrum* que par Jean Cassien (*Conférences*, XVIII, 15-16).

(8) *Ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆτιν ἦλθεν* (*H.E.*, VI, 29; *PG* 67, 1377 A).

(9) *Οἰκήσας τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας* (c. 13; Butler p. 36).

de lui (et de plusieurs autres moines soit-disant scétiotes) *dans un catalogue des moines de la Thébaïde* (1)!

4) *Conclusion.*

Il est temps désormais de regrouper les premiers éléments acquis et de dégager la réponse que les anciens historiographes de l'Église apportent à la question que nous leur posions en commençant: quelle idée se faisaient-ils du centre monastique de Scété?

On peut la résumer en deux mots: ignorance ou méconnaissance. Ignorance dans le cas de Rufin et de Socrate, méconnaissance dans celui de Sozomène. Et le bilan décevant que nous avons dressé dans les pages qui précèdent apparaîtrait plus pauvre encore si on le comparait à celui qui aurait pu être établi à propos du centre nitriote.

Tous ces historiens connaissent le monachisme et présentent son développement en Égypte et dans le reste du monde comme un évènement important à la croissance et à la vitalité de l'Église. Socrate et Sozomène s'étendent même abondamment sur les évènements concernant le centre nitriote, principalement sur la querelle anthropomorphite et ses lamentables conséquences. Pourquoi ne disent-ils pratiquement rien sur Scété, ou, quand ils en parlent comme Sozomène, le font-ils de façon aussi erronée?

Ce n'est pas que ce centre ait été sans importance. Car d'autres sources plus strictement monastiques, l'*Histoire lausiaque* de Pallade, les *Conférences des anciens*, de Jean Cassien et, bien entendu, les *Apophthegmata Patrum* lui accordent, comme nous le verrons dans les pages suivantes, une importance égale, sinon supérieure, à celle de Nitrie.

La raison nous en paraît plutôt que, à cette époque, le « désert » de Scété, bien qu'il soit déjà un centre très vivant de vie monastique, n'a pas eu encore l'occasion d'entrer dans l'histoire générale de l'Église, car il n'y a pas joué un rôle actif, extérieur, de premier plan. N'ayant pas eu l'honneur, comme ceux de Nitrie et des Cellules, de compter des intellectuels célèbres parmi leurs membres,

(1) Cf. le titre même du chapitre: *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι μοναχῶν Ἀπολλώ, Δωροθέου... Ἀπολλωνίου...* (*PG* 67, 1373 B).

les moines de Scété, moins fameux, ont aussi pu mener une vie plus retirée et plus paisible (1).

C'est dire en même temps l'intérêt plus particulier que revêt l'histoire de ce centre monastique pour l'historien des courants spirituels. *The monasticism in the making*: ils sont seulement, mais pleinement, des hommes qui s'efforcent de découvrir et d'expérimenter, comme ils le peuvent avec la grâce de Dieu, les exigences et les richesses de ce nouveau mode de perfection chrétienne qu'est la vie au désert (2).

II. – L'Histoire des moines d'Égypte.

Bien que les renseignements concernant Scété que l'on puisse extraire de l'*Histoire des moines d'Égypte* (3) soient peu nombreux, il convient cependant de traiter la question d'une manière plus approfondie que nous ne l'avions fait dans les paragraphes précédents consacrés aux historiens, car nous sommes en présence ici d'un auteur (4) qui a réellement visité l'Égypte monastique à la fin du IVème siècle (vers 394-395), même s'il ne s'est pas rendu personnellement à Scété (5).

L'itinéraire suivi par les visiteurs, et que le P. Festugière a pu retracer avec suffisamment de précision (6), doit d'abord retenir

(1) Socrate exprimait déjà à sa façon le proverbe traditionnel qui veut que les peuples heureux n'aient pas d'histoire(s): *Εἰρήνης γὰρ οὔσης ὑπόθενιν οἱ ἱστοριογραφεῖν ἐθέλοντες οὐχ ἕξουσιν* (*H. E.*, VII, 48; *PG* 67, 841 A).

(2) Nous avons partiellement développé ce thème dans notre contribution à *Théologie de la vie monastique* (Paris 1961), p. 73-83.

(3) Nous citerons le texte grec selon la nouvelle édition du P. Festugière (*Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, dans les « Subsidia hagiographica » n° 34), qui remplace définitivement celle de E. Preuschen (Giessen, 1897). Voir notre compte-rendu critique dans *Rev. d'asc. et myst.*, t. 38 (1962), p. 377-379. Nous utiliserons aussi l'ancienne version latine, selon l'édition de Vallarsius, reproduite dans *PL* 21, 387-462.

(4) Cet auteur demeure anonyme. Tous les critiques sérieux sont désormais d'accord pour tenir Rufin responsable de la seule traduction latine (cf. A. Salonius, *Vitae Patrum...*, Lund 1920, p. 12-15).

(5) Le court développement consacré à Scété commence en effet par *φασιν* et non par *εἴδομεν* comme dans tous les cas où l'auteur est témoin oculaire (ch. 23, Festugière p. 130). De plus, il ne cite aucun moine connu de Scété.

(6) Cf. A.-J. Festugière, *Op. cit.*, p. xl.

notre intérêt. Partis de Lycopolis (Assiût), ils commencent par suivre le cours du Nil, en poussant des « pointes » dans quelques déserts célèbres se situant à proximité de l'une ou l'autre rive: Antinooupolis, Hermopolis, Achoris; un peu plus au Nord: Oxyrhynque, Héracléopolis, Arsinoé; et finalement Memphis et Babylone (Vieux-Caire). A partir de là, en se dirigeant vers l'Ouest, ils gagnent la Nitrie qu'ils traversent, vont jusqu'au lac Maréotis (Sud-Ouest d'Alexandrie) et joignent Diolcos, dernière étape de leur pèlerinage.

Nous avons à remarquer tout d'abord que ce qu'on pourrait appeler « l'itinéraire monastique » allant de Babylone à Maréotis (approximativement Le Caire-Alexandrie) passe par Nitrie, mais non par Scété: précision topographique précieuse qui, à notre connaissance, n'a encore jamais été relevée. Cette indication topographique peut aider à déterminer l'emplacement exact où se trouvait le centre monastique scétiote à la fin du IVème siècle. Et elle prend plus d'importance encore si on la met en parallèle avec ce que les visiteurs ont appris de Scété durant leur passage à Nitrie.

Nous en possédons deux récits qui ne sont pas en tous points semblables: celui de la recension grecque (1), et celui de la recension latine de Rufin (2). Or, il ne nous paraît pas du tout certain, contrairement à l'opinion du Père Festugière (3), que le latin de Rufin soit une simple traduction du texte grec que nous possédons. Nous concédons volontiers qu'il s'agisse d'une traduction du grec, non pas du *textus receptus* actuel, mais d'une autre tradition grecque qui devait être sensiblement différente, et peut-être préférable à celle que nous lisons aujourd'hui. A défaut de pouvoir en donner la preuve complète ici, nous en fournirons toutefois un indice en

(1) Ch. 23,1 (Festugière, p. 130-131).

(2) Ch. 29 (*PL* 31, 453 C). La référence aux *Vitae Patrum* indiquée ici par Vallarsius est sans intérêt. Car one ne trouve en *Jean III, 15* (= *PL* 73, 1012 D sv) qu'une traduction littérale du *textus receptus* grec; de plus, ce passage ne figure pas dans les meilleurs manuscrits de la collection systématique des Apophtegmes (cf. J.-Cl. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum*, p. 176-177).

(3) A.-J. Festugière, *Le Problème littéraire de l'Historia monachorum*, dans *Hermes*, t. 83 (1955), p. 257-284. Le P. Festugière se réfère à cet article, sans reprendre sérieusement la question, dans un Avertissement à son édition critique du texte grec (*Op. cit.*, p. V).

confrontant les deux traditions sur le petit passage concernant le désert de Scété.

Pour plus de clarté, nous reproduisons les deux textes en deux colonnes parallèles:

Festugière, p 130-131	*PL* 21, 453 C
Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τόπος ἔρημος νυχθήμερον τῆς Νιτρίας ἀπέχων τῷ διαστήματι, ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον.	Est autem in eremo vastissima positus, diei et noctis iter habens de Nitriae monasteriis, et hoc nulla semita, neque terrenis aliquibus colligitur vel monstratur indiciis, sed stellarum signis et cursibus pergitur.
Καὶ κίνδυνος μέγας ἐστι τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν· ἂν γὰρ μικρὸν σφαλῇ τις, πλάζεται κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον κινδυνεύων.	
	Aqua raro invenitur et sicubi inventa fuerit, odoris quidem dirissimi est et quasi bitumea, sed saporis innoxii.
Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ πάντες τέλειοι ἄνδρες· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀτελὴς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ δύναται παραμεῖναι, ἀγρίου ὄντος καὶ ἀπαραμυθήτου πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.	Sunt ergo ibi viri valde perfecti; nec enim patitur tam terribilis locus nisi perfecti propositi habitatores, summaeque constantiae.
	Caritatis tamen inter se et erga omnes si qui forte accesserunt summum studium gerunt.

Ce court texte abonde en renseignements. Nous les énumérons en suivant le fil du récit, et les faisons suivre, au besoin, d'un bref commentaire.

1. « Ce lieu est désert ». Il faut certainement préférer la version latine qui, avec *vastissima eremus*, traduit le grec *πανέρημος*, terme consacré dans la littérature monastique grecque, presque technique pour désigner le « grand désert » (1), c'est-à-dire le lieu réservé aux ascètes les mieux exercés. On distingue, en effet, deux lieux de la vie anachorétique: *τὸ ὄρος*, ou désert habité par les moines, lieu aride où il n'y a pas de centres urbains, et *ὁ πανέρημος (τόπος)*, *ἡ πανέρημος*, un désert si retiré et si désolé que n'importe quel moine ne peut pas y habiter. Or, il faut noter que,

(1) Cf. *infra*, p. 140.

dans l'*Histoire lausiaque* et dans les *Apophthegmata Patrum*, l'expression usuelle pour parler de Nitrie, τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας, n'est pratiquement jamais utilisée lorsqu'il s'agit de Scété.

2. Cette remarque trouve une confirmation dans la notation suivante. A partir de Nitrie, il faut vingt-quatre heures de marche pour se rendre à Scété et, précise la tradition grecque, en se dirigeant vers le désert.

3. Le voyage lui-même est une expédition périlleuse. Selon la tradition grecque, si l'on s'écarte un peu du chemin, on risque d'errer dans le désert. Selon la tradition latine plus précise: entre les deux centres monastiques, aucune piste n'est tracée, aucune particularité du terrain ne peut servir de point de repère; le voyageur est contraint de s'orienter sur les étoiles.

Cette dernière indication nous aide à comprendre au moins l'une des raisons du silence des historiens dont nous avions pris acte au paragraphe précédent (1). S'il est si difficile et périlleux de se rendre à Scété à partir de Nitrie, combien plus à partir des centres urbains de la côte, et en premier lieu à partir d'Alexandrie! Par conséquent, il n'y a rien d'étonnant à ce que la hargne de l'évêque usurpateur Lucius s'en soit prise, en 373-374, aux moines de Nitrie plutôt qu'à ceux de Scété (2). Il est de même tout naturel que les suites de la condamnation de l'anthropomorphisme (399) et surtout les persécutions monastiques qu'elle entraîna de la part de l'archevêque Théophile aient affecté le désert de Nitrie plus que celui de Scété (3). Il en va encore de même pour l'appel

(1) Cf. *supra*, p. 136.

(2) Il est vrai que SOCRATE (*H.E.* IV, 24; *PG* 67, 524 C sv), que reproduit SOZOMÈNE (*H.E.* VI, 20; *PG* 67, 1341 A sv), dit que Lucius exila les deux Macaires, donc aussi celui de Scété. Pourtant, aucune autre source le concernant n'y fait allusion. Or, il est courant, dans les éloges monastiques, de jumeler les deux Macaires.

(3) Il est vrai qu'un témoin oculaire, JEAN CASSIEN (*Conférences*, X, 1-2), affirme que cette Lettre Festale du patriarche eut un retentissement considérable à Scété (cf. J.-Cl. GUY, *Jean Cassien, vie et doctrine spirituelle*, p. 21-26). Mais il n'est pas certain que l'on doive accorder une confiance aveugle à tous les renseignements historiques fournis par Cassien à propos du monachisme égyptien: analysant, par exemple, le double mythe par lequel Cassien entend prouver l'origine apostolique du monachisme égyptien, A. DE VOGÜÉ n'hésite pas à parler de « flagrant délit de fabrication historique » (*Monachisme et Église dans la pensée de Cassien*, dans « Théologie de la vie monastique », Paris 1961, p. 218).

que, quelques années plus tard, Cyrille d'Alexandrie lança aux moines de Nitrie, et non à ceux de Scété, pour l'aider dans sa lutte contre le préfet Oreste (1). Les moines scétiotes étaient vraiment trop coupés de l'*οἰκουμένη* pour que les historiens aient eu l'occasion d'enregistrer aussi bien leurs réactions aux évènements marquant la vie de l'Église, que la croissance et les caractères propres de leur vie spirituelle intime.

4. La tradition latine ajoute seule le détail concernant la rareté et l'amertume de l'eau que l'on y pouvait boire. Ce détail est trop cohérent avec l'ensemble pour pouvoir être rejeté comme une addition fantaisiste. D'autre part, il ne peut pas être considéré, selon l'expression du Père Festugière (2), comme une « addition paraphrastique » ou une « simple glose explicative » (que rien n'appelle dans le texte grec actuel). Il faut donc le tenir comme appartenant à une tradition grecque très ancienne (celle que traduit Rufin) et méritant d'être retenue.

5. La sainteté des habitants de Scété. Ce renseignement concorde fort bien et avec ce qui a été dit de l'austérité du lieu et avec la remarque que nous avons faite sur le terme *πανέρημος*. Les pages suivantes montreront que cette réputation de sainteté n'est pas démentie — tant s'en faut! — par Pallade et Jean Cassien qui furent témoins oculaires.

6. La tradition latine contient une information, inconnue du grec, sur leur charité et leur hospitalité. Comme pour le numéro 4, il y a lieu, pensons-nous, de la tenir pour authentique. L'incise *si qui forte ad eos accesserunt* correspond tout-à-fait à ce qui a été déjà indiqué de la difficulté d'accès de ce désert. Et les deux autres points — charité fraternelle et hospitalité — trouvent une confirmation à toutes les pages des *Apophthegmata Patrum*.

Conclusion.

Pour répondre à la question que nous nous posions en commençant cet article, on peut donc résumer ainsi le témoignage de l'auteur anonyme de l'*Histoire des moines d'Égypte*, qui, au cours de son long périple égyptien, ne s'est jamais rendu à Scété, mais a entendu des moines en parler: parmi les centres monastiques de la

(1) SOCRATE, *H.E.*, VII, 14; *PG* 67, 765-767. Cf. *supra*, p. 132.
(2) *Le problème littéraire de l'Historia monachorum*, p. 267 et 268.

Basse-Égypte il y en a un, plus retiré et inconfortable encore que tous les autres, Scété, dont les habitants jouissent, dans les milieux monastiques voisins, d'une très grande réputation de sainteté.

III. – L'Histoire lausiaque.

L'auteur de l'*Histoire lausiaque*, Pallade, a vécu parmi les moines de la Basse-Égypte, de 388 à 399-400 environ (1). Après un séjour d'à peu près deux années à Alexandrie, il se retira à Nitrie, puis ne tarda pas à aller se fixer au désert des Cellules (vers 390-391) où il demeura au moins jusqu'à la mort d'Évagre le Pontique (vers 399).

La supériorité de son témoignage par rapport à celui de l'auteur de l'*Histoire des moines d'Égypte* est qu'il participa de façon permanente à la vie monastique en Basse-Égypte, et surtout qu'il fit lui-même le pèlerinage de Scété (2): c'est donc notre premier témoin oculaire. Son récit n'en a que plus d'importance, même s'il ne fut écrit que tardivement (vers 419-420), après une période de sa vie riche en luttes et en épreuves.

Or, il se trouve que son témoignage confirme en tous points celui de l'auteur de l'*Histoire des moines d'Égypte*, comme il appert des textes suivants que nous citons tous avant de commenter les plus importants:

— Ch. 17: A Macaire s'étaient attachés deux disciples *dans le désert le plus intérieur, celui qu'on appelle Scété* (3).

— Ch. 18: Macaire d'Alexandrie se condamna à demeurer nu pendant six mois au marais de Scété, *qui est dans le grand désert* (4).

— Ch. 18: Le même Macaire avait différentes cellules dans le désert: l'une à *Scété, le grand désert plus intérieur*, l'autre... (5)

(1) Pour cette chronologie de Pallade, nous suivons entièrement les mises au point de Butler (*The Lausiac History...*, vol. II, p. 237-247).

(2) Voir, par exemple, les ch. 23 et 26.

(3) *Τούτῳ συνῆσαν δύο μαθηταὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τὴν ἐνδοτάτω τὴν καλουμένην Σκῆτιν* (Butler, p. 44, 4-5).

(4) *Κατεδίκασεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἕλος τῆς Σκήτεως ὅ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πανερήμῳ καθίσαι γυμνὸν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ* (Butler, p. 49-2-3).

(5) *Εἶχε δὲ κέλλας διαφόρους ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, μίαν ἐν τῇ Σκήτει τῇ ἐνδοτέρᾳ πανερήμῳ, μίαν...* (Butler, p. 51, 10-11).

— Ch. 20: Il y avait en Égypte, un désert appelé Phermé, sur le chemin de *Scété le grand désert* (1).

— Ch. 23: Gagnant secrètement *le grand désert*, Pallade va se joindre pour quinze jours aux Pères vieillissant à *Scété*, dans le désert (2).

— Ch. 26: Scété est distant de chez nous (c'est-à-dire des Cellules) de quarante milles (3).

Des textes que nous venons de citer, on retiendra principalement les points suivants:

1. Scété est pratiquement toujours appelé par Pallade *le grand désert* (ἡ πανέρημος) ce qui confirme tout-à-fait l'expression « vastissima eremus » rencontrée dans la recension latine de l'*Histoire des moines d'Égypte* (4). Il est situé très au cœur du désert (ἐνδότερον - ἐνδοτάτω). Les quarante milles qui le séparent des Cellules constituent un voyage dur: lorsqu'Albinios et Pallade lui-même font ce trajet avec le trop austère Héron, ils sont contraints de manger deux fois et de boire une fois (5). On connaît un frère qui, faisant la route en sens inverse, est mort de soif (6).

2. Si Pallade fait un voyage si difficile, c'est parce qu'il y est attiré par la valeur exceptionnelle des hommes qui y vivent. Il en donne lui-même le récit: tellement accablé par le désir de la fornication qu'il est sur le point de quitter le désert (c'est-à-dire la vie monastique), sans en parler aux habitants des Cellules qui comptaient pourtant parmi eux nombre de célébrités, ni même à son maître Évagre, il gagne Scété pour y consulter un moine du lieu, Pachôn, qui ne tardera pas à le guérir (7).

Cet épisode que nous venons de rappeler est très important. Pallade est un disciple d'Évagre le Pontique. Toute l'*Histoire lausiaque*, comme l'a démontré R. Draguet, est écrite « dans l'es-

(1) *Ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀπάγον ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆτιν τὴν πανέρημον, ὃ καλεῖται Φέρμη* (Butler, p. 62, 16).

(2) *Λεληθότως δὲ παραβαλὼν εἰς τὴν πανέρημον συνετύγχανον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σκῆτιν γηράσασι πατράσιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* (Butler, p. 75, 6-8).

(3) *Ἀπεῖχε δὲ ἡμῶν ἡ Σκῆτις τεσσαράκοντα σημεῖα* (Butler, p. 81, 16-17).

(4) Cf. supra, p. 139.

(5) *H.L.*, 26 (Butler, p. 81, 17-18).

(6) *H.L.*, 47 (Butler, p. 137, 15).

(7) *H.L.*, 23 (Butler, p. 74-77).

prit d'Évagre » (1). Ce n'est pourtant pas Évagre, mais un moine de Scété, absolument inconnu par ailleurs, que Pallade va consulter dans son plus grand embarras.

Ainsi, la grande réputation de sainteté des moines scétiotes, dont l'auteur de l'*Histoire des moines d'Égypte*, avait seulement entendu parler, est, cette fois-ci, confirmée par un témoin oculaire qui a eu l'occasion de la mettre à l'épreuve.

IV. – Jean Cassien.

Après un bref séjour au monastère de Bethléem — que, avec Dom Cappuyns, il est raisonnable de situer en 378-380 (2) —, Jean Cassien part pour l'Égypte, avec l'intention de n'y faire qu'un rapide pèlerinage. Il visite différents centres monastiques de la côte, notamment Panéphysis et Diolcos, avant d'arriver à Scété où, attiré par la vie qu'on y mène, il change d'idée et décide, avec son ami Germain, de s'y installer définitivement. Selon toute vraisemblance, ce sont les évènements de 399 qui l'ont obligé à quitter les lieux (3).

Son œuvre monastique se compose de deux écrits: les *Institutions cénobitiques* écrites à l'intention des *abrenuntiantes* pour guider leurs premiers pas dans la vie monastique, et dans lesquelles il n'est guère fait mention de Scété (4), et les *Conférences des anciens* où Scété occupe, au contraire, une place de choix.

Nous ne retiendrons pas présentement les simples mentions de Scété, très nombreuses et qui ne sont d'aucune utilité pour la

(1) R. Draguet, *L'Histoire lausiaque, une œuvre écrite dans l'esprit d'Évagre*, dans *Rev. d'Hist. Eccl.*, t. 41 (1946), p. 321-364; t. 42 (1947) p. 5-49; et déjà W. Seston, *Remarques sur le rôle de la pensée d'Origène dans les origines du monachisme*, dans *Rev. d'Hist. des Rel.*, t. 108 (1933), p. 197-213.

(2) Article « Cassien » dans *Dict. d'Hist. et Géo. Eccl.*, vol. XI (1949), col. 1319-1348.

(3) Cf. J.-Cl. Guy, *Jean Cassien. Vie et doctrine spirituelle* (Paris, 1961), p. 16-26.

(4) Les deux seules mentions sont des récits se passant à Scété (V, 40, 1 et XI, 16), dont le premier souligne les deux caractères d'austérité et de charité déjà retenus par l'auteur de l'*Histoire des moines d'Égypte* (cf. *supra*, p. 140-41).

question traitée dans cet article, ni même les quelques indications topographiques que l'on peut y recueillir, difficiles à interpréter et qui mériteraient une étude particulière. Notre but présent est uniquement de savoir quelle idée Jean Cassien se faisait du centre monastique de Scété, ou plus exactement quelle idée il voulait que s'en fassent ses lecteurs gaulois.

Pour plus de clarté, nous regrouperons les textes où Jean Cassien parle de Scété ou des moines scétiotes en deux catégories: ceux dans lesquels il prononce à leur propos des jugements « absolus » et ceux où il compare le centre scétiote aux autres centres monastiques qu'il a connu ou dont il a entendu parler (jugements « relatifs »).

a) *Les jugements « absolus ».*

Ils sont en tous points concordants. La première *Conférence* s'ouvre par l'éloge suivant:

« Cum in heremo Sciti ubi monachorum probatissimi patres et omnis commoratur perfectio... » ([1]).

Et ce jugement initial n'est pas démenti par la suite:

— « In illo sanctorum choro qui, velut astra purissima in nocte mundi istius refulgebant... » ([2]).

— « Nunc abbatis Pafnuti pendamus exemplum, qui in illius insignis et ubique praedicabilis Scitioticae heremi in qua nunc presbyter est secretis... » ([3]).

Les textes parlent d'eux-mêmes!

b) Les jugements « relatifs ».

Cassien étant un écrivain qui utilise volontiers les superlatifs, ce sont les développements où il compare Scété aux autres centres monastiques qui nous dévoileront le mieux sa pensée véritable. Il le fait principalement en quatre endroits.

1. Comparaison avec *l'ensemble des monastères égyptiens*:

« Ab his qui erant in heremo Scitii commorantes, quique perfectione ac scientia omnibus qui erant in Ægypti monasteriis praeeminebant... » ([4]).

([1]) *Conférences*, I, 1.
([2]) *Conférences*, III, 1, 1. Cf. IV, 1, 1; V, 1.
([3]) *Conférences*, XVIII, 15, 1.
([4]) *Conférences*, X, 2, 3.

2. Comparaison avec les centres anachorétiques de *Diolcos* (1):

« Primordia solitariae commorationis cuius scientiam postea Scitii plenius adsecuti... » (2).

3. Comparaison avec les centres de *Panéphysis* (3) où Cassien s'entretient avec Pinufius dont il fait pourtant grand éloge (4):

« Qui (Pinufius) licet in ejus coenobio residere mallemus sollicito precaretur affectu, tamen fama Scitioticae solitudinis invitatos, cum retinere non posset emisit... » (5).

4. Comparaison avec les centres monastiques de *Calame* et de *Porphyrion* (6): même s'ils vivent dans des lieux encore plus inaccessibles, il manque pourtant aux habitants de ces déserts cette pondération et cette discrétion qui donnent toute sa valeur à la vie à Scété; aussi,

« cum ad illa scetiotica venerint loca, tantis cogitationibus aestibus, tanta animi anxietate vexantur ut quasi rudes et qui solitudinis exercitia ne leviter aliquando contigerint commorationem cellae et quietis silentia tolerare non possint, atque ex eis statim excussi tanquam expertes ac novicii proturbentur... » (7).

V. – Conclusion.

L'enquête que nous avons menée dans les pages précédentes et au cours de laquelle nous n'avons exclu aucun texte pouvant contenir quelque indication, nous autorise à apporter à la question que nous posions en commençant une réponse circonstanciée.

Malgré le silence des anciens historiographes de l'Église, le centre monastique scétiote est une réalité bien vivante durant la

(1) Dans les bras du Delta, près de la côte.

(2) *Conférences*, XVIII, 16, 15.

(3) Près de la côte, entre le Nil et l'actuel canal de Suez, non loin de Thennesus.

(4) C'est lui qui, dans les *Institutions cénobitiques* est le porte-parole du fameux « discours de prise d'habit » (IV, 33-43). Son éloge (*ibid.*, 30-31) est littéralement repris dans *Conférences*, XX, 1-2.

(5) *Conférences*, XX, 12, 4.

(6) Déserts situés à proximité de la mer rouge, environ à la hauteur de Lycopolis (Assiût).

(7) *Conférences*, XXIV, 4, 2.

deuxième partie du IVème siècle. Si les historiens l'ignorent, c'est qu'il est très à l'écart, difficile d'accès, le « grand désert ». Même les pèlerins consciencieux, comme le groupe décrit par l'*Histoire des moines d'Égypte*, ne risquent pas tous le voyage. Et ceux qui y passent, ou qui y sont demeurés plus longtemps, nous convainquent que, selon le sens métaphorique aussi, c'est un désert difficile d'accès. Les autres centres monastiques mieux connus du monde (Diolcos, Panéphysis, Calame, Porphyrion) ne résistent pas à la comparaison avec lui. Il y a plus encore. Même un disciple enthousiaste du grand Évagre le Pontique, Pallade, n'hésite pas à quitter temporairement les Cellules et à faire le voyage, préférant le jugement d'un « ancien » de Scété à celui de son propre maître...

Aussi est-il de la plus haute importance pour l'histoire de la spiritualité chrétienne de réunir, même s'ils sont peu nombreux et souvent approximatifs, tous les renseignements que l'on peut rencontrer dans les sources, afin de déterminer au moins dans ses grandes lignes ce qu'a été la première histoire de ce centre nonastique. C'est à ce prix seulement que la sagesse monastique des origines peur redevenir réalité vivante pour nous.

Jean-Claude Guy, S.J.

Mar Dionysius the great of Malabar: for the One True Fold

Anybody reading the history of the reunion and the subsequent defection of Mar Dionysius I, alias Mar Thomas VI — the Jacobite Metropolitan of Malabar (1765-1808), may be curious to know the true reasons that led this Prelate back again to the Jacobite Church. To give a satisfactory answer to this question, the continued efforts for reunion under this illustrious person are here elucidated mainly from the many letters and other documents extant in the archives of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide [1].

For sixteen long centuries since her apostolic foundation, the Malabar Church maintained her unity intact. In times of prosperity and adversity the St. Thomas' Christians enjoyed the close

[1] Indication of the various collections in APF. (*Archivium de Propaganda Fide*):

Acta	—	*Acta Sacrae Congregationis.*
Acta CP(SI)	—	*Acta Congregationis Particularis super rebus Sinarum et Indiarum Orientalium.*
CP	—	*Congregazioni Particolari.*
Lettere	—	*Lettere*
SC(IO)	—	*Scritture riferite nei Congressi, (Indie Orientali).*
SC(IOC)	—	*Scritture riferite nei Congressi, (Indie Orientali e Cina)*
SOCG.	—	*Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali.*
SOCP.	—	*Scritture Originali della Congregazione Particolare dell'Indie e Cina.*

Certain manuscripts, kept in the Carmelite Generalizia and in the National Library of Rome, were also consulted. Within the limits of an article such as this, it is impossible to describe the vast and elaborate reports in detail. Their main points have been briefly stated with necessarily limited attention to background and other influencing factors. The author is deeply grateful to Very Rev. Fr. Joseph Gill S. J., and Very Rev. Fr. Placid C.M.I. for their scholarly correction and valued suggestions.

bond of Christian fraternity and moved like a united front in action. Even amidst the gross dissatisfaction and unrest due to the latinizing policy of their bishops from Portugal, and in the consequent revolt of 1653, they remained one in faith and in union with the Holy See of Rome, at least in spirit.

But unfortunately, this happy bond among them received a disastrous rupture in 1665, when the demand of their archdeacon to be confirmed by the Holy See in his self-assumed episcopal dignity was not complied with, and consequently a group under the leadership of this archdeacon began to foster relations with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. In course of time, however, this schismatic group, being conscious of its wrong position, desired to come back to the Mother Church. For more than a century from the very start of the schism, every pseudobishop of this group — except the second one, who remained in power only a week — insistently requested the Holy See to admit him and his followers to the Catholic Church, conserving, however, his episcopal dignity (1). The Catholic group also — who were then divided between the Portuguese Padroado See of Cranganore and the Propaganda Vicariate Apostolic of Malabar (2) — used to unite their efforts with those of their separated brethren. After many such frustrated attempts, there came the subject of this study determined to gain the noble goal at any cost.

Mar Dionysius' efforts for reunion.

Born of Catholic parents in 1728 (3) at Kuravilangad in the noble family called Palli or Parambil, the young Joseph (4) grew up in the healthy environment of a sound Catholic fami-

(1) Cfr. APF., *CP.*, vol. 109; about the efforts of Mar Thomas III, ff. 53v-56v; of Mar Thomas IV, ff. 67v-68v; of Mar Thomas V, ff. 7-14, 114, and APF., *Acta*, vol. 127, ff. 290-300.

(2) In distinction from the Catholics of the Latin rite they were known as Syrians. The terms Syrians, Malabarians or Syro-Malabarians are used in this article to denote this Catholic group of the St. Thomas' Christians of Malabar.

(3) In 1806 Mar Dionysius was 78 years old: cfr. BUCHANAN C., *Christian Researches in Asia*, London 1811, p. 133.

(4) In baptism the child was named Joseph, but at home and among friends he came to be known as Euppu or Iyppu: cfr. PAULINUS, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae 1794, p. 109; FRANCIS SALES, *Synopsis*

ly (1). The intelligent boy had the best education possible in those days and circumstances (2), under the surveillance of Mar Thomas V, his maternal uncle (3) and ecclesiastical head of the Malabar Jacobites. Later pressure from his uncle induced him to become a priest in the Jacobite Church; subsequently on 29 June 1761, Fr. Joseph was raised to the episcopal dignity by Mar Thomas V (4), and in 1765 succeeded his uncle with the title Mar Thomas VI.

The ordination and consecration received by Mar Thomas VI were null and void, since Mar Thomas V, in spite of all his efforts, had not succeeded in getting himself consecrated bishop. Though the simple faithful acknowledged the new Prelate as their bishop and submitted to his jurisdiction, he was not unaware of the absence of episcopal character in himself, and of the consequent nullity of all his ecclesiastical functions. He was, therefore, very anxious to remedy this evil, without, however, prejudice to his position and to the good of his subjects. Moreover, the pitiable plight of the erring flock constantly urged the pastor to lead it to the One True Fold. Hence, the energetic Prelate tried his best to bring back his subjects to the Catholic communion, and therefore, his name is gratefully remembered and recorded among the pioneers of the reunion movement in Kerela.

Brevis... 1773, APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 40, f. 363v., " ... qui vocatur Euppo seu Joseph, sed communiter se nominat specioso titulo Mar Thoma "; Fr. PAREAMAKEL calls him Iyppu Cathanar, cfr. *Varthamanapusthakam* (*The Journey of Archbishop Mar Cariati*), 1785, published by Luka Mathai, Athirampuzha, 1936, p. 49.

(1) " Mar Thoma gia figlio obediente alla Chiesa nella sua prima adolescenza ", petition of Dr. Cariati to Pope Pius VI, APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, f. 9r. Similarly, " Mar Dioniggio... lasciando la vera religione in cui era stato allevato ", letter of Archbishop Emmanuel of Goa in 1792, APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 899, f. 236.

(2) Dr. Buchanan found Mar Dionysius to be " far superior in general learning to any of his clergy ", BUCHANAN, C., *op. cit.*, p. 127.

(3) " Mar Thomas seu Mar Dionysius... est filius sororis Mar Thomae de Campo quinti ex familia Palli ", PAULINUS, *Observationes*..., 1785, p. 48; cfr. AOCD. (*Archives of the Carmelite Generalizia*, Rome), 293*b*.

(4) " Mar Thomas... anno proxime transacto... suum nepotem nomine Joseph, laico episcopum (uti ipse est) 29 mensis Junii sacrilege et ceremoniis ridiculis inauguravit ", wrote Mgr. Florence on 15 Nov. 1762; APF., *SOCP.*, vol. 54, f. 77.

I. - The first attempts (1765-1778)

a) *Through Mgr. Florence a Jesu O.C.D.*

In realizing this longed-for unity, Mar Thomas had also to safeguard the interests and claims of his people. As they never liked to come under bishops of another rite and nationality (1), it was necessary that he should be made their bishop, when he and they would make their submission to the Catholic Church. At the same time he knew well that no effort in this line would succeed, unless the Carmelite missionaries of Verapoly, the representatives of the Holy See on the spot, took genuine interest in the matter. Hence he approached Bishop Florence, the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, and manifested his mind to him.

Bishop Florence on his part conveyed this news to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide when he wrote a report of the mission on 3 Nov. 1768. He informed it that the mitred lay man (laico mitrato) called Mar Thomas had made certain proposals to abjure his errors and become a Catholic, asserting, however, the same claims advanced by his uncle, Mar Thomas V. The reporter then added that he held as a guiding norm in the case, the instruction sent to him from the Congregation, when Mar Thomas V made a similar request to the Holy See (2).

This report was brought to Rome by Fr. Ildefonsus a Praesentatione O.C.D. (3). Together with it Fr. Ildefonsus submitted to the Congregation another elaborate report of his own, narrating the actual condition of the mission and suggesting appropriate

(1) The main reason that induced his people to persist in the state of schism was not at all their dogmatic position, (for in this they differed little from their Catholic brethren, as admitted by the missionaries themselves), but their dislike of coming under bishops of another rite and nationality. Cfr. Pareamakel, *op. cit.*, pp. 494, 514.

(2) APF., *SOCP*, vol. 60, (a. 1770/1771), f. 333v. See the instruction of the S. Congregation in the case of Mar Thomas V reproduced by Fr. Ambrosius O.C.D. in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, Romae, 1939, pp. 250-251. It may be noted here that this instruction of the S. Congregation was written in harmony with the suggestions of Mgr. Florence and Fr. Ignatius of St. Hyppolitus O.C.D.

(3) APF., *Acta CP(SI)*, vol. XII, f. 140.

means for betterment (1). In this he suggested the bestowal of the title of Protonotary Apostolic, or some other honorary title, on Mar Thomas in order to gain him and his people for the Church. He also advised the Congregation to entrust the whole affair of the Malabar Church to himself. If this were done he promised to settle all its difficulties and to restore good order in a period of two years, provided that the Congregation would send with him a Chaldean bishop and three learned priests of the Chaldean rite. In the person of the Chaldean bishop he intended to reestablish the royally privileged office of the Archdeacon of Malabar. The priests were intended to be professors of the Chaldean language and liturgy (2). He then reminded the Congregation that the attempts of Mar Thomas V had not succeeded precisely because his petitions and entreaties were not listened to by the missionaries as they should have been, but on the contrary were scorned and despised. So, he vehemently argued, in this case such an attitude should not be repeated (3).

After a primary study of all these matters, the Congregation asked Fr. Ildefonsus to answer a long questionaire. In answering this, the recommendation for Mar Thomas was repeated with greater emphasis (4). Considering all this the particular congregation of 30 July 1771 decided to exhort those responsible for the mission to concentrate upon the conversion of the ' laicus mitratus '. A brief of Protonotary Apostolic was to be sent for Mar Thomas. With such an honour Mar Thomas could have the charge of the temporal affairs of his subjects without interfering in spiritual matters (5).

Accordingly, on 30th of August the Congregation issued an instruction to Fr. Laurentius Justiniani O.C.D. and Fr. Ildefonsus, who were to function as Apostolic Visitors to Malabar. In this, mention is made of a brief, besides that of the Protonotary Apostolic, by which the dignity of knighthood (Speron d'Oro) could be conferred on Mar Thomas if he would prefer to resume the secular state (6). Fr. Ildefonsus, however, refused to accept the

(1) APF., *SOCP.*, vol. 60, ff. 355-474; Relatio veridica et genuina...
(2) *Ibid.*, ff. 428v-429r.
(3) *Ibid.*, f. 441v.
(4) *Ibid.*, f. 494v; *Compendium Notitiarum.* No. 85.
(5) APF. *Acta CP(SI)*, vol. XII, f. 170v.
(6) APF., *Lettere*, vol. 218, ff. 381v-382v.

office of Visitor Apostolic, probably because his recommendation to send a Chaldean bishop to Malabar was not favourably considered by the Congregation (1). But his recommendations for Mar Thomas were fully accepted. The Prelate was presented as a ' laicus mitratus ' as he had no valid ordination. Hence the Congregation considered also the possibility of Mar Thomas returning to the laical state, and in that case, volunteered to honour him as a Knight.

But when Fr. Laurence Justiniani reached Malabar with the aforesaid decrees and briefs, Mar Thomas was no more a ' laicus mitratus '. He had been reordained and reconsecrated by Mar Gregory, a Jacobite Metropolitan from Antioch, and had been installed as the Metropolitan of Malabar with the name of Mar Dionysius, on the first Sunday of January, 1772 (2). So it was all the more difficult for him to submit to the Latin Prelate, accepting the rank of Protonotary Apostolic. We cannot even say whether the decision of the Congregation was communicated at all to Mar Dionysius. Most likely it was not, as the pro-memoria presented to the Congregation by Dr. Cariati in 1780 states that till then the missionaries had not communicated to the Jacobite Prelates the awaited decisions of the Holy See (3).

b) *Mar Dionysius approaches the Padroado Archbishop of Cranganore.*

In 1773 Mar Dionysius, seeing his endeavours through the Vicar Ap. unsuccessful, approached Archbishop Salvador dos Reis S. J. with the same petition. But the Archbishop was not anxious

(1) The Congregation did so, because it feared, " che se mai si destinasse un tal vescovo, avrebbe il seguito di tutta la sua nazione, sulla quale perderebbe ogni autorità il Vicario Latino, e ne verrebbe il pericolo, che potesse tutto in un colpo pervertirsi, se mai un tal vescovo cadesse nell'eresia o nello scisma, come sono facili, gli Orientali ", APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 839, f. 200.

(2) Cfr. the profession of faith of Mar Dionysius written in 1778, APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, f. 11; Cfr. also PAULINUS, *Observationes...*, 1785, AOCD., 293*b*, pp. 49-51.

(3) " Missionarij europei, troppo gelosi della loro indipendenza ed autorità seppero contraporre altretante diligenze per farli che o mai le preghiere di gia detti non giunsero al Trono Pontificio o mai se ne sapessero le bremate decisioni ", APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 867, f. 149r & v.

to undertake new responsibilities at his advanced age. Besides, he had serious doubts regarding the sincerity of Mar Dionysius whom he viewed as a camel with its mouth wide open (1).

c) *Through the Visitor Apostolic, Fr. Laurence Justiniani.*

Humiliated and grieved because they were denied close participation in the funeral ceremony of Bishop Florence, priests and representatives of the Catholic Syrian parishes assembled at Angamaly on 20 Aug. 1773 in order to find ways and means to put an end to the arbitrary Carmelite rule. Fr. Laurence Justiniani went at once to the spot to save the situation. In his capacity as the Visitor Apostolic, he vouched for the good conduct of the missionaries in the future, agreeing to stand by the resolutions of the assembly regulating the undue interference of the missionaries in parochial affairs, and restricting and curtailing the many self-assumed privileges and rights of the missionaries in the Syrian parishes. The Syrians then asked the Visitor Apostolic an important favour to be obtained from the Holy See, namely, the admission of Mar Dionysius to the Catholic Church with jurisdiction over his flock, who would follow him to the true fold.

When Fr. Laurence informed the Holy See of the new developments by his letter dated 12 Sept. 1773, he included the petition of the people for Mar Dionysius and his reply to them. He had told them that Mar Thomas (2) could send two procurators to confer with him over the intentions and claims of the Prelate. Besides, Mar Thomas should send a profession of faith and obedience to be submitted to the Holy Father, from whom only could be expected any decision or favour, as the Visitor Ap. himself

(1) Cfr. MACKENZIE G. T., *Christianity in Travancore*, in *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, Trivandrum, 1906, p. 209. He draws this information from two letters of the Archbishop, dated 18 Aug. & 11 Oct. 1773, extant in the archives of Verapoly. Mar Dionysius also makes mention of this futile engagement with Archibishop Salvador, in his petition to the Holy Father.

(2) Even after the Prelate changed his name to Mar Dionysius, the missionaries and also the native Christians used to call him Mar Thomas, as we see in this letter and elsewhere.

had no such authority, even if Mar Thomas showed authentic proofs of conversion (1).

Meanwhile Fr. Francis Sales, who had left Malabar on 29 April 1772, reached Rome on 4 Nov. 1773. He presented to the Congregation a '*Synopsis Brevis*' of the mission, '*Suggerimenti*..' for its better administration, and a note on the Congregation's decree on 31 Aug. 1771. In the '*Synopsis Brevis*' he described the status quo and the attitudes of the Malabar Jacobites at the time of his departure. Strangely enough, he presented Mar Dionysius as 'episcopus laicus' or 'laicus mitratus', ignoring the fact of his consecration, though he treated in detail of the consecration of Mar Cyril, the founder of a rival see in Thozhiyoor (2). Commenting on the decree of 1771, he advised that Mar Dionysius would prefer a good annual subsidy, rather than the honour of Protonotary Apostolic (3).

When the news of Mgr. Florence' death arrived, the Congregation soon elected Fr. Francis Sales as the Vicar Apostolic. In the general congregation of 22 July 1774, the suggestions and recommendations of Fr. Sales were fully and formally approved. In the case of Mar Dionysius, Bishop Sales was empowered to make an offer of 100 or less Roman scudi as an annual subsidy, in addition to the honours and privileges already granted by the decree of 1771. But he was strongly admonished not to admit any discourse regarding the desire of the people to have a bishop of their own rite, since the Congregation feared that at such an occurrence the numerous Catholic flock would renounce their dependence on the Vicar Apostolic. This dependence was considered essential for keeping them in faith and union with the Church (4)!

(1) APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 839, f. 253v.

(2) Cfr. APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 40, ff. 363v-365v: On 15 Jan. 1772 Ramban Kurian Kattumangat — a descendant of the brother of the Jacobite Bishop Mar Andrew, who had come to Malabar, in 1670 (cfr. BROWN L. W., *The Indian Christianity of St. Thomas*, Cambridge, 1956, p. 130) — was consecrated bishop at Mulanthuruthy by the same Mar Gregory, who had consecrated Mar Dionysius a few days before. The newly consecrated, who began to be known as Mar Cyril, due to the opposition of Mar Dionysius betook himself later to the realm of Samothiri and founded the small independent see of Anjoor or Thozhiyoor.

(3) APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 839, f. 218.

(4) *Ibid.*, f. 222; AMBROSIUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-277.

d) *Mar Dionysius approaches Bishop Francis Sales.*

This decision also could not have satisfied Mar Dionysius. Neither was Bishop Sales in a hurry to make known the offer of the Congregation to Mar Dionysius. On his return he had to overcome many difficulties from his confrères and was constrained even to transfer his residence and seek the protection of the Syrians of Alangad. Mar Dionysius, however, had not changed his mind. With hopes that the new Prelate would favourably consider his case, he sent various messengers to Alangad with letters to the Vicar Apostolic. But as a matter of fact, Bishop Francis never welcomed the idea of receiving Mar Dionysius as a bishop. Hence he could not be induced to comply with even the limited and holy aspiration of the penitent Prelate to retain his episcopal jurisdiction over a minimum number of three or four churches of his dependence. Bishop Sales considered it neither advisable nor feasible (1). Neverthless, on receiving these insistent petitions the Vicar Apostolic sent Dr. Joseph Cariati, an influential and prominent priest among the Syro-Malabarians (2), to sound out the mind of Mar Dionysius, with ample instructions as to the extent of the concessions, that could be made with regard to his demands. In his interview with Mar Dionysius, the learned professor cleared the Prelate's doubts on certain doctrinal points. Nothing but the problem of retaining episcopal jurisdiction remained an obstacle for Mar Dionysius to re–embrace the Mother Church. To Dr.

(1) His letter dated 31st March 1777 to the Congregation is expressive of his attitude, " Ipsemet eorum Laicus Mitratus... varios nuntios hisce mensibus ultimis mihi misit notificans mihi seriam ipsius conversionis voluntatem. Attamen, ... semper addidit dummodo possim permanere 3 aut 4 ecclesiarum episcopus verus et consecratus, quod utique est nec suasibile nes factibile... Submittam ispi hisce diebus R.D. Josephum Cariatil cum debitis meis instructionibus ad conversandum cum ipso ", APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 35, f. 311.

(2) He was an ex-alumnus of the Propaganda University, the first to be distinguished as such among the Malabarians with a doctorate in S. Theology. He was then professor of Theology in the Syrian Seminary at Alangad. When this venerable person decided to render his service wholeheartedly for the cause of Mar Dionysius, the whole affair took a new form and developed into a common cause of every Catholic in the Syro-Malabar community, as we shall see later.

Cariati this claim seemed reasonable and the sincerity of Mar Dionysius beyond doubt. Therefore Dr. Cariati made a solemn pledge to do his best in order that the Vicar Apostolic might take a favourable view of the affair, and in case of failure, to go to Rome, even at the risk of his life, to plead the Prelate's cause before the Holy See.

On return, Dr. Cariati referred to Bishop Francis all about Mar Dionysius' disposition for reunion. But the Vicar Apostolic could not be persuaded to accept Mar Dionysius' claim to retain episcopal jurisdiction. He suggested two alternatives, namely, to be satisfied with the dignity of Protonotary Apostolic with functions proper to that office, or to go to Rome with a recommendatory letter of the Vicar Apostolic and live the rest of his life there, if he were anxious to keep the episcopal dignity. Neither alternative was acceptable to Mar Dionysius (1).

II. - Efforts through Rev. Dr. Joseph Cariati (1778-1786)

Preparation and journey

When the Vicar Apostolic thus made known his mind, Dr. Cariati, true to his word, informed Mar Dionysius of his readiness to go to Rome and plead his case before the Roman Curia. For this the Professor wanted the Metropolitan to draft a petition to the Holy Father. Accordingly Mar Dionysius wrote his petition and profession of faith on 12 May 1778, and handed it over to Cariati. Meanwhile Cariati managed to convene two gatherings of the Catholic parishes, one at Athirampuzha and the other at Angamaly (2). In these it was decided to send Dr. Cariati to Rome as the head of a deputation consisting of 8 persons (priests and laymen) authorising them to submit to the Pontifical throne

(1) Pareamakel, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-57: Cfr. also Mar Dionysius' petition to the Holy Father etc. APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, ff. 11-12. and *SOCG*, vol. 867, ff. 149-151.

(2) Fr. Paulinus says that these meetings were held at Athirampuzha and Maleatur (*Observationes...*, Cfr. Ambrosius, *op. cit.*, p. 265). But the petition of the churches of the northern parts is addressed from Angamaly. Fr. Bernard (*St. Thomas Christians*, vol. II, Mannanam, 1921) also gives Angamaly, not Maleatur.

whatever petition they considered useful to promote the welfare of the community. The churches contributed also freely for the travelling expense of the deputation.

In June 1778 the deputation started the journey, accompanied by 14 other persons. Reaching Tharanganpady on the east coast of India, they understood that the money they had was scarcely enough for four of them to complete the journey, and so only Dr. Cariati and Fr. Thomas Pareamakel with two boys about to join the Propaganda Fide College continued the journey.

a) *Petition to the Queen of Portugal*

Reaching Lisbon on 18 July 1779, they immediately started work and succeeded in submitting a petition to the reigning Queen, Maria Francesca. In this with other things they requested also the royal help to promote the cause of Mar Dionysius, who wanted to come over to the Catholic Church with his people numbering about 80,000 souls (1). A copy of this petition with the Latin version of Mar Dionysius' profession of faith was submitted also to the Chargé d'affairs of the Portuguese dominion in India (2).

b) *The attitude of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide.*

Meanwhile the Congregation of Propaganda, informed of the arrival of the deputation, wrote to the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon to suspend all negotiations of Dr. Cariati and his colleague before the Portuguese Court and to send them immediately to Rome (3). But when the letter reached Lisbon Cariati and his colleague had already informed the officials of their intention to submit the pe-

(1) See the Italian version of this petition sent to the Congregation by the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon, APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 36, f. 186. Cfr. also PAREAMAKEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-167.

(2) PAREMAKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

(3) Letter of 26 August 1779; APF., *Lettere*, vol. 234, f. 528. In another letter to the Ap. Nuncio the Congregation insisted on the same thing asking Dr. Cariati to inform the Congregation of the commission he had received from the people, together with his own suggestion in the matter so that the Congregation could send as soon as possible the newly elected Vicar Apostolic Joannes a S. Margarita O.C.D., with timely instructions. Cfr. *Ibid.* f. 560v.

tition to the Queen and so they could not help it. The Apostolic Nuncio therefore transmitted an Italian version of the petition, explaining why he could not execute the will of the Congregation and hinting at the antipathy of Fr. Cariati and his colleague to the Carmelite missionaries (1).

This business over, Cariati and party continued the journey and reached Rome on 3 Jan. 1780. On arrival they were not accorded a warm welcome, but were scolded and rebuked by the Card. Prefect, for having sided with the Padroado authorities to harm the Propaganda (2).

The deputation repeatedly pleaded Mar Dionysius' cause before Cardinal Castelli and Mgr. Borgia — the Prefect and the Secretary of the Propaganda Congregation. But they were not inclined to listen to them in the absence of any recommendation from the ecclesiastical authorities of the Province.

The Royal help solicited, and the Papal Audience

Knowing that this attitude of the Congregation would affect the case adversely, Cariati wrote to Portugal requesting timely help from the Royal court (3). While awaiting for the intervention of the Padroado, Cariati wanted to submit the petitions to the So-

(1) The letter was dated 12 Oct. 1779: Cfr. APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 36, ff. 185-187. To this a reply was sent on 27 Nov. 1779: (Cfr. APF., *Lettere*, vol. 234, ff. 708-710) informing the Nuncio, that in case his opinion should be solicited by the court, he should reply that he could not say anything, unless he received instructions from the Holy See.

(2) Fr. Pareamakel interprets this attitude of the Propaganda as caused by the reports of the Carmelite missionaries of Malabar: Cfr. *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230. In fact the letter of Fr. Clement of the Annuntiation from Bombay on 30 April 1779 was apt to produce such an effect. Cfr. APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 36, f. 71. Bishop Francis Sales had written to the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay on April 3, 1779 to inform Rome about the " fuga e comploto del Padre Cariati in compagnia da Tommaso Cattanar de Cadalnatta... Corre voce ", he continued, " che sia loro pretensione passar in Londra e poi a Roma per veder se gli riuscisse di far consacrar vescovo Cattolico il Pseudo-Mar Tomas... ", and he requested that the Bishop of Bombay, " faccia avvansar tal notizia a Roma per prevenir qualunque attentato del detto Cariati ", and added that, qualunque passo che facesse la S. Congregazione in loro favor a dol loro proggetto sarebbe la rovina di questa Cristianità... ".

(3) PAREAMAKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

vereign Pontiff and to speak with His Holiness personally on the matter. Mgr. Borgia himself arranged a Papal audience for the Malabarians. They submitted to Pope Pius VI the following petitions:

1) Petition and Profession of Faith of Mar Dionysius (¹)

After giving a brief history of the schism in XVIIth century, Mar Dionysius speaks of the different efforts of his predecessors to effect a reunion. Then stating that he is a validly consecrated bishop, yet convinced of his unholy schismatic position, he refers to the many requests he has made in vain to the different ecclesiastical heads of the country to receive him into the bosom of the Church. Thus explaining the background of the petition and of the deputation to the Holy See, he proceeds to profess the holy and the orthodox faith, " Quantum ergo mea patitur infirmitas, polliceor atque juro Deo Omnipotenti, quod quaecumque credit ac docet Sancta Mater Ecclesia, ego quoque, sicut et populus meus, credo, firmiterque teneo ". Then explaining his faith ' per capita ', he promises obedience to the Holy See, and finally requests to be received into the Catholic Church, and to be conforted with the true faith, for which he was ready even to shed his blood.

2) Petition of Cariati and Pareamakel for Mar Dionysius (²)

In this it is narrated that Dr. Cariati, because of the conversations he had had with Mar Dionysius, was convinced of the Prelate's sincerity in his desire for reunion, and that the sole purpose of their tedious and perilous journey was to promote this reunion — which was impeded by the self-interest of the missionaries — personally approaching the Holy See, as instructed by their fellow Catholics in Malabar. Stating that all the doubts

(¹) The original is in Chaldean. The Latin version of it was also presented to the Pope. The actual copy elegantly written on good paper with gilt edges is extant in the Propaganda Archives: *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, ff. 14-20. The Latin version. *Ibid.*, ff. 10-13; Other Copies of the latin version: *SC(IOC)*, vol. 35, ff. 633-636; *SOCG.*, vol. 867, ff. 129-132. Some authors produce a different text of the petition: Cfr. Placid, *Unitas*, 1953, pp. 14-15; Inchakalody, *The Christian Churches in Kerla*, Thiruvalla, 1957, p. 311. This must have been the first drafting of the petition from which Mar Dionysius constructed the actual one of 12 May 1778.

(²) It is in Italian. The actual copy we find in APF. *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, ff. 6-9. Another copy *SOCG.*, vol. 867, ff. 145-147.

of the missionaries regarding the true episcopal character of Mar Dionysius and his sincerity, were totally groundless, they request in the name of the 72 Syrian parishes the reception of Mar Dionysius into the Church with due episcopal jurisdiction over his people, who would follow him to the true fold.

3) The letters of the 72 Syro-Chaldean parishes (1)

They speak of their previous letters to the Holy See, to which the desired replies were not given. They had, therefore, commissioned Cariati and seven other persons to present to the Pontifical throne their needs and pray the Holy Father to look upon their petitions favourably.

4) Another petition of Cariati and Pareamakel for the needs of the Catholic Syrians (2). In this 8 favours were asked. As it does not belong directly to our subject, we do not give it here.

After the audience the Holy Father gave the petitions to Mgr. Borgia for the necessary attention. For clarification of these petitions a pro-memoria also was given to the Congregation of Propaganda (3). The theme of this can be summed up as follows. Mar Dionysius and his predecessors had made many efforts for reunion. But all were frustrated by the clever missionaries, too jealous of their own authority. That the attempts of the missionaries to deny, or at least to obscure, the validity of the episcopal consecration of Mar Dionysius really prove the contrary is shown with examples. The 72 communities made great sacrifice in sending the envoys with the sole motive of glorifying God by the reunion of Mar Dionysius. The Archbishop of Cranganore could be commissioned to receive Mar Dionysius and to grand him free administration of his diocese. If Mar Dionysius' consecration could not be proved as valid, he could be re-consecrated. If the nomination of the Prelate to the vacant see of Cranganore should be delayed, the affair could be committed to some other prelate of vicinity, except the Vicar Apostolic.

(1) Originally these were written on palm leaves which, however, we could not find in the archives of Propaganda. The Latin translation presented to the Pope is kept with the other petitions. APF, *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, f. 21.

(2) We have not seen the original. The Malayalam translation is given in *the Varthamanapusthakam*, pp. 253-258.

(3) APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 867, ff. 149-151.

The Congregation asks information from the Vicar Apostolic

Though the Congregation was happy at the news of the conversion of Mar Dionysius, in the absence of any recommendation from the ecclesiastical authorities of Malabar, it hesitated to give credit to the envoys of the people of Malabar. Hence on 11 March 1780 Card. Castelli wrote to Bishop Carlo Calamanese, Administrator Apostolic of Malabar, asking him to inquire into the matter secretly and obtain information for the Congregation. The subjects of the inquiry were the disposition of Mar Dionysius to embrace the Church, the episcopal character of the same, and the approximate number of his followers. The Bishop was instructed not to get the information from his confrères. The Congregation also warned him to keep himself free of all self-interest in this important affair and not to betray the trust the Congregation put in him (1).

c) *The Padroado intervenes and the Bishop of Cochin is commissioned to handle the case.*

Cariati however could see only unintelligible indifference in the attitude of the Propaganda. He therefore tried to win support from Cardinals and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. But as they were altogether helpless in the matter, they could only encourage him not to lose heart, but to continue his efforts. In the meantime, having received instruction from the Portuguese Court, Henrico de Menezes, the Portuguese Plenipotentiary to the Holy See, most pressingly recommended the petition of Mar Dionysius before the Holy Father (2). Portugal desired that the Archbishop of Goa be commissioned to receive Mar Dionysius. As things were taking on this new shape, Card. Castelli died and Card. Antonelli was made Prefect of the S. Congregation. This gave Cariati and his colleague another chance to insist on their petition.

(1) APF., *Lettere*, voll 236, ff. 189v-191.

(2) PAREAMAKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 267. In the letter to Archbishop Emmanuel O.C.D., also mention is made of the royal intervention. Cfr. *Lettere* vol. 236, f. 740: " Regina Fidelissima... quae Malabarense hoc negotium per suum apud S. Sedem administrum D. Henricum de Menezes impensissime commendavit ".

Card. Antonelli going through the profession of faith of Mar Dionysius found it incomplete and consequently insufficient for admitting the schismatic Prelate to the Catholoic communion. Besides, the episcopal character of Mar Dionysius and the sincerity of his conversion appeared doubtful to the Cardinal. Moreover, it appeared imprudent to take a final decision on such an important issue, based solely on the testimony of the envoys whose sincerity was also not beyond suspicion owing to their clandestine and abrupt departure from Malabar without the knowledge or sanction of their ecclesiastical superiors.

Therefore, honouring also the recommendation of the Padroado, the Holy See prudently granted to Mgr. Emmanuel the Bishop of Cochin and Administrator of Goa, faculties to bring the matter to a conclusion, in part and subject to the verification by a previous investigation of the conditions explained in an instruction of the Congregation dated 28 Sept. 1780 (1).

In this long letter the Cardinal first considered the petitions of the Malabarians and explained the reasons why the Holy See decided to commit such an important affair to the wisdom and circumspection of Bishop Emmanuel. Then he ordered a thorough inquiry in the matter. First of all, the documents presented to the Holy Father were to be verified: then the sincerity and the consistency of Mar Dionysius' conversion were to be examined. For this the Cardinal advised the commissary to obtain information directly from Mar Dionysius himself. If found sincere and persevering, he might be asked to sign the profession of Faith according to the formula of Pope Urban VIII, since the one already written and signed by the Prelate was considered incomplete on many points.

The problem regarding the validity of Mar Dionysius' consecration was to be investigated with all seriousness. As far as possible authentic documents were to be brought forward. Those present at the consecration ceremony were to be questioned, not only as to the fact itself, but also about the rites and ceremonies used. The episcopal character of Mar Gregory and his title to consecrate Mar Dionysius were also to be investigated.

After the investigation, by virtue of the special faculties conferred upon him, Bishop Emmanuel was entitled to receive Mar

(1) APF., *Lettere*, vol. 236, ff. 729-740.

Dionysius into the Church absolving him from all ecclesiastical censures, if he would subscribe to the profession of faith according to the prescribed formula. Moreover, if the validity of Mar Dionysius' sacerdotal ordination were proved, he could be absolved from all irregularities whatsoever, and be rehabilitated as regards all sacerdotal functions. But as to the evaluation of the episcopal consecration of Mar Dionysius, reserving the final word to the Holy See, and prohibiting all functions of the episcopal Order and jurisdiction to Mar Dionysius for the time being, Bishop Emmanuel had to refer to the Holy See each and every detail that could be found in favour of validity or nullity of this consecration.

Finally in case Mar Dionysius' consecration was found invalid or doubtful, the Congregation wanted to know whether it was advisable to consecrate him again. In that case three points were to be clarified: 1) was there any likelihood that Mar Dionysius after receiving valid consecration would desert the Catholic faith and communion, thus causing immense harm to the Catholic Church? 2) was it at all expedient to raise an Indian to the dignity of the episcopate since, being dark and subject to native kings, he might not be esteemed by others and the very dignity might be dishonoured? 3) was there any danger of schism or heresy if the Catholic Syrians were subject to a Bishop of their own nationality?

The letter permitted Bishop Emmanuel to do all that was required through a delegate if he preferred to do so. Together with this letter were sent copies of the petitions submitted by the envoys and formulas of profession of faith in Chaldean and Latin.

All forces at work during the investigation

1) *The envoys.* Informed of this decision of the Congregation towards the middle of June and seeing that the last item reserved to the Holy See was enough to unsettle the whole affair, Dr. Cariati and companion approached the Portuguese Plenipotentiary with petition to insist on that point, only to receive the reply that nothing could be done unless fresh orders came from Portugal (1). Therefore, seeing that their continued presence in Rome in this situation would not help matters, the envoys started their return

(1) PAREAMAKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

journey towards the end of June. Staying, at Lisbon the deputation continued its efforts. Dr. Cariati presented to the authorities a brief history of the Malabar Church in which he explained that the only purpose of their perilous journey was the realization of Mar Dionysius' reunion (1).

In the sequence of events Dr. Cariati was made Archbishop of Cranganore (2). After his consecration on 17 February 1783, Mar Cariati and Fr. Pareamakel had to remain in Lisbon two more years, by force of circumstances. During this period they wrote petitions to the Queen and other officials (3). On 10 April 1784 a letter was sent to their countrymen explaining how things stood and asking them to do what they could to improve the situation (4).

2) *Mar Dionysius.* Meanwhile, on 18 December 1781, Mar Dionysius convoked a meeting of his clergy and of representatives of the laity to discuss certain problems and thereby to bring the mind of his subjects closer to the Catholic Church and to dispose them to submit to its authority. In this assembly regulations were passed against certain abuses and vices prevalent among the laity and the clergy. A resolution to erect a seminary at the expence of all the churches under his dependence was passed

(1) This account is partly published by Silva Rego: Cfr. *Documentação...* vol. 12, Lisbon, 1958, pp. 851-875.

(2) The Portuguese Queen nominated him to the Padroado See of Cranganore and Pope Pius VI confirmed the nomination.

(3) PAREAMAKEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 451, 517.

(4) On receiving this letter, about 80 priests assembled at Angamaly on 14 April 1785 and wrote a letter requesting the Holy Father to intervene and send them their Archbishop and his companion. Expressing their deepfelt sorrow at hearing that their envoys were not believed by the S. Congregation, they begged the Holy Father to send two trustworthy persons to Malabar for the verification of what the envoys presented in Mar Dionysius' case. Cfr. APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 38, ff. 130-132. This intervention of the Syro-Malabarians, however, in no way influenced the course of Mar Dionysius' cause, for long before it was written, the Congregation had taken a decision in 1784. Still, this letter has its own importance in manifesting the lively interest of this community in the reunion of their Jacobite brethren. On the contrary, when the missionaries of Verapoly were informed of this letter of Fr. Pareamakel, Fr. Paulinus C.O.D., the Vicar General of Verapoly, sent a copy of it with its translation to the Congregation, and protested that the accusations against the Latin missionaries were mere calumnies: APF, *SC(IOC)*, vol. 38, ff. 78-81.

amidst the prolonged applause of the gathering. Next, the intention of Mar Dionysius to introduce feasts and fasts according to the Synod of Diamper came under discussion. But the final decision on this and on the electing of a successor to Mar Dionysius was postponed to another gathering to be convened in the following April, for in the meantime the return of the Cariati deputation was expected (1). Though this gathering did not take a final decision concerning these problems, nevertheless it gave ample proof of the readiness of Mar Dionysius and his people even to sacrifice their particular customs, provided they be given a chance to attain their nobler end.

3) *The reports of Bishop Carlo.* Already in August 1779 Bishop Francis Sales had resigned his office as the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, as he had been ordered by the Holy See. After this Bishop Carlo a S. Conrado O.C.D., the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, was in Verapoly as the Administrator of the Vicariate Apostolic.

On 25 April 1781, Mgr. Carlo received the letter of the Congregation. On the very next day he sent a reply (2). In this he denied that Cariati and his colleague were deputed by all the 72 parishes, since parishes like Verapoly, Mangatt, Cottiote, Musicrillon, Ampalakatte, and Ballianare did not subscribe to the deputation. As to the consecration of Mar Dionysius, Bishop Carlo believed it to be valid, basing his conviction on the testimony of many accredited priests and laymen. But the fact that the schismatic Prelate continued the practice of simony and did not reordain the priests ordained invalidly by himself when he had no valid episcopal consecration induced Bishop Carlo to doubt the sincerity of his conversion. He further denied the accusation against the missionaries that in the past they had impeded the many attempts of the schismatic Prelates for reunion.

This letter was followed by many others more or less of the same contents (3). But these he based on the inquiry he made through postal correspondence with 17 honest and trustworthy

(1) We get information of this meeting from Bishop Carlo's letters dated 20 Febr. and 8 April, 1782: APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 867, ff. 163-166; 173-175.

(2) APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 867, ff. 177-178.

(3) *Ibid.*, ff. 163-166; 167-168; 169-170; 171-172; 173-175; 179-182.

priests. Receiving replies from 12 of them [1], he extracted the following information. In 1772 Mar Gregory consecrated Mar Thomas and ordained many of the invalidly ordained priests in the church of Kajanculata (information from Fr. Mullan Ittiacen of Angamaly). But Mar Dionysius did not reordain the rest of the pseudo-priests. The faithful under Mar Dionysius numbering about 25,000 were ready to follow their Prelate to the Catholic Church, but were reluctant to accept the Synod of Diamper (information from the Vicar of Kuruppanpady).

The practice of simony and the hereditary episcopal succession, which Mar Dionysius was not disposed to give up easily, were viewed as arguments against the sincerity of his conversion [2].

4) *The report from the side of the Padroado.* The Congregation, though it had received the reports of Bishop Carlo, could not take any step before it received the report of the Bishop of Cochin. Bishop Emmanuel, however, after receiving the letter of the Congregation waited almost a year for royal permission to leave Goa for Malabar. The Apostolic Nuncio had written to him saying that he would see to it. At last since no such royal order was sent to him, Bishop Emmanuel commissioned Fr. José da Soledade O.C.D., the ecclesiastical governor of Cochin and Cranganore, to make the necessary investigation and send the report to him. Accordingly Fr. Soledade wrote a rather long report to Bishop Emmanuel on 16 January 1782, and the latter sent it to Rome in its original form [3].

The report is expressive of a manifest antipathy towards the Carmelite missionaries of Verapoly. To give vent to his exaggerated zeal to oust the Propaganda jurisdiction from Malabar and to perpetuate the Padroado in its stead, Fr. Soledade considered the reunion of Mar Dionysius an efficacious means and supported it, recommending, however, that Mar Dionysius be appointed Coa-

(1) The Vicar General of Cranganore also was asked to say what he knew on the subject. But he refused to do so, saying that if the Congregation wanted to get information from the diocesan authority, it might well have asked it directly: Soledade's report, *Ibid.*, f. 136.

(2) Bishop Carlo's letters of 4, 10, 14 May 1781; *Ibid.*, ff. 167-172.

(3) The report was written in Portuguese. Cfr. APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 867, ff. 154-161. An Italian translation was prepared for the study of the Congregation. Cfr. *Ibid.*, ff. 133-143.

djutor to the Archbishop of Cranganore without independent jurisdiction (1).

He considered the episcopal consecration of Mar Dionysius to be an undeniable fact and his efforts for reunion sincerc, and therefore he held that the Prelate could be received into the Church as a Bishop. But as regards the conferring of jurisdiction, he first examined the different possibilities and their consequences. First of all he reasoned that if the Holy See were to grant Mar Dionysius full jurisdiction over those who would reunite with the Catholic Church, after the death of the Prelate the subjects would ask for another Bishop of their own nationality, and in case Rome would not grant their request, all would at once return to schism. For, " the people give more credit to the traditions than to the very Holy Scriptures, and that which is granted to them today as a favour, would be demanded in justice tomorrow ".

Much less would it be expedient to grant jurisdiction over all the Syrians, the Catholics and the would-be Catholics. In that case, the Latin Catholics of the Archdiocese of Cranganore would raise difficulties because they would never approve of being under Mar Dionysius. Nor would it be practicable to subject these Catholics to the Bishop of Cochin owing to the difficulty in defining areas of jurisdiction since Latins and Syrians were found intermingled in the same territory (2). Besides, there would exist no See of Cranganore distinct from the See of Mar Dionysius, a consequence which even the Catholic Syrians would not like. Finally, were reunion to be effected, the office of the Vicar Apostolic would become redundant, since the very institution of such an office was for the reunion of the schismatics.

Fr. Soledade pointed out also many other reasons that might induce the authorities to accept his suggestion. First of all Mar Dionysius was an Indian and therefore incapable of any high office in the Church! Moreover, so recent a convert should not enjoy

(1) Since this is a confidential report to Bishop Emmanuel, the writer seems to expose his arguments unreservedly, and therefore one can read in this even the innermost intentions and motives of Fr. Soledade in suggesting the particular scheme to face the problem in a way that would be advantageous to the Padroado.

(2) The concept of personal multijurisdiction in one and the same territory was unintelligible to the missionaries of those days.

independent episcopal authority. Hence, the writer of the report presented his suggestion persuasively, that, " No other solution would be more useful to the Holy See, more decorous to the Royal Padroado, more conducive to the tranquility of the Christian community, more practical for the present and provident for the future and, in short, more expedient, than to appoint Mar Thomas as the Coadjutor to the Archdiocese of Cranganore. Thus Mar Thomas would be in a position to direct his own people and to favour anyone of the less contented parties that might have recourse to him. Thus would remain the Ordinary assisted; Mar Thomas converted, united and honoured, the Vicar Apostolic unnecessary, the danger of schism prevented, the Archdiocese preserved, the Royal Padroado continued and all in perfect concord " (1).

He then suggested that when Jacobites came back to the Catholic Church, they should abandon their rite and accept, the Syro-Chaldean rite as prescribed by the Synod of Diamper. Otherwise, as there would be no difference between the rites of the Catholics and the schismatics, the reunited might easily go back to the schism for any unimportant reason.

Although this is the principal trend of the report, here and there one meets with extravagant statements and even contradictory assertions. Of course, he had the problem of extracting the truth from various discourses with different persons, whose views and interests were not always in full agreement with each other.

In conclusion, Fr. Soledade advised Bishop Emmanuel not to come to Malabar, unless he could settle the matter in the way suggested in this report. He should come " with faculties to convoke councils; to change the rites; to consecrate bishops; to prescribe territories; to divide jurisdictions; to abolish unnecessary ones such as that of the Vicar Apostolic; to modify those lately established etc. ", and thus set everything in order.

But as we know, Bishop Emmanuel did not have such unlimited faculties. So following the suggestion of his delegate, the commissary sent this same report to Rome on 15 February 1783 with his own personal remark that the conversion in question was

(1) Cfr. the report. *loc. cit.*, f. 141v.

founded on and cherished by the sole ambition of the episcopal dignity, and that the Catholic Church would draw nothing but disadvantage from this reunion (1).

d) *Archbishop Mar Cariati is commissioned to handle the case.*

Now that the reports were at hand, the Congregation made a thorough study of the subject. Card. Ghilini prepared a ' ristretto ' condensing all the documents in the possession of the Congregation regarding it. In conclusion, he brought to the attention of the Cardinals, the important changes that in the meantine had taken place in Malabar, such as the astonishing event of Dr. Cariati's elevation to the high dignity of Archbishop of Cranganore, the promotion of Bishop Emanuel to the Metropilitan See of Goa, and Fr. Soledade's appointment as the Bishop of Cochin. He also observed that, because Mar Cariati was an Indian, the Dutch might not obstruct the exercise of his jurisdiction in their dominions, and so the Vicariate Apostolic would become an unnecessary institution.

The General Congregation of 17 May 1784, after mature consideration of the problems, decided to postpone the final decision on the matter, writing meantime to Archbishop Mar Cariati to make a fresh enquiry and to report to the Holy See with all frankness and sincerity. Moreover, it was decided to request the Holy Father to grant to Mar Cariati all those faculties which had been granted four years before to Bishop Emmanuel for handling the same case (2).

What precisely had the long investigations and studies brought to light? Had there been any real progress, or at least, a closer approach towards the settlement of the case? The answer seems to be, No, for the very same faculties as those granted to Bishop Emmanuel four years before are now repeated in the new commission. If there was any progress at all, it was in the attitude of the Congregation in confiding the case to Archbishop Mar Cariati, whose sincerity and selfless motives in this enterprise had not seemed beyond doubt to the Congregation four years before. The facul-

(1) The forwarding letter of Bishop Emmanuel: APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 867, f. 153.

(2) APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 867, ff. 125-126.

ties granted to Mar Cariati however did not empower him to grant Mar Dionysius the exercise of episcopal functions after his reunion. Mar Dionysius had to live as a simple priest until the Holy See made a decision about his episcopal character. But some historians mistakenly maintain that Mar Cariati had received all faculties to receive Mar Dionysius as Bishop and to grant him full jurisdiction over his faithful.

The instruction in conformity with this resolution was written to Archbishop Mar Cariati on 10 July 1784 (1). Thus the case of Mar Dionysius' reunion had in some way come under the control of Mar Cariati. He was now sure to lead it to its happy end, and was therefore immensely happy to have been commissioned to direct it. On 16 August 1784 he wrote to Card. Antonelli his sentiments of gratitude for the great honour of being delegated to handle the problem, so dear to his heart (2).

More difficulties. When the decision of the Congregation was made known to the court of Lisbon, certain officials created trouble. They argued that the commission should have gone to the Archbishop of Goa; for, Archbishop Cariati, being one of the procurators of Mar Dionysius, — they reasoned — would be too lenient and benevolent to the schismatic Prelate in settling the case. Finally a compromise was made: Mar Dionysius should be received into the Church by Archbishop Mar Cariati in the presence of the Archbishop of Goa (2).

Now that he had had his way, Mar Cariati made haste to return. When everything was arranged for the return journey, the Apostolic Nuncio to Portugal received a letter from Fr. Paulinus O.C.D., in which many charges were raised against Bishop Soledade of Cochin, Archbishop Mar Cariati and Mar Dionysius. Accusing Mar Cariati of having acted against the express desire of the people in accepting the archiepiscopal dignity, the letter foretold that disturbances and troubles were sure to follow his return

(1) APF., *Lettere*, vol. 244, ff. 570-573. The Congregation wrote also to Archbishop Emmanuel thanking him for the reports and informing him of the new commission of the case to Mar Cariati: letter dated 21 August 1784, *Ibid.*, ff. 687-689.

(2) APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 37, f. 642.

(3) PAREAMAKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 530: The Queen also wrote to this effect to the Archbishop of Goa: Cfr. *Ibid.*, p. 543.

to Malabar, and made known that the mission of Verapoly would be kept intact at any cost unless express orders were issued from Rome to hand over the Syrian Churches to Mar Cariati. Even in such an event, the writer argued that the Vicariate Apostolic of Verapoly should be preserved for the faithful of the Latin rite since they would by no means like to be under a Syro-Malabar Bishop, and that the complete care of the Syrian churches should not be left to the Indians alone, since they were absolutely incapable of governing themselves without the help of the missionaries and a Vicar Apostolic. As regards Mar Dionysius' attitude, the letter stated that, although he wished to become a Catholic, he was not prepared to accept the Synod of Diamper, and hence was not prepared to cut the schism at its root. Moreover, he was accused of continuing his simoniacal practices and of not having reformed anything in his Church even after sending his profession of Faith to Rome. Mar Cyril's presence was pointed out as a factor that might limit the success of Mar Dionysius' eventual reunion. Even if all the faithful were to follow Mar Dionysius, according to the writer, a great revolt was sure to follow (1). Whatever might have been the intention of Fr. Paulinus in writing this letter when he knew of the promotion of Dr. Cariati to the archiepiscopal dignity, these accusations and calumnies could not impede the return of Mar Cariati, neither did they affect the course of Mar Dionysius' case in any way, at least for a while.

(1) This letter is in Portuguese, is dated 15 January 1784, and is extant in APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 38, ff. 39-40. The Apostolic Nuncio showed it to Archbishop Mar Cariati, who took a copy of it and wrote to Cardinal Antonelli on 25 March 1785, " ... Non ho avuto tempo di tradurre da Portughese in italiano, alcune lettere venute dall'India contro me e la mia povera nazione, avendo più tempo non mancherò d'inviarli perchè possa cognoscer gli animi delli nostri nemici ", APF., *Ibid.*, f. 104r. — Fr. Pareamakel's detailed criticism (*op. cit.*, pp. 461-515) of this letter was such as to arouse the fury of the Syro-Malabarians against the missionaries of Verapoly. But the missionaries then boldly denied their part in writing such letters! (Cfr. the letter of Bishop Aloysius and his confrères on 7 May 1787. It is published by AMBROSIUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-292). — Fr. Bernard T.O.C.D. is wrong in supposing this letter to be the report of Fr. Soledade. See BERNARD T.O.C.D., *The St. Thomas' Christians*, vol. 2, Mannanam, 1921, pp. 206-207.

The deputation returns and Mar Cariati dies at Goa

Finally, overcoming all the difficulties happily, Mar Cariati and Fr. Pareamakel left Lisbon on 20 April 1785 and reached Goa on the 1st of May 1786. But there on 9 September 1786 Mar Cariati died a mysterious death (1). This premature demise was an irreparable loss to the whole Malabar Church, a mortal blow to the hoped-for reunion of Mar Dionysius and his followers. All the hope of eight years vanished overnight. Had the commissary lived longer, the reunion of Mar Dionysius would surely have taken place.

III. The fluctuations and vicissitudes of the case (1786-1808)

The period after Archbishop Cariati's death is the least explored and little known phase of our case. Historians hitherto have brought to light only two isolated facts, namely, a meeting of the Syrians with Bishop Soledade in 1796 and the unauthorised reunion of 1799. As a matter of fact, all throughout this period Mar Dionysius' attitude remained unchanged, and efforts for reunion were continued. He counted on both Padroado and Propaganda for the realization of his dream.

a) *The Missionaries of Verapoly manage to get the case under their control.*

In Dec. 1783 Bishop Carlo left for Bombay appointing Fr. Francis a S. Eliseo O.C.D. as pro-Vicar Apostolic of Malabar. Fr. Paulinus a S. Bartholomeo O.C.D. was then the Vicar General.

Fr. Paulinus' letter of 14 Jan. 1784 was followed by many others denouncing the activities and intentions of Mar Cariati and Mar Dionysius as detrimental to the tranquility of the Christian community in Malabar. Yet in spite of all these, the decision of 1784 held good before the Congregation, until news came of the untimely death of Archbishop Mar Cariati. Thereupon the

(1) His death in these suspected circumstances was explained by some as natural; others, on the contrary, suspected foul play.

Congregation decided to confide the affair to the Vicar Apostolic and the case reverted to the primary state of confusion and suspicion.

We may now expose in order the procedure of the missionaries. On 12 Feb. 1785 Fr. Paulinus wrote to the Congregation denouncing the letter of Fr. Pareamakel as merely calumnious. He then repeated against Mar Dionysius the accusations contained in his letter of 14 Jan. 1784 and stated that, even if Mar Dionysius should become a Catholic, not many of his followers would abandon their rite and correct the old perverted customs in accordance with the norms of the Synod of Diamper. He also volunteered to keep a vigilant eye on Mar Dionysius and promote his cause, provided the schismatic prelate would give clear proof of a sincere and effective will (1). The pro-vicar Apostolic repeated the selfsame arguments of his Vicar General in a letter dated 2 March 1785 (2).

The General Congregation of 11 September 1786

Bishop-elect Aloysius a S. Maria O.C.D., shortly after he was informed of his appointment as the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, wrote to the Congregation on 30 May 1785 asking what should be his attitude toward Mar Dionysius and whether the schismatic Prelate could be considered and treated as a bishop (3). In another letter of 20 Sept. of the same year he wrote about certain recollections and narrations of various persons, who doubted the real episcopal character of Mar Dionysius (4). In these letters he speaks of ' the requests ' of Mar Dionysius. Perhaps Mar Dionysius had approached the missionaries to change their mentality, as news about their objections against his case had reached him.

To these letters the Congregation replied on 27 September 1786, as was decided in the general congregation of 11 Sept. (5). The letter informed him that the Congregation was not yet in a position to decide on the validity of Mar Dionysius' consecration

(1) APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 38, ff. 80-81.

(2) *Ibid.*, ff. 112.

(3) APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 874, f. 91r.

(4) *Ibid.*, f. 96.

(5) *Ibid.*, f. 88; The resolution alludes to the instruction to Mar Cariati.

and the solidity of his conversion, and exhorted the Vicar Apostolic to deal with the schismatic Prelate with every courtesy and respect [1].

Bishop Aloysius insists on instruction

In the meantime on 22 Dec. 1785 Fr. Paulinus paid a visit to Mar Dionysius. But he could not carry back a good opinion of the Prelate, whom he found self-interested and inclined to postpone his reunion [2].

Mar Cariati, the commissary of the Congregation, was still at sea en route to Malabar when Bishop Aloysius wrote again to the Congregation on 24 and 30 March 1786, that he had lately received a courtesy letter from Mar Dionysius and that he had replied that he was well aware of Mar Dionysius' case and was waiting for instructions from Rome. The Vicar Ap. then asked again for directions concerning the episcopal quality of Mar Dionysius, and the rite, calendar etc., he and his people should follow after their reunion. He explained that he needed these instructions in order to propose a practical solution of the problem and thus to test the dispositions of Mar Dionysius. He took care also to add that Mar Dionysius had conferred the diaconate on his nephew who, if the established custom were followed, would succeed him. The erroneous doctrines and superstitious practices of the schismatics were narrated in the letter [3]. To these letters the Congregation was not in a hurry to give a reply, since the case was already entrusted to Archbishop Mar Cariati and instructions had been sent also to the Vicar Apostolic on 27 September 1786.

The general congregation on 18 February 1788

In 1788 there arrived reports about the untimely death of Mar Cariati and the consequent revolt and uprising of the Catholic Syrians against the Carmelites of Verapoly. The missionaries had reported that Mar Dionysius was scandalized by the behaviour of

(1) APF., *Lettere*, vol. 248, f. 638.

(2) See his impression about the Prelate in his *India Orientalis Christiana*, p. 110. Cfr. also *Observationes...*, AOCD., 293 *b*, p. 53.

(3) APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 878, ff. 151-158, 163-164.

Cariati and Pareamakel — who, though sent to Rome for his cause, had been working instead for their own promotion to dignities — and therefore was no longer disposed to come over to the Catholic Church, unless he was appointed bishop over the whole Catholic Syrian community, with right of succession guaranteed to his nephews (1).

Does this report really represent the mentality of Mar Dionysius? The events that followed suggest an answer in the negative. Moreover, the very authors of the reports — who in the same letter did not scruple to disavow the calumnious letter of Fr. Paulinus to the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon — speak of only indirect information of such a reaction on the part of Mar Dionysius.

The serious situation of the Malabar mission came up for discussion by the Eminent Cardinals in the general congregation of 18 February 1788. Card. Carrara after his ' ristretto ' proposed the fifth doubt: whether it be expedient to confide the cause of Mar Dionysius to Bishop Aloysius, and what should be the direction given with regard to the claims of Mar Dionysius and his followers? The decision was to commit the affair to no one for the time being, but to ask the Vicar Apostolic to inform the Congregation in detail about everything pertaining to the conduct and beliefs of Mar Dionysius, and to instruct the Vicar Apostolic to try his best to gain the confidence of the Indian Prelate and to induce him to make the profession of faith according to the formula of Urban VIII. If Mar Dionysius would do this, the Congregation manifested its willingness to grant him independent episcopal jurisdiction over his people, and to the indigenous clergy the right of electing their future bishops. The Holy See would also make provisions for the rite and liturgy of the reunited Christians (2). A letter dated 12 April (3) communicated this resolution to the Vicar Apostolic. In asking for precise information on the integrity of Mar Dionysius' faith and the validity of his consecration, the Congregation showed that it still had doubts on the first point, and as to the second it was inclined to acknowledge that Mar

(1) *Ibid.*, ff. 217-218; This letter of 7 May 1787 is published by AMBROSIUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-292.

(2) APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 878, f. 121.

(3) APF., *Lettere*, vol. 252, ff. 145^v-146^v.

Dionysius was a validly consecrated bishop. This resolution was a great step forward in favour of Mar Dionysius, indeed, the greatest step the Congregation ever took in respect of him. The Holy See was disposed to grant him independent jurisdiction. The most benign concession was the faculty which the Congregation was prepared to confer upon the indigenous clergy to elect sucessors to Mar Dionysius. There was only one defect; the realization of all these depended entirely on the attitude of the Vicar Apostolic.

Mar Dionysius advances certain proposals

Before the above mentioned instruction was received by Bishop Aloysius, on 25 April 1788, the missionaries wrote that the Jacobite Prelates were not sincere in their efforts for reunion, since they were also writing to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch for help. Besides, Mar Dionysius was reported to have been disgusted with the procedure of the Catholic Syrians and consequently to have hardened in schism and effected a reform of the rite (1). But a few months later, on 14 October, Bishop Aloysius informed the Congregation that Mar Dionysius had sent some of his leading priests and laymen pressingly requesting the Vicar Apostolic to intercede with the Holy See to give a final decision on his case. Mar Dionysius then showed his willingness to accept the participation of the missionaries in the administration of his Church after his reunion, and was ready to spend all his earnings in order to secure royal indultus to execute the reunion freely and to get guaranteed the free exercise of Religion and the security of the missionaries, provided the Holy See would assign him an annual subsidy.

The Vicar Apostolic then exposed many reasons to show that as yet he had found no cogent proof of the validity of Mar Dionysius' sacerdotal ordination and episcopal consecration. Hence, leaving that problem to the safe judgement of the Congregation, he promised to execute scrupulously the orders and instructions of the Holy See, if ever His Holiness should deign to confide the matter to him. But, if ever the Holy See should decide to admit Mar Dionysius to the Catholic communion, Bishop Aloysius recommended that: 1) the hereditary succession of episcopacy should

(1) APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 884, f. 122r.

not be continued; 2) the then Catholic parishes should not be brought under the reunited Prelate; 3) express orders should be issued regarding the rite to be followed by the reunited. And in fine he observed that at the reunion of Mar Dionysius, some of his subjects would surely follow him into the Catholic Church, but not all, and many of the Catholics too would most willingly subject themselves to him (1).

After a study of these reports the Congregation decided to abide by the resolution of 18 February 1788 (2). The Cardinal's reply of 14 November 1789 referred the case to his letter of 12 April 1788, and added that, as the report of the Vicar Apostolic gave room for doubt on the episcopal quality of Mar Dionysius, the Congregation would remedy this defect by ordaining and consecrating him again (3). A great problem in the case could thus be solved!

The Congregation rejects the strange suggestion of Fr. Paulinus

Meanwhile Fr. Paulinus, having been recalled to Rome to report on the actual situation of the Malabar mission, before leaving Malabar made an attempt to ascertain the disposition of Mar Dionysius, by informing him of a certain decision of the Congregation about his case without however, saying what it was, and asking him to arrange for an interview with the Vicar Apostolic to discuss the matter. He brought to the Congregation a reply of the Jacobite Prelate, in which full freedom had been given to the missionaries to fix the place and date of the interview and a request was made for a copy of the letter from Rome preferably in Malayalam (4).

On Fr. Paulinus' arrival the Congregation made a thorough study of all the problems of the Malabar Church. In Mar Dionysius' case the missionary suggested that the Congregation might well renew the instruction of 1750 in respect of Mar Dionysius' predecessor, asking the Vicar Apostolic to keep a vigilant eye on

(1) APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 884, f. 171.

(2) *Ibid.*, f. 117,: the resolution of the general congregation on 14 September 1789.

(3) APF., *Lettere*, vol. 255, f. 616.

(4) APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, ff. 82-83.

the dissident Prelate and his subjects (1). But the general congregation of 19 July 1790 simply rejected this suggestion and reaffirmed the decision of 1788 (2).

Although the Congregation thus insisted on its decision of 1788, no action was taken in Malabar. The Vicar Apostolic reported that he was waiting for Mar Dionysius to visit him in his residence at Verapoly. In view of the apparent discrepancy between the letters of the Vicar Apostolic and the letter of Mar Dionysius brought by Fr. Paulinus to the Congregation (3), there is serious doubt whether there was any such appointment at all.

The Vicar Apostolic justifies his inertia

Such was the state of things when, Mar Cyril appeared in Travancore fleeing from the Muslim invaders under Tippu Sultan. Mar Dionysius soon convened a meeting of the Jacobite churches in August 1789. The assembly, on being asked about its attitude towards Mar Cyril, unanimously repudiated him and acknowledged the exclusive authority of Mar Dionysius. Further, it authorised the Prelate to ordain his nephew and afterwards to consecrate him bishop. This event thus gave to the flock an opportunity to manifest its loyalty to its pastor, and to Mar Dionysius assurance that the presence of Mar Cyril was no more a threat to his position. Mar Cyril deprived of all support from the people agreed to live under Mar Dionysius without any episcopal authority.

The same event, on the other hand, provided the Vicar Apostolic with a reason to justify his inertia and to ignore the instruction of the Congregation. He viewed it as a providential test to

(1) See this strange recommendation in its full scope in *Notitia Topographica..*, APF., *Acta*, vol. 160, ff. 337-338. The instruction in the case of Mar Dionysius' predecessor was written with an attitude of suspicion.

(2) « Renoventur instructiones alias datae ". *Ibid.*, f. 360r. Cfr. also the letter of 4 October 1790; APF., *Lettere*, vol. 258, ff. 688-689.

(3) While the letter of Mar Dionysius left full freedom to the missionaries to fix the place and date of the interview (*above* p. 178, n. 4), the letters of the Vicar Apostolic affirmed that Mar Dionysius had agreed to visit him at Verapoly *in May 1789* (letter of 1 April 1789, APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 886, f. 541v.); *in June 1789* (letter of 3 March 1790, *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, f. 223v.

reveal the true colour of the 'crafty' Prelate, and determined to take no further step until he had received fresh instructions (1). The instruction of 1788 thus remained a dead letter.

b) *The agreement with Bishop Soledade and Bishop Aloysius' interference.*

After Mar Cariati's death, Fr. Pareamakel was appointed Ecclesiastical Governor of Cranganore. Even in the midst of the mass agitation of the people against the Carmelite missionaries, Fr. Pareamakel had an eye on Mar Dionysius' reunion. He knew well that Rome was favourable to this reunion. Besides, he held that according to ecclesiastical tradition and a theological opinion any bishop of the Catholic communion could receive a schismatic bishop into the Church without any special faculty from anyone (2). Hence, his one policy for the reunion seems to have been to secure the good will of a Catholic bishop to accomplish this. Thus through his efforts the Archbishop of Goa ordered Bishop Soledade to contact Mar Dionysius. Visits were followed by return visits, and finally Bishop Soledade was convinced of the sincerity of Mar Dionysius' desire. Documents in the possession of Mar Dionysius proved his episcopal character. Early in April 1791, to crown his efforts, Mar Dionysius contracted an agreement with Bishop Soledade, to renounce all his claims except that of retaining episcopal jurisdiction over those who would follow him to the Catholic Church, leaving complete freedom to the Holy See to elect his successor or to annex the churches under him to the archdiocese of Cranganore after his death. He consented also to necessary reforms in liturgy and discipline and was willing to make the profession of faith according to the formula prescribed by the Holy See. For the public ratification of the agreement and the formal reception of Mar Dionysius, Mar Cyril and their followers, the interested parties decided to assemble in the church of Callur-

(1) Letter of 3 March 1790, APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, f. 223.

(2) See his views in this respect in *Varthamanapusthakam*, p. 524. The Catholic Syrians of Malabar pointed out in their petition to the Holy Father in 1788(?), that the granting of an indigenous bishop to Malabar would facilitate the reunion of their separated brethren. Cfr. APF., *SC(IOC)*., vol. 39, f. 3.

catte on the second Sunday after Easter. Thachil Mathew Tharakan managed to get issued a royal decree in confirmation and approval of this treaty (1).

Bishop Aloysius interferes

At this news the Vicar Apostolic was quick to act. In haste he began to write: " Oggi 12 aprile mi vien communicata la nuova seguente... ". But as he continued writing what he had heard from a priest from Changanachery, he was interrupted by a messenger of Mar Dionysius. He informed the Vicar Apostolic of what had happened, and communicated Mar Dionysius' excuses for not having consulted Bishop Aloysius before concluding the affair with Bishop Soledade. The Vicar Apostolic replied that, after the death of Archbishop Mar Cariati, the Holy See had not commissioned anybody to handle Mar Dionysius' case, and therefore the Bishop of Cochin had no authority for such a procedure. The envoy remained astonished at this reply. After writing all about this, Bishop Aloysius stated that Bishop Soledade had acted on orders from the Archbishop of Goa, who believed himself to have been reinvested at the death of Archbishop Cariati with those faculties that were granted to him in 1780. Further, referring to his letter of 3 March 1790 to the Congregation, he insisted that there were sufficient reasons to suspect the sincerity of Mar Dionysius. The condition put by Mar Dionysius, that he should be made Metropolitan of all the Syrians, Catholics and would-be Catholics (2), and his perseverance in certain pagan observances were brought forward as new arguments against the Prelate's sincerity (3). In order to prevent the reunion there and then, Bishop Aloysius wrote letters to Bishop Soledade and Archbishop Emmanuel. Citing the S. Congregation's letter of 12 April 1788, he made them understand that, in order to receive Mar Dionysius as bishop, there

(1) Cfr. the letter of Archbishop Emmanuel on 28 April 1792: APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 899, ff. 234-237.

(2) But the letter of Archbishop Emmanuel doesn't sound so, " Pretende ora Mar Dionyggio, che il Sig. Vescovo di Cochin... permetta... l'esercizio della giurisdizione sopra tutte quelle chiese sua vita durante, restando dopo la sua morte unite all'Arcivescovado di Cranganore... ".

(3) APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, ff. 298-299; letter dated 12 April 1791.

was need of a special delegation from the Holy See (1). In face of such objections and interference, Bishop Soledade and Governor Pareamakel had to suspend the arrangements.

The reply of the Congregation to the Vicar Apostolic on 7 February 1792 made it clear that the only necessary condition for accepting Mar Dionysius as a Catholic was his subscribing to the profession of faith according to the formula of Urban VIII, whoever it was, Bishop Soledade or anybody else, who received the profession and presented it to the Holy See, and no matter what might be decided afterwards as to the validity of his consecration (2). So Bishop Soledade also could receive Mar Dionysius into the Catholic Communion, reserving however the decision on his episcopal character and jurisdiction to the Holy See.

The next step of the Padroado

To know what should be the next stept Bishop Soledade sent his secretary to Goa. He suggested that a decision should be taken as early as possible, for if Mar Dionysius, who was then rather old, should die before the reunion took place, the nephew might succeed and perpetuate the schism. He even pointed out that in the circumstances there was room for a prudent epikeia. Yet Archbishop Emmanuel prudently wrote to the Apostolic Nuncio at Lisbon, pressingly requesting him to grant the necessary faculties if he could, or to get them for him from the Holy See (3). The Apostolic Nuncio sent this letter to the Propaganda Congregation, and requested an early answer so that it could be sent to India by the ship that was bound to sail soon to Goa.

Archbishop Emmanuel is commissioned again

The letter was studied in the general congregation of 28 July 1794, and it was decided to give Archbishop Emmanuel faculties equal to those granted to Archbishop Mar Cariati (4). The Congre-

(1) Cfr. *Ibid.*, ff. 299, 319; letters of 20 April 1791 and 13 April 1792.

(2) APF., *Lettere*, vol. 262, f. 79.

(3) Letter written on 28 April 1792 in Portuguese; APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 899, ff. 239-240; Italian translation prepared by the Congregation, *Ibid.*, ff. 234-237.

(4) The instruction issued on 27 Aug. 1794; APF., *Lettere*, vol. 266, ff. 113-115. As to the problem of jurisdiction, the commissary, " largiter

gation sent its instruction through the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon ' sigillo aperto ', so that it might serve the Nuncio as a norm for all future correspondence in this matter (1). A copy was sent to the Vicar Apostolic too, asking him for further information (2).

Particular congregation of 16 January 1797

Before knowing the results of the instruction to Archbishop Emmanuel, the congregation had another occasion to consider Mar Dionysius' case. On 15 April 1795, Bishop Aloysius wrote that after the serious estrangement and disgust resulting from the fact that the case of Mar Dionysius was still in suspense, the Vicar Apostolic had lately improved his relations with Bishop Soledade and Governor Pareamakel, since the principal point of divergency was overcome by their admitting the necessity of a special delegation from the Holy See to recognize Mar Dionysius as a Bishop (3). The particular congregation on 16 Jan. 1797 approved Bishop Aloysius' attitude (4), and on 18 Feb., the Cardinal Prefect wrote to the Vicar Apostolic praising him for the way he had managed to overcome the differences of opinion and reaffirming the former instructions (5).

Conference at Quilon in 1796

The instruction of 1794 to Archbishop Emmanuel produced a meeting at Quilon in 1796. About this Mr. Mackanzie wrote, " On September 19th 1796 the Bishop of Cochin writes to say that Mar Thomas and his principal priests had come in to make their solemn submission. A conference was held at Quilon, but the Portu-

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praestare poterit, ut eum excitet atque corroboret, fiduciam certam injiciens quod derelictus ab hac S. Sede non erit imo quidquid fieri poterit, quod cum tranquillitate, et salute animarum congruere valeat, in favorem et amplificationem ejusdem plene, ex toto corde perficietur ".

(1) APF., *Lettere*, vol. 266, ff. 506-507; Letter to the Nuncio on 27 August 1794.

(2) *Ibid.*, ff. 117-118.

(3) APF., *Acta CP.(SI)*, vol. XVIII, f. 138.

(4) *Ibid.*, f. 83v.

(5) APF., *Lettere*, vol. 272, f. 36. It seems that after the particular congregation of 16 January 1797, the case of Mar Dionysius was never again seriously discussed in the Congregation.

guese Bishop found that Mar Thomas expected that all the Syrians, both his own flock and the Romo-Syrians, would be under his jurisdiction, and therefore the conference broke up without result " (1).

It would be strange indeed if Mar Dionysius now claimed jurisdiction also over the Catholic Syrians, whereas formerly he wanted it only over those of his subjects who might reunite with him. If he did really demand it, most probably it was suggested to him by his Catholic brethren, who were then in utter despair, after their efforts to get an indigenous bishop to succeed Mar Cariati had been frustrated. But there is more reason to suppose that the conference broke up without result owing to the indifferent attitude taken by Bishop Soledade. Why did this Prelate, who in former years was all for this reunion, change his mind then? His amicable relations with the Catholic Syrians had been shaken already in the previous year, when Governor Pareamakel disobeyed the order of Archbishop Emmanuel to transfer a few churches of Cranganore to the diocese of Cochin (2). Probably here we find the clue to explain the little interest of Bishop Soledade in admitting Mar Dionysius, who might possibly have become a new threat to the Padroado authority. The same fact can be pointed out as a cause for Archbishop Emmanuel to lose interest in the reunion of Mar Dionysius. He wrote to the Vicar Apostolic on 17 March 1798: " No more am I interested in the conversion of Mar Thomas. I am convinced that it was all a profound intrigue to leave the Archbishopric in undiluted schism " (3).

When such a supporter thus went over to the opposition, the efforts of Mar Dionysius for reunion received a mortal blow. The

(1) MACKANZIE, *op. cit.*, p. 211. Bishop Aloysius also might be referring to this conference, when he wrote on 26 April 1796, " ... per ultimare la causa del Mar Thoma per esser arrivate lettere da Roma su tal oggetto... il principale della nazione, con molti sacerdoti e Cristiani si sono portati col detto Mar Thoma. Fin ad ora però non è sicuro qual fine havrà tal cosa, quale spero, che Iddio non abbandonerà, e proteggerà sempre la verità "; APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, f. 523.

(2) Letter of Mgr. Aloysius dated 15 April 1795; APF., *Acta CP.(SI)*, vol. XVIII, ff. 138-139.

(3) MACKENZIE, *op. cit.*, p. 211; " Ja me não embraco com a conversão do Mar Thoma. Estou persuadido que tudo rodaba em huma intriga profunda para deixarem o Arcebispado em hum puro Schisma ".

array of the enemy was insurmountably strong; in his camp there was only confusion and uncertainty.

c) *The unauthorised reunion in 1799, and the subsequent defection.*

This uncertainty continued till 1799. In this year a great change took place in Malabar. Already in the previous year Bishop Paul Pandari (1) had reached Malabar with two Chaldean priests. Yet this bishop was not allowed to exercise any act of jurisdiction, because his consecration by Metropolitan John Hormez of Mosul had taken place without the knowledge and consent of the Holy See. In 1799 Bishop Soledade had to resign his office as the Bishop of Cochin. Governor Pareamakel died on 19 March 1799. The canonical chapter, instituted by Governor Pareamakel, elected Fr. Abraham Kattakayathil as the administrator of Cranganore. But Rebimar, the ecclesiastical Governor of Cochin, considered the act of the canonical chapter a violation of his right, for, in such circumstances it was the Prelate of Cochin who used to administer the Archdiocese of Cranganore until a person was nominated by the Archbishop of Goa. So Governor Kattakayathil and his followers were considered as a schismatical faction. As Bishop Pandari was supported by this group (2), he began to exercise jurisdiction. To all outward appearance he was the legitimate bishop of Malabar, since the canonical mission by the Chaldean Patriarch was considered quite sufficient to constitute him as such, though the Latin Prelates declared him to be an intruder.

The agreement of 20 May 1799 at Alleppey

Under these circumstances the new bishop thought that he could legitimately receive Mar Dionysius and his followers into the Catholic Church. Representatives of Catholics and Jacobites met in the Holy Cross Church at Alleppey and signed an agreement

(1) A lay member of a deputation of the Syro-malabarians to the Chaldean Patriarch, Paul Pandari reached Mosul and there he was consecrated bishop.

(2) A meeting of the parishes at Changanacherry on 13 April 1799, recognized Bishop Pandari's anthority over them. Cfr. the letter of Bishop Aloysius dated 27 August 1801. APF., *SC(IO)*, vol. I, f. 56.

on 20 May 1799. After describing the schism and its deplorable consequences in the community, the document continues: " And now we of both the parties unitedly agree on oath to be united as were our forefathers, and to submit ourselves to the Holy Father the Pope, celebrating the Mass, reciting the breviary, observing the fasts and other rites as they were prescribed by the Synod of Diamper and to inform the Holy Father the Pope accordingly, with a view to obtaining his permission to conduct all ceremonies according to the Syro-Chaldean rite of those who are in union with the Holy Roman Church. Moreover, we agree that those who accepted and at present retain the Jacobite creed and rites shall abjure them and make the profession of faith prescribed by Pope Urban VIII for the Orientals and submit to the orders of His Holiness the Pope... " (1).

The formal reunion on 11 June 1799 at Thathampally

Accordingly on 11 June 1799 (2), with a few followers Mar Dionysius solemnly embraced the Catholic Church in the St. Michael's Church, Thathampally, making the profession of faith according to the prescribed formula before Bishop Pandari and declaring their acceptance of the Synod of Diamper. In the name of Archbishop Hormez, Bishop Pandari absolved Mar Dionysius from ecclesiastical censures. This was followed by a solemn Mass celebrated by the reunited Prelate according to the rite prescribed by the Synod of Diamper. All this was concluded with a public document, rendering the party that might go against the decision liable to a heavy fine of 30,000 rupees to the Travancore Government.

As is noted by Fr. Placid, " Among other things this particular condition has been the subject of special comment on the inten-

(1) A copy of the document in Malayalam kept in the archives of Mannanam monastery (*No 1442*, pp. 1-3), quoted by M. O. JOSEPH, *Thachil Mathu Tharakan*, Ernakulam, 1962, pp. 233-235.

(2) Following Cathanar George C. J. (*The Catholicity of St. Thomas' Christians*, Trivandrum, 1904, pp. 19-21), some have indicated 21 June as the date of this event. But Bishop Aloysius says that it took place on 11 June, which seems to correspond to the 30 Edavam of E. M. Philip. (*The Indian Church of St. Thomas*, Chingavanam, 1951, pp. 189-190).

tion of Mar Dionysius I. Some say that the sum of money in question was a debt he had contracted with the Travancore Government and that Mathew Thachil by his influence made the king condone the debt, declaring Mar Dionysius liable to pay it up only if he abandoned the Catholic Church. Others say that Mathew Thachil after making Mar Dionysius a debtor, forced him to become a Catholic. Yet others say that the latter sought an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, hoping he could rule over the Catholic Syrians who were not then on good terms with their Latin authorities " (1).

But there would have been no controversy about this condition, if the holders of these different opinions had paid heed to the general practice of the time to append such a pecuniary sanction to all public contracts. For example, we find such a clause added to the public instrument subscribed by the Jacobite Churches declaring allegiance to Mar Dionysius, when Mar Cyril appeared in Travancore in 1789 (2). In our case the fine was a big sum, because the matter was so important and apt to cause public disturbances. Besides, the mere remittance of a debt cannot be said to have been the motive behind this act for which Mar Dionysius had been working for not less than 35 long years.

Mar Dionysius reverts to Schism

But unfortunately, Bishop Pandari and Governor Kattakayathil had no recognized authority from Rome. And not much later, when Fr. George Sankurikal was appointed ecclesiastical Governor to Cranganore, Fr. Abraham Kattakayathil had to abdicate his office. In the same year Mathew Thachil fell into disgrace with the Travancore Government. Thus one after another the supporters of Mar Dionysius fell from their influential positions. The miserable Prelate at last understood that what he had ac-

(1) PLACID T.O.C.D., '*The Efforts for Reunion in Malankara*', *Unitas*, 1953, p. 91.

(2) Cfr. the letter of Bishop Aloysius dated 3 March 1790; " ... e di tutto ciò fù fatto un publico istrumento...segnato da tutti i deputati delle chiese scismatiche, aggiungendovi, che se alcuno facesse cosa alcuna contraria alle dette determinazioni, se soggetevano alla penitenza pecuniaria, che dal Rè gli sarebbe stata imposta... ": APF., *SC(IOC)*, vol. 39, f. 223v.

complished by his reunion at Thathampally was just nothing at all, owing to the lack of competent authority in those persons by whom he had been received into the Church. Neither could he find anybody among the Latin authorities of the Catholic side, well disposed to promote his cause (1). The Jacobite community however manifested its allegiance to Mar Dionysius. Already in 1796, Mar Dionysius had consecrated his nephew as his successor. Yet the people did not install him as their Metropolitan, neither did they elect a new one or call the Bishop of Anjoor to lead them, as the Latin missionaries had feared and repeatedly reported to the S. Congregation as an inevitable consequence of an eventual reunion of Mar Dionysius. The flock patiently waited to see what would become of Mar Dionysius ' efforts to get himself recognized by the Holy See as their pastor, and to follow him if his efforts should be crowned with success. The Prelate, however, became more and more conscious of the uncertainty of his position, which he saw would do no good to himself or to his people. So after six months of life as a Catholic, he reverted to his former schismatic status, paying the fine according to the bond to the Government. His flock received him wholeheartedly, and reinstated him in office after a voluntary penance of attending Masses said at his expense for fourty days. Such was the miserable end of thirty-five years of most earnest efforts (2).

d) *Mar Dionysius fosters relations with the Protestants.*

Mar Dionysius had a clear objective. He wished to unite all the St. Thomas' Christians, and he tried every means in his power to realize that objective. But adverse forces frustrated all his efforts, and this frustration brought about a great change in him. His desire to lead the whole community to progress and

(1) The Padroado authorities would by no means work for the ratification of an act done by their opponents. The Vicar Apostolic turned a deaf ear to the Syrians' requests to inform the Holy See of the new developments, so much so that the Prelate who was wont to write letters beginning with, " Oggi mi vien communicata la nuova... ", when there were supporters for Mar Dionysius' cause, now communicated the news to the Holy See only after 26 months.

(2) Of this reunion and the subsequent defection, cfr. the letter of Bishop Aloysius on 27 August 1801: APF., *SC(IO)*, vol. 1, f. 56.

prosperity remained in a realm beyond his reach. When he realized this, though at a late hour, he tried other means, which he thought would be conducive to the amelioration of the condition of his own group. As the influence of the British in Travancore increased, the Church Missionary Society of the Protestants, eager to stem the advance of the Catholics in Malabar, came forward with a proposal of co-operation in the work of Evangelization. Mar Dionysius entered into relations with them, accepting their proposal, with assurance that this would by no means affect the faith of his subjects (1). But in fact, this union, though in its wake it led his flock to material prosperity and cultural progress, in the long run contaminated their faith and caused many splits in the community.

The Death of Mar Dionysius

Mar Dionysius however, did not live to see the fruit of these his enterprises. Probably he did not foresee the evil consequences of the union with the Protestants. Satisfied that he had entrusted his flock to a worthy sucessor with a prospect of a prosperous future under Prostestant protection, Mar Dionysius died on the 13th May 1808 (2).

CONCLUSION

What brought this affair to such a tragic end? The Carmelite missionaries of Verapoly raised a number of objections against admitting Mar Dionysius to the Catholic Church, while keeping his episcopal dignity and jurisdiction; in the ultimate analysis we must conclude that these missionaries were largely responsible for the failure of all the endeavours of Mar Dionysius and his supporters.

The Sacred Congregation had to believe its own representatives rather than anybody else. Yet an examination of its many decisions will prove that the Congregation had proceeded with due

(1) Cfr. BUCHANAN C., *op. cit.*, p. 130.

(2) BROWN L. W., *The Indian Christianity of St. Thomas*, Cambridge, 1956, p. 127.

precautions against every kind of falsification from any side. Already in 1780, it took a cautious but praiseworthy decision, and in spite of conflicting and contradictory reports, did not alter it, except by becoming more lenient to Mar Dionysius in admitting his claims and granting him favours. The Congregation was prepared even to reconsecrate Mar Dionysius, if he would subscribe to the prescribed formula of profession of faith.

But, unfortunately, the persons concerned to help the Holy See in executing its resolutions were more interested to impede the reunion of Mar Dionysius than to promote it. For no adequate reasons, they failed to implement the instructions of the Congregation and they did not reveal the mind of the Holy See. If Mar Dionysius had been permitted to understand the conditions and promises of the Holy See he would probably have accepted them, otherwise we cannot account for his earnest and continued efforts.

Why then did these missionaries take such measures against Mar Dionysius' endeavours? The Padroado authorities and the Catholic Syrians of the time did not hesitate to attribute them to the vested-interest of the missionaries, determined to retain their mission and authority in Malabar (1). Perhaps this was true. Cardinal Tisserant states that a like motive impelled these missionaries in a similar case of later times to object by all the means in their power to the granting of indigenous bishops to the Catholic Syrians of Malabar (2). Bishops José da Soledade had planned to use the reunion of Mar Dionysius and his followers as an efficacious means to oust the Propaganda jurisdiction from Malabar (3), and at a time, when Fr. Pareamakel's limited authority as the ecclesiastical Governor of Cranganore greatly tended to alienate all the Syro-Malabarians from the Vicar Apostolic, these

(1) " ... Propagandisti, li quali *a motivo de' proprij interessi* pretendono oscurare le raggioni del prefato Mar Thoma "; report of Fr. Soledade, *loc. cit.*, f. 135. " Missionarij europei, *troppo gelosi della loro indipendenza ed autorità*, seppero contraporre altretante diligenze... ", Pro-memoria, APF., *SOCG.*, vol. 867, f. 149.

(2) TISSERANT Card., *Eastern Christianity in India*, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 125-127.

(3) " Supposta la conversione del Vescovo Mar Thoma, e delle sue chiese, in verun conto deve rimanere in queste terre giurisdizione di Propaganda ", urged Bishop Soledade: Cfr. his report, *loc. cit.*, f. 141.

missionaries, if at all they wanted to remain longer in Malabar, had to obstruct the recognition of Mar Dionysius as a Catholic bishop.

There are, however, many who accuse Bishop José da Soledade of having impeded this reunion [1]. But we cannot forget that whatever earnest effort was made to promote Mar Dionysius' cause after the death of Archbishop Mar Cariati was made by Bishop Soledade. If the Vicar Apostolic had not interfered when Bishop Soledade had settled the affair in 1791, the reunion would have been then realized, although there would have remained the problem of regularizing the procedure. When the instruction of the Holy See reached Bishop Soledade in 1796, he could no longer allow Mar Dionysius to exercise the episcopal Order and jurisdiction. At the same time, we may note here that if Bishop Soledade for no worthy reason had not lost interest in the case at this time, but had explained the mind and promises of the Sacred Congregation, Mar Dionysius would most probably have submitted to the decision of the Holy See wholeheartedly, as he did afterwards in 1799. Certainly, the final indifference of Soledade has been the cause of widespread accusations against him on the part of the Malabarians. The adverse interventions of the Vicar Apostolic and his missionaries were kept secret, and they had taken every precaution so that the people might not suspect them [2].

Added to these external frustrating forces, Mar Dionysius' passing comments also contributed to the failure of his efforts. Though the desire of the Prelate to reunite himself and his people to the Church was sincere, it was not heroic enough. Otherwise he would have preferred to live his faith, even though the circumstances did not permit him to keep the episcopal jurisdiction. But such heroism could not be expected from a person of his position; and in fact the Holy See did not demand it from Mar Dionysius.

Humanly speaking, had his efforts been sucessful, at least the major part of the dissidents would have followed their pastor, and many a schism and split both among Catholics and Jacobites in Malabar could have been avoided in the following centuries.

(1) Cfr. BERNARD T.O.C.D., *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 241.

(2) Cfr. the letters of Bishop Aloysius especially of 13 April 1792 for the tactics he used for this purpose, after directly interfering to impede the endeavours of Bishop Soledade in 1791.

At any rate, the several attempts at reunion made by Mar Dionysius' successors as well did not succeed until the Syro-Malabarians obtained indigenous bishops. In 1930, Pope Pius XI rejoiced to welcome two bishops of the Malabar Jacobites to the Mother Church. They were followed by two other bishops, many priests and numerous faithful. This movement is now in its onward march with its own rite and hierarchy. More than a hundred and twenty five thousand — about twelve percent — of the dissidents of Malabar have already re-embraced the Mother Church. The study of the historical past also is an element that can promote this reunion movement. Let our separated brethren have a true perspective of the many and repeated efforts of their ecclesiastical heads right from the beginning of the separation in 1653. Now that the second Vatican Ecumenical Council is in its course in an atmosphere of mutual comprehension among the separated brethren, let us enter into the feelings of our brethren in Christ, and see things also as they do. In such propitious circumstances let us hope that in the nearest future God's Grace may lead them all to the One True Fold.

Rome 1964.

JACOB KOLLAPARAMBIL

La partie vésperale de la Liturgie byzantine des Présanctifiés

On sait que le rite byzantin, aussi bien que les autres rites orientaux, célèbre la liturgie dite « des [dons] présanctifiés », les mercredis et vendredis du carême; comme d'ailleurs le rite romain le fait encore au Vendredi-Saint, bien qu'on en aie changé le nom. Cette liturgie n'est rien d'autre qu'une communion eucharistique à la fin de l'office des vêpres. Cependant, les jours où l'on célèbre la liturgie des présanctifiés, l'office vespéral se présente avec des traits particuliers qui posent des problèmes spéciaux. C'est cette partie vespérale qui fait l'objet de la présente étude, partie qui jusqu'ici n'a pas été étudiée, alors que la partie proprement euchatistique ou de communion a été plusieurs fois examinée (1).

Commençons par une description des éléments qui composent le rite actuel.

Office actuel.

On commence comme aux vêpres ordinaires: prières initiales; psaume d'introduction (ps. 103), pendant lequel le prêtre dit quelques prières vespérales en secret; litanie diaconale, avec ecphonèse du prêtre. Vient alors la psalmodie, le cathisme XVIII, qui cor-

(1) Sans donner toute la bibliographie sur le sujet, signalons l'étude la plus récente et la plus complète: D. MORAÏTIS, Ἡ λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων, Thessalonique 1955; du même, un résumé en français, *La messe des présanctifiés*, dans Πεπραγμένα τοῦ θ' διεθνοῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, t. 2 (Athènes 1955), p. 220-228. On trouvera toujours des renseignements utiles dans la vieille étude de L. ALLATIUS, *De missa praesanctificatorum apud Graecos*, Cologne 1648, col. 1531-1600; et aussi dans N. MALINOVSKY, *Sur la liturgie des présanctifiés* (en russe), Moscou 1850.

respond aux psaumes graduels (119-133), divisé en trois staseis. Après quoi, comme aux vêpres ordinaires, on chante le Κύριε ἐκέκραξα avec les autres psaumes qui l'accompagnent (140,141, 129, 116); aux derniers versets on intercale les tropaires du jour. Il y a l'entrée aussi, avec le chant de l'hymne de la lumière: Φῶς ἱλαρόν. Après l'entrée, on fait deux lectures: du Pentateuque (Gen., Ex.) et des Sapientiaux (Prov., Job). Mais, entre ces deux lectures, après un prokeimenon, le prêtre, du sanctuaire, les portes ouvertes, se tourne vers les fidèles et traçant un signe de croix avec le cierge allumé et l'encensoir qu'il a en ses mains, chante: « Sagesse! Debout! La lumière du Christ brille pour tous! », Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι (1).

Après la lecture des Proverbes le prêtre, accompagné du diacre, encense solennellement l'autel au chant du Κατευθυνθήτω (choix de versets du ps. 140), alterné entre le prêtre et le chœur, ou entre un soliste et le chœur.

Les jours de fête (9 et 25 mars), on lit encore l'épître et l'évangile. Les trois premiers jours de la Semaine Sainte ont seulement l'évangile. Suivent les litanies diaconales: l'Ecténès, celles des catéchumènes et de ceux qui doivent être « illuminés » (celle-ci seulement à partir de la Mi-Carême), avec renvoi, et celles des fidèles. Finalement, on transfère les dons présanctifiés, avec quoi commence proprement ce rite de communion.

Voici les schéma de cette partie qui précède la procession de la « grande entrée »:

Bénédiction initiale.
Psaume d'introduction (103) et prières sacerdotales.
Litanie (irinika).
Psalmodie (pss. graduels en 3 staseis).
Κύριε ἐκέκραξα (pss. 140, 141, 129, 116), avec stichères.
Entrée, au chant du Φῶς ἱλαρόν.
Prokeimenon.
Lecture de la Genèse (ou Exode).
Prokeimenon.
Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι (rite de la lumière).
Lecture des Proverbes (ou Job).

(1) A cette invitation (debout!) on répond souvent avec une prostration!

Κατευθυνθήτω (rite de l'encens).

[Jours de fête:]

Prokeimenon.

Apôtre.

Alléluia.

Evangile [quelque jours en plus].

Ectenès (litanie et prière).

Litanies des catéchumènes et des φωτιζόμενοι.

Deux litanies des fidèles.

[Suit la proccssion des dons présanctifiés].

Il est une petite question qu'il faut clarifier tout de suite: je veux dire, la place de l'exclamation φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. Elle vient dans un endroit tout à fait inattendu, et on peut se demander, à bon droit, si sa place ne serait pas après les lectures. Nous trouvons la confirmation de cette hypothèse dans les plus anciens documents, par ex., lc Typicon de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople, qui à la fête des saints quarante martyrs dc Sébaste (9 mars) écrit:

Εἰ δὲ ἐν νηστίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ φθάσῃ, εἰσοδεύει ὡς καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ λέγονται τὰ β' προκείμενα καὶ τὰ δύο ἀναγνώσματα τῆς οὔσης ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος τῶν δύο ἀναγνωσμάτων λαμβάνει ὁ διάκονος τὸ μανουάλιον καὶ εἰσοδεύει ⟨λέγων⟩ τὸ *Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι*, καὶ εὐθέως λέγει ὁ διάκονος: *Σωφία*, καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος: *Εἰρήνη πᾶσι*, καὶ ὁ ψάλτης τὸ *Κατευθυνθήτω* (1).

(1) J. MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise. Ms. Ste. Croix nº 40, Xᵉ siècle*, t. I (= Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165), Rome 1962, p. 246. A noter que c'est le diacre qui, cierge en main, chante l'acclamation Φῶς Χριστοῦ, et non pas le prêtre, comme c'est le cas aujourd'hui. Les mss, du XIIº-XIVº siècle assignent déjà ce rite au prêtre. Cf. MORAÏTIS, *o. c.*, p. 70 (voir l'apparat critique). Un des mss. utilisés l'attribue pourtant au diacre: le *Sinaït. 971* (XIIIᵉ-XIVᵉ s.). Cf. A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej*, t. II, Εὐχολόγια (Kiev 1901), p. 249. Y ajouter le ms. *Paris grec 1857* (XIIᵉ s.), non utilisé par Moraïtis (Cf. MATEOS, *o. c.*, p. 246). Pour Syméon de Thessalonique, c'était encore le diacre à faire cette proclamation (*De sacra precatione*, 353-354; PG 155, 656-657). Signalons aussi la salutation presbytérale Εἰρήνη πᾶσι, après le Φῶς Χριστοῦ et avant le Κατευθυνθήτω, salutation qui ne se fait plus aujourd'hui. Elle se trouve aussi dans le ms. *Sinaït. 973* (XIIᶜ s.); cf. MORAÏTIS, *o. c.*, p. 71 (dans l'apparat critique). D'autres mss. (cf. MORAITIS, *o. c.*, pp. 70-71) ont: Εἰρήνη σοι, salutation adressée au lecteur, puisque le Φῶς

Mais, pourquoi et comment s'est produit ce déplacement? On peut, je crois, à l'aide des documents, essayer une explication plausible.

Cette cérémonie de l'ostension de la lumière demandait un certain temps, elle supposait même une procession. Syméon de Thessalonique nous en donne une description, qui concorde avec des *typika* antérieurs à lui (1). Dès que l'on commence à chanter le prokeimenon après la première lecture, une procession sort du sanctuaire et parcourt la nef latérale jusqu'au fonds de l'église; puis elle avance, par le milieux, jusqu'au sanctuaire. Le temps d'avoir fini le chant du prokeimenon, la procession arrive devant les portes saintes. Le diacre, alors, avec le cierge et l'encensoir en main, proclame: Σωφία, ὀρθοί. Φως Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. « Et on allume les lampes comme d'habitude ». Pour être à temps pour prononcer le Φῶς Χριστοῦ après la dernière lecture sans faire attendre inutilement les fidèles, on anticipa la préparation de la procession durant la première lecture. Le rite entier finit par être avancé; comme cependant il fallait toujours un certain temps pour préparer la procession, celle-ci s'organisa pendant la première lecture.

Ce qui se faisait à la deuxième lecture fut donc transposé à la première. Postérieurement, la procession fut supprimée, mais le φῶς Χριστοῦ est resté jusqu'à nos jours entre les deux lectures. Un procès semblable d'anticipation se remarque aussi dans la liturgie: l'encensement qui précède la lecture de l'évangile se fait déjà pendant la lecture de l'épître, car le chant de l'alléluia n'y suffit pas.

Voici, donc, en schéma, l'ordre rétabli, d'après la double tradition: de Jérusalem (Saint-Sabas) et de Constantinople (Saint-Sophie) (2).

Χριστοῦ a été déjà avancé et le Κατευθυνθήτω suit immédiatement la deuxième lecture. Cela expliquerait la disparition de l'ancienne salutation communautaire. — Quant au Trisagion, mentionné dans le texte cité, il ne se trouve pas dans la liturgie ordinaire des présanctifiés.

(1) Symeon Thessal., *De sacra precatione*, 353-354; PG 155, 656-657. Cod. *A 104* de la Bibliothèque royale de Dresde, XIe s., édité fragmentairement par A. Dmitrievskij, *Drevnejšie patriaršie tipikony sviatogrobskij Ierusalimskij*, Kiev 1907, p. 328-329.

(2) Cf. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon...*, I, p. xxii-xxiii, pour le schéma constantinopolitain. Syméon de Thessalonique explique en détail les elements de chacun des deux offices vespéraux, dans plusieurs endroits de son ouvrage *De sacra precatione* (PG 155, passim).

Jerusalem	Constantinople
Bénédiction initiale	Bénédiction initiale
	Litanie
Ps. introduct. 103	Ps. introduct. 85
Litanie	
Psalmodie	Psalmodie
Pss. 140 141, 129, 116 avec tropaires	Ps. 140 avec tropaire
Entrée, au chant du Φῶς ἱλαρόν	Entrée
Prokeimenon	Prokeimenon
	3 antiphones
Lecture (Loi et Sapient.)	Lectures (Loi et Sapient.)
Φῶς Χριστοῦ	Φῶς Χριστοῦ
Κατευθυνθήτω	Κατευθυνθήτω
Litanies	Litanies

Double office vespéral.

On découvre dans ces schémas, et dans le hiérosolymitain plus encore que dans celui de Constantinople, un double office vespéral. Nous avons, d'une part, le psaume 140 en entier, avec une certaine solennisation des deux premiers versets; d'autre part, les quatre premiers versets de ce même psaume 140. Nous avons encore, d'un côté (cela pour la tradition de Jérusalem), le φῶς ἱλαρόν, de l'autre, le φῶς Χριστοῦ. Nous sommes, donc, en présence d'un double rite de lumière et d'un double chant du psaume vespéral.

S'il y a deux offices vespéraux, on doit pouvoir les séparer. Où faut-il alors faire la coupure? C'est à dire, où placer les lectures, à la fin du premier office ou tout au début du second? Nous penchons décidément pour le début du second office. Nous avons alors ce parallélisme entre la première et la deuxième partie:

I	II
Psaumes (graduels)	Lectures
Lucernaire (ps. 140, plus le φῶς ἱλαρόν)	Lucernaire (φῶς Χριστοῦ et le Κατευθυνθήτω)

Au cours de ce travail nous appellerons cette première partie: « Vêpres des présanctifiés », et la seconde: « Lucernaire des présanctifiés ».

Lucernaire chez Egérie.

Avant d'aller plus loin, nous croyons nécessaire de citer quelques passages de la *Peregrinatio* d'Egérie, qui nous permettront de prouver nos affirmations et d'établir certaines structures pour mieux comprendre l'office des vêpres en général.

D'après la pèlerine espagnole, tous les jours on célébrait le lucernaire à la dixième heure du jour, à l'Anastasis; là,

incenduntur omnes candelae et cerei et fit lumen infinitum. Lumen autem de foris non affertur, sed de spelunca interiori eicitur [...]; dicuntur etiam psalmi lucernares, sed et antiphonae diutius. Ecce et commonetur episcopus, et descendet et sedet [...]; dicuntur ymni uel antiphonae. Et at ubi perdicti fuerint iuxta consuetudinem, levat se episcopus, et stat ante cancellum [...] et unus ex diaconibus facit commemorationem singulorum [...]. Et at ubi diaconus perdixerit omnia quae dicere habet, dicet orationem primum episcopus et orat pro omnibus et sic orant omnes, tam fideles quam et cathecumini simul [...], dicet episcopus stans benedictionem super cathecuminos [...], item benedicet fideles episcopus et sic fit missa Anastasi.

Suit la « station » à la Croix (ad Crucem) (1).

Tous les mercredis et vendredis de l'année on commence plus tôt, à la neuvième heure, à Sion, où l'on écoute la prédication de l'évêque. Puis,

Cum facta fuerit missa, inde cum ymnis populus deducet episcopum usque ad Anastasem: inde sic uenitur, ut cum intratur in Anastase, iam et hora lucernari sit; sic dicuntur ymni et antiphonae, fiunt orationes et fit missa lucernaris in Anastase et ad Crucem (2).

Il y a encore occasions dans lesquelles les fidèles se rassemblent à la neuvième heure, pour aller toujours, à la dixième, à l'Anastasis, pour le lucernaire. Pendant la semaine pascale, par ex., ceux qui le veulent, montent, dans l'après-midi, à l'Eléona:

Dicuntur ymni, fiunt orationes tam in ecclesia quae in Eleona est, in qua est spelunca, in qua docebat Iesus discipulos, tam etiam

(1) EGÉRIE, *Journal de voyage*, ch. 24,4-7; éd. PÉTRÉ (Sources chrétiennes 21), Paris 1948, p. 190-194.

(2) Ch. 27,6 (*ibid.*, p. 210-211).

in Imbomon, id est in eo loco de quo Dominus ascendit in caelis. Et posteaquam dicti fuerint psalmi, et oratio facta fuerit, inde usque ad Anastase cum ymnis descenditur hora lucernae (1).

La fête de la Pentecôte est un « jour de grande fatigue pour le peuple ». On passe pratiquement la journée dans des offices et des processions. A la neuvième heure,

descenditur inde et cum ymnis itur ad illam ecclesiam, quae et ipsa in Eleona est, id est in qua spelunca sedens docebat Dominus apostolos. Ibi autem cum uentum fuerit, iam est hora plus decima; fit ibi lucernare, fit oratio, benedicuntur cathecumini et sic fideles (2).

Cette fois, donc, on ne célèbre pas le lucernaire à l'Anastasis, bien qu'on y va après, mais alors l'heure du lucernaire est déjà passée. Ce jour-ci les fidèles ne rentrent chez eux qu'à minuit (3).

Il faut retenir encore un autre cas. Les vendredis du carême, après que l'on est descendu de Sion, il y a une vigile, *de hora lucernarii quemadmodum intratum fuerit in alia die mane, id est sabbato. Fit autem oblatio in Anastase maturius, ita ut fiat missa ante solem* (4). On fait aussi le lucernaire, mais on le prolonge avec des psaumes et des prières, pour remplir la nuit.

De tout ce que nous venons de lire, il faut retenir ceci:

1) Il y a un office appelé *lucernaire*, que l'on célèbre à une heure concrète: à la dixième heure.

2) On peut se rassembler avant la dixième heure, à la neuvième, et même plus tôt, et donc, faire précéder le *lucernaire* d'un office ou service liturgique: des psaumes, des lectures, une catéchèse, des processions.

3) L'office strictement *lucernaire* se célèbre à l'Anastasis, sauf quelque rare exception. Ensuite on se rend à la Croix, où l'on fait des prières. Néanmoins, l'office lucernaire est déjà fini, puisque l'évêque a déjà béni les fidèles par l'imposition des mains.

4) A certains jours, après le rite de la lumière, on ne fait pas le congé (bénédiction), mais on veille toute la nuit ou seulement jusqu'à minuit. Des lectures, des chants et des prières remplissent cette vigile. Alors, c'est le même lucernaire qui s'allonge et devient vigile, inaugurée par le rite de lumière.

(1) Ch. 39,3-4 (*ibid.*, p. 242).
(2) Ch. 43,6 (*ibid.*, p. 250).
(3) Ch. 43,9 (*ibid.*, p. 252).
(4) Ch. 27,7 (*ibid.*, p. 211).

On peut donc schématiser ainsi:

« Office »	« Office »
Lucernaire	Lucernaire – Vigile
« Statio ad Crucem »	

La place du lucernaire dans les rites orientaux.

Cette structure se retrouve dans tous les rites orientaux, et même occidentaux (moins clairement, surtout dans le rite romain, qui en dehors de la vigile pascale n'a pas de rite de lumière). Nous allons examiner rapidement les rites orientaux en relevant cette structure. Nous désignons par la lettre **A** tout ce qui précède le rite lucernaire; par **B** l'office lucernaire lui-même; **C** designe l'office qui suit le lucernaire, l'office « ad Crucem » d'Egérie [1].

Ryte Byzantine de Jerusalem

A) Ps. 103. – Psalmodie.

B) 1: Ps. 140, 141, 129, 116, avec tropaires.
Φῶς ἱλαρόν. Prokeimenon.
2: Litanie. Prière de bénédiction.

C) Apostiches. Trisagion. Conclusion.

[1] On ne dispose pas encore d'une bonne étude comparée des vêpres dans les divers rites orientaux et occidentaux. Quelques travaux existent cependant d'un caractère plus restreint. Voici les principaux à notre sujet: A. Raes, *Introductio in liturgiam orientalem*, Rome 1947, p. 181-206 [voir particulièrement les schémas]; J. Mateos, *Le Typicon*... I, p. xxii-xxiii; Id., *L'office paroissial du matin et du soir dans le rite chaldéen*, dans *La Maison-Dieu*, 64 (1960) 76-88; *Breviarium armenium, sive dispositio communium Armeniacae Ecclesiae precum*, Venise 1908; J. Puyade, *Les heures canoniales syriennes et leur composition*, dans *L'Orient syrien*, 3 (1958) 402-410; A. Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Bd. 3. Heft 3-5) Paderborn 1910, p. 106-121. Nous ne parlons pas ici des rites copte et éthiopien, plus difficiles à classer parce que différents et peu étudiés. — Une brève étude sur les vêpres maronites vient de paraître: P. E. Gemayel, *La structure des vêpres maronites*, dans *L'Orient Syrien*, 9 (1964) 105-134.

Rite Byzantin de Constantinople

A) Ps. 85. Psalmodie (antiphones du psautier)

B) 1: Ps. 140 avec tropaire. Prokeimenon. 3 antiphones.
2: Litanie. Prière de bénédiction.

C) Tropaire. Trisagion. Conclusion.

Rite Armenien

A) Ps. 85

B) 1: Ps. 139, 140, 141.
Bénédiction de la lumière. Φῶς ἱλαρόν
[*Dirigatur*, à certains jours]
2: Litanie. Prières de bénédiction.

C) Trisagion. Ps. 120 (procession). Conclusion.

Rite Syrien

A) [Ps. 103 ou 85] (1). Psalmodie

B) 1: Ps. 140, 141, 118 [v. 105-112], 116, avec strophes.
Office de l'encens (Proemion, sedro, qolo, ʿetro). Qolo.

C) Boʿuto. Hullolo. Evangile. [Litanie] (2). Trisagion. Conclusion.

Rite Maronite

A) Psalmodie. Ps. 50

B) 1: Ps. 140, 141, 118 [v. 105-112], 116; sughito.
Office de l'encens (Proemion, sedro, qolo, ʿetro). Psaume. Lectures

C) Boʿuto. Trisagion. Conclusion.

(1) Ce psaume préliminaire (103 pour les fêtes, 85 les jours fériaux) semble propre de la tradition de Tikrit.

(2) Propre et empruntée à la tradition de Tikrit.

RITE CHALDÉEN

A) Psalmodie.

B) 1): Office de la lumière et de l'encens (*ʿonita* de l'encens, hymne *Laku Mara*)
Ps. 140, 141, 118 [v. 105-112], 116, avec strophe
2: Litanie. Trisagion. Prière de bénédiction.

C) *ʿOnita d-basaliqe* (procession). Conclusion.

Dans l'office vespéral des rites occidentaux, cette structure apparaît moins clairement et offre quelques problèmes particuliers que ce n'est pas le lieu de traiter ici. Signalons seulement que les liturgies wisigothique et ambrosienne ont un rite de lumière au début (1). De même, on trouve aussi dans ces deux liturgies (moins fréquemment dans le rite hispanique), une antienne à la fin de l'office, qui est le vestige d'une procession (2). En gros, nous pouvons conclure que ces rites ont un office lucernaire (avec rite de lumière) et une *statio*, celle *ad Crucem* d'Égérie. Nous rejoignons les lignes traditionnelles et « catholiques ». La vigile pascale commence

(1) Dans la liturgie hispanique, l'*oblatio luminis*, c'est à dire, élévation de la lampe ou cierge, accompagnée de l'exclamation: *In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, lumen cum pace*! et l'acclamation du peuple: *Deo gratias*! Suivait après le *vespertinum*, antienne qui dérive du ps. 140. A Milan, pendant le chant du *lucernarium* (l'équivalent du *vespertinum* hispanique), on allume encore aujourd'hui deux cierges sur l'autel. Cf. J. PINELL, *Vestigis del lucernari a Occident*, dans *Liturgica* 1 (Scripta et Documenta 7). Montserrat 1958, p. 45 et 20 ss.

(2) A Milan, la procession apparaît clairement, puisque les vêpres — aussi bien que le laudes — se terminent par deux *psallendae*, l'une *de ecclesia in baptisterium*, et l'autre *de baptisterio in aliud* (les deux baptistères de st. Jean et de st. Etienne, respectivement pour les hommes et pour les femmes). Cf. M. RIGHETTI, *Storia Liturgica*, t. 2, Milan 1946, p. 626 et 633. On peut voir des textes de ces chants dans M. MAGISTRETTI, *Manuale ambrosianum*, Milan 1905, t. 2, *passim*. — Dans le rite hispanique, cette antienne est appelée *psallendum* (*lauda*, dans le *Breviarium Gothicum* de Cisneros); parfois elle se refère aux reliques des saints ou au baptistère; et l'on en trouve qui sont appelées *lauda ad fontes*, ou *de fonte*. Cf. J. PINELL, *El oficio hispano-visigótico*, dans *Hispania Sacra*, 10 (1957) 426-427.

aussi — même dans la liturgie romaine — par un rite de lumière (1). Nous incluons ces cas dans le tableau qui suit. Celui-ci nous permettra de voir, en schéma et d'emblée, les éléments repérés dans les offices vespéraux, et par conséquent la place du lucernaire proprement dit (2).

(1) Pour les thèmes lucernaires en Occident, voir les études de Dom J. PINELL, *Vestigis del lucernari...*, dans *Liturgica* 1, p. 91-149; *La benedicció del ciri pasqual i els seus textos*, dans *Liturgica* 2 (Scripta et Documenta 10), Montserrat 1958, p. 1-119.

(2) On a dit souvent que le lucernaire est un rite initial de l'office du soir. Dom Pinell, dans son étude très fouillée sur les offices vespéraux (*Vestigis...*, cf. note antérieure) a montré que tout l'office vespéral procède du lucernaire, duquel il est l'évolution, l'amplification. Il fallait bien le dire, puisque quelqu'un prétend que le lucernaire se survit dans les complies! Mais, surtout pour les rites orientaux, on peut préciser davantage. On peut dégager, de l'ensemble de l'office vespéral, l'*office du lucernaire*, précédé et suivi d'autres éléments qui, malgré toutes les allusions vespérales que l'on peut y trouver, ne sont pas l'office lucernaire proprement dit (Dans une prière du soir, c'est bien normal de trouver des allusions à la lumière du soir. Par ces allusions dans les complies, on a voulu voir là le survivant du lucernaire!). Nous croyons que nos schémas montrent clairement cette division tripartite. Cela établi, on peut distinguer encore, dans le *lucernaire*, un *rite de lumière*, ou bien un *rite de lumière-encens*, qui est le noyau essentiel de l'office lucernaire. Alors, le problème de la place de ce rite est clair. Il s'agit d'un rite *initial*, parce qu'il ouvre l'office lucernaire, ou mieux encore (et ici nous rejoignons les explications du P. Pinell), autour de ce rite de lumière, mais après lui, on fait des prières et le congé. Si l'on regarde l'ensemble de l'office vespéral, ce n'est pas un rite initial, mais nous savons déjà que ce qui précède n'est pas l'office lucernaire. Les vigiles — pensons à la vigile pascale romaine — commencent par ce rite lucernaire, et lui seul, puisque les autres prières et bénédictions conclusives disparaissent ou passent à la fin de toute la veillée. Mais ce qui est le plus important, c'est que, à la tombée du jour, il faut faire le rite lucernaire, de la lumière. A ce regard, le Missel de Bobbio présente, pour la vigile pascale, une particularité intéressante. L'*Exsultet*, donc le rite lucernaire, vient après les collectes connues dans la tradition hispano-gallicane. (Cf. l'éd. de E. A. LOWE, *The Bobbio Missal* [Henry Bradshaw Society 58], Londres 1920, p. 69). Eh bien, dans cette tradition, ces collectes (qui suivent, dans les autres documents, le rite lucernaire) sont intercalées entre les 12 lectures de la vigile pascale, Par conséquent, l'*Exsultet* viendrait après les lectures. Faisait-on alors le rite de lumière, non pas au début, mais au milieu de la vigile? Peut-être, à ce temps-là, commençait-elle déjà très tôt, dans l'après-midi du samedi, et on voulait être un peu conséquent avec l'allumage du cierge.

Egérie I		Lucernaire		Statio
Egérie II	Catéchèse ou offices	Lucernaire		Statio
Egérie III	Catéchèse	Lucernaire —	Vigile	
Byz (Jérus) Arm - Chald	Psalmodie	Lucernaire		Statio
Byz (Const) Syr - Mar	Psalmodie	Lucernaire		[Statio]
«Présanctifiés»	Lectures	Lucernaire –	(Communion)	
Occident		«vesperae»		[Statio]
Vigile pascale		Lucernaire —	Vigile	

Après ce long parcours, la division que nous avons fait du double office vespéral des présanctifiés devient, nous l'espérons, claire et justifiée. Laissons maintenant la première partie, pour examiner de plus près la deuxième, que nous avons appelé « lucernaire des présanctifiés ». Lui-même est composé de deux éléments — comme nous venons de la voir — qui correspondent aux autres offices vespéraux: une réunion préalable, en ce cas des lectures, et le lucernaire proprement tel. Un mot sur ces lectures avant d'aborder le rite lucernaire. Elles sont les vestiges de l'ancienne catéchèse quadragésimale. Egérie elle-même nous en rend témoignage:

Consuetudo est hic talis, ut qui accedunt ad baptismum per ipsos dies quadraginta, quibus ieiunatur, primum mature a clericis exorcizentur, mox missa facta fuerit de Anastase matutina. Et statim ponitur cathedra episcopo ad Martyrium in ecclesia maiore et sedent omnes in giro prope episcopo, qui baptizandi sunt tam uiri quam mulieres, etiam loco stant patres uel matres, nec non etiam qui uolunt audire de plebe, omnes intrant et sedent, sed fideles. Cathecuminus autem ibi non intrat, tunc qua episcopus docet illos legem sic: id est

inchoans a Genese per illos dies quadraginta percurret omnes scripturas primum exponens carnaliter et sic illud soluens spiritualiter (1).

Cette catéchèse à partir de la Genèse trouve son correspondant dans la séquence de lectures: Loi, Sapientiaux et Prophètes, de la célébration eucharistique dans certains rites. Elle est déjà attestée par les Constitutions Apostoliques (2); le rite syrien d'Antioche la conserve encore aujourd'hui, au moins pour les fêtes. Des évolutions que nous ne devons pas toucher ici ont conduit au divers systèmes des autres rites (3). Il nous intéresse de remarquer que le rite byzantin a conservé cette triple lecture pendant le Carême, bien que séparées: Loi (Gen., Ex.) et Sapientiaux (Prov., Job) aux vêpres, c'est à dire, à l'office des présanctifiés; Prophète (Is., Jér.) à l'heure appelée « tritoecte ». Ces lectures apparaissent tous les jours, même dans la tradition hiérosolymitaine (et avec elle l'actuel office byzantin), dans laquelle, comme nous verrons plus loin, seulement les mercredis et vendredis sont affectés des présanctifiés. Les autres jours, puisqu'il n'y a pas le deuxième lucernaire, ces lectures sont incorporées à l'office des vêpres, tandis qu'en soi l'office vespéral, le lucernaire, ne comporte pas proprement des lectures, si ce n'est lorsque cet office se prolonge en vigile (4).

En lignes générales, nous pouvons dire que c'est l'ancienne catéchèse baptismale qui s'est perpetué dans ces lectures (5), bien qu'il y a eu une transposition. En effet, la catéchèse baptismale, qui expliquait les Ecritures en commençant par la Genèse, avait

(1) ÉGÉRIE, *Journal de voyage*, ch. 46,1-2 (éd. PÉTRÉ, p. 256).

(2) *Constit. Apost.*, II, 57,5-7 (FUNK, I, p. 161-163); VIII, 5,11-12. (FUNK, I, p. 476).

(3) La réduction la plus heureuse est sans doute la séquence: Prophétie (lecture de l'A.T.) — Apôtre — Evangile. Ce sistème se trouve dans la liturgie hispanique, ambrosienne, ancienne romaine (conservé encore à certains jours), ancienne byzantine.

(4) L'office vespéral n'a pas proprement des lectures; les vêpres qui en ont (toujours pour les solennités) répondent à une vigile.

(5) Ce sont les structures et les lignes directrices qui nous intéressent ici. Pour des détails plus concrets sur le choix des péricopes et leur sens, on pourra lire, mais avec des réserves, les pages du P. A. KNIAZEFF, *La lecture de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans le rite byzantin*, dans le volume *La prière des heures*, dirigé par Mgr. Cassien et Dom B. Botte (Lex Orandi 35), Paris 1963, p. 201-251.

lieu le matin. Son survivant, au contraire, se trouve précéder l'office vespéral, ce qui ne contredit pas la tradition, puisque, comme on l'a vu aussi chez Egérie, les mercredis et les vendredis, de la neuvième heure jusqu'à l'heure du lucernaire, les fidèles écoutaient une prédication.

Lucernaire des présanctifiés.

Et passons déjà à l'examen concret de notre lucernaire, constitué essentiellement par le Φῶς Χριστοῦ et le Κατευθυνθήτω (plus les litanies et prières conclusives).

A) Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι

Nous avons ici une très belle acclamation pour allumer, ou plutôt pour montrer aux fidèles la lampe (ou le cierge) allumée. On pense spontanément au *Lumen Christi* de la vigile pascale romaine. On pense également au rite wisigothique, et non seulement à la vigile pascale (où l'on trouve plusieurs acclamations), mais aussi à l'office vespéral quotidien. On commence par l'*oblatio luminis*: le diacre élève la lumière en disant: *In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, lumen cum pace* (1). Pour le φῶς Χριστοῦ le prêtre byzantin, du sanctuaire, se tourne vers les fidèles, pour leur montrer la lumière. Cela correspond à ce que nous dit Egérie: *Lumen autem de foris non affertur, sed de spelunca interiori eicitur* (2). Nous trouvons la même chose pour la vigile pascale dans le lectionnaire géorgien et dans la liturgie wisigothique (3).

(1) Cf. J. PINELL, *Vestigis del lucernari...*, p. 135; ID., *El oficio...*, p. 401.

(2) ÉGÉRIE, *Journal de voyage*, ch. 24, 4 (éd. PÉTRÉ, p. 192).

(3) M. TARCHNISCHVILI, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Eglise de Jérusalem* (*Ve-VIIIe siècle*), t. 1 (CSCO 189), Louvain 1959, p. 107-109. (et apparat). Pour la liturgie hispanique, voilà la rubrique de l'*Ordo*: *Incendit episcopus cereum suum de cereo benedicto, et ingrediens occulte clerus in sacrario, ut nec modicum quidem foris de incensis luminibus videatur. Et accendunt presbyteres et diaconos a cereo benedicto cerea sua; similiter et omnis clerus. Et mox ut tota perincensa fuerint, stat episcopus iuxta ostium, et diaconus ante eum, tenens ipsum cereum, quem postmodum benedicturus est. Et subito levato velo ostii, imponit episcopus: « Deo gratias! » Et sic ab omnibus tribus vicibus replicatur.* Cf. J. PINELL, *La benedicció del ciri pasqual...*, p. 112. Dans les pages 108-119, l'A. donne une édition critique de tout l'Ordo hispanique.

Le φῶς Χριστοῦ, est-il l'équivalent du φῶς ἱλαρόν? Nous ne le pensons pas. Ce dernier est une hymne, non une acclamation. Une acclamation du même genre, précédant le φῶς ἱλαρόν n'est même pas exclue. Qu'elle ne soit pas indiquée dans les documents liturgiques, ce n'est pas étonnant. On y trouve difficilement de courtes phrases diaconales. Même pour les présanctifiés, nous ne trouvont le φῶς Χριστοῦ que dans des manuscrits du Xe siècle (1). Mais cette formule était connue très anciennement. On la trouve en effet sur des lampes du IVe siècle en Palestine, à Chypre, en Asie Mineure, en Egypte (2).

B) Κατευθυνθήτω

Le Κατευθυνθήτω est une reduction à quelques versets du psaume 140, qui constituent un rite de l'encens. C'est en effet pendant le chant de ces versets que le prêtre fait un encensement solennel de l'autel, plus l'iconostase et les fidèles.

Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς Θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου: ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἑσπερινή.
*Κατευθυνθήτω . . .
Κύριε ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, εἰσάκουσόν μου: πρόσχες τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου, ἐν τῷ κεκραγέναι με πρὸς σέ.
*Κατευθυνθήτω . . .
Θοῦ Κύριε φυλακὴν τῷ στόματί μου καὶ θύραν περιοχῆς περὶ τὰ χείλη μου.
*Κατευθυνθήτω . . .
Μὴ ἐκκλίνῃς τὴν καρδίαν μου εἰς λόγους πονηρίας, τοῦ προφασίζεσθαι προφάσεις ἐν ἁμαρτίαις.
*Κατευθυνθήτω . . .
Δόξα Πατρί . . .
*Κατευθυνθήτω . . .
Καὶ νῦν . . .
*Κατευθυνθήτω . . .

(1) D'après l'édition et étude de Moraïtis, le Φῶς Χριστοῦ n'apparaît que dans les mss. de la troisième fase d'évolution des présanctifiés, mss. datant des XIIe-XIVe siècles. Mais le « Typicon de la Grande Eglise » (édité par Mateos), qui est du Xe s., et même le ms. de Patmos (IXe-Xe s.) le connaissent déjà.

(2) Cf. F. J. DÖLGER, *Lumen Christi*, dans *Antike und Christentum*, 5 (1936) 19-20. Trad. française, Paris 1958, p. 45-46.

Le Κατευθυνθήτω est évidemment un doublet du ps. 140 qui est chanté en entier aux vêpres ordinaires. Encore aujourd'hui les deux premiers versets de celui-ci sont chantés avec plus de solennité (le reste est plutôt récité, si pas omis du tout). Ces deux mêmes versets sont augmentés d'une petite phrase qui est passée faire partie des versets, et c'est comme cela qu'on les chante; mais en réalité nous avons là un répons pour alterner avec tous les versets de ce psaume:

* *Κύριε ἐκέκραξα πὸς σέ, εἰσάκουσόν μου,*
εἰσάκουσόν μου, Κύριε.

A) Κύριε ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, εἰσάκουσόν μου:
πρόσχες τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου,
ἐν τῷ κεκραγέναι μὲ πρὸς σέ:

* *εἰσάκουσόν μου, Κύριε.*

B) Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου:
ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἑσπερινή.

* *εἰσάκουσόν μου, Κύριε.*

On remarquera que ce refrain ne fait pas allusion à l'encens, au contraire du Κατευθυνθήτω. Il est vrai que pendant le chant du ps. 140 il y a un encensement, ordinaire et non pas solennel comme celui des présanctifiés. Il existe un autre encensement, au moment de l'entrée et du φῶς ἱλαρόν. Nous avons là un chant de lumière avec une cérémonie d'encens. Mais le φῶς ἱλαρόν n'est pas toujours à cette place [1], et l'encensement appartient à la procession d'entrée.

[1] On le trouve parfois un peu loin du rite de l'entrée, qui a eu lieu vers la fin du ps. 140 (à Constantinople, généralement au verset Ὅτι πρὸς σέ, Κύριε, Κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου). Ainsi, par ex., dans le Typicon de Jérusalem (an 1122), pour les trois premiers jours de la Semaine Sainte, il est placé après les lectures (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας, t. 2, St. Pétersbourg 1894, p. 43-51; 61-66; 77). Le lectionnaire georgien donne un tropaire pour l'entrée, qui a lieu, cette fois-ci, après les lectures et le Φῶς ἱλαρόν (celui-ci n'est pas toujours signalé, mais cela ne veut pas dire qu'il soit omis): *Ascendunt ad altare et dicunt troparium « Pervenimus fideles »* (Lundi Saint, ms. P; M. Tarchnischvili, *o. c.*, p. 86); *Dum episcopum ad altare ducunt hanc hypacoi dicunt: « Pervenimus »* (*eod.*, ms. S; *ibid.*). Le Vendredi Saint, dans le ms. Ka, le Φῶς ἱλαρόν est indiqué après l'évangile de l'office vespéral (*ibid.*, p. 104-106). Je ne fais que signaler ces cas. Il appartient à une étude plus concrète sur les vêpres byzantines de les examiner et de résoudre les difficultés qu'ils peuvent présenter.

A Constantinople, selon les apparences, et la lumière et l'encens, comme rites, semblent faire défaut. Là on ne connait pas le φῶς ἱλαρόν. Peut-être y avait-il une formule du genre du φῶς Χριστοῦ (nous avons déjà dit qu'une formule semblable pourrait se trouver dans tous les rites), mais nous n'en savons rien. Le ps. 140 n'est pas proprement un psaume de lumière, puisque aucune allusion n'y est faite dans le texte (1). Quant à l'encens, on n'en trouve jamais la mention dans les refrains, malgré qu'ils soient tirés du même ps. 140. Dans la série constantinopolitaine de refrains du ps. 140 publiée il y a quelques années (2), on a l'impression que cette mention est expressément évitée, surtout dans le cas suivant: Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου[...] ἐνώπιόν σου, σωτὴρ του κόσμου, où il manque l'incise: ὡς θυμίαμα.

Mais si la capitale byzantine semble ne pas connaître un office de l'encens, la tradition syrienne lui donne un relief spécial (3). La liturgie hispanique, de son côté, développe l'élément lumière jusqu'à en faire une oblation, un *sacrificium vespertinum* (4).

Notre lucernaire des présanctifiés, au contraire, conserve, en parfait équilibre, les deux éléments: lumière et encens. Notons aussi le caractère populaire, pastoral, de cet office.

Lucernaires des présanctifiés et Carême.

Le lucernaire que nous avons repéré dans les présanctifiés, appartient-il exclusivement au Carême? et est-il nécessairement lié à cet office de communion? Pour répondre à ces questions il nous faut voir surtout à quels jours étaient célébrés les présanctifiés, et examiner d'autres points annexes.

(1) Le qualificatif ἐπιλύχνιος, que le Constitutions Apostoliques (VIII, 35,2) donnent au ps. 140, indique seulement le moment où ce psaume est chanté, c'est à dire, à l'heure du lucernaire, quand on allume les lampes.

(2) O. STRUNK, *The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia*, dans *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 (Cambridge [Mass.] 1956), p. 201-202.

(3) Dans le rite syrien d'Antioche, l'office de l'encens comporte un *proemion*; *sedro*, ou prière d'imposition de l'encens; *qolo d-qubbolo*, ou chant d'acceptation; *'etro*, ou prière d'acceptation de l'encens. Sur le sedro, voir l'intéressante étude de J. MATEOS, « *Sedre* » *et prières connexes dans quelques anciennes collections*, dans *Orientalia Christ. Period.*, 28 (1962) 239-287.

(4) Cf. J. PINELL, *Vestigis del lucernari...*, p. 125-128.

Tout d'abord, nous devons mentionner un ancien témoignage des présanctifiés, sans doute la plus ancienne attestation claire et précise que nous connaissons. Il s'agit du *Chronicon paschale* (début du VII[e] siècle) où nous lisons ces lignes:

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ Σεργίου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τῆς α' ἑβδομάδος τῶν Νηστειῶν ἰνδικτιῶνος δ' ἤρξατο ψάλλεσθαι μετὰ τὸ *Κατευθυνθήτω*, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ εἰσάγεσθαι τὰ προηγιασμένα δῶρα εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀπὸ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν ἱερέα *Κατὰ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου*, εὐθέως ἄρχεται ὁ λαός: *Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἀοράτως λατρεύουσιν: ἰδοὺ γὰρ εἰσπορεύεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. Ἰδοὺ θυσία μυστικὴ τετελειωμένη δορυφορεῖται: πίστει καὶ φόβῳ προσέλθωμεν, ἵνα μέτοχοι ζωῆς αἰωνίου γενώμεθα. Ἀλληλούια.* Τοῦτο δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς νηστείαις προηγιασμένων εἰσαγομένων ψάλλεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ὁσάκις ἂν προηγιασμένα γίνηται (1).

Pour le moment, ce qui nous intéresse c'est que: *a*) on célèbre les présanctifiés *à partir de la première semaine du jeûne* [= Carême]; *b*) il y a d'autres célébrations des présanctifiés en dehors du Carême. Il faut noter que la force de ce texte porte sur l'introduction du chant Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις au moment du transfert des dons, tropaire qui doit être chanté également en dehors du Carême, lorsqu'on célèbre les présanctifiés. Les autres éléments, même ceux qui sont mentionnés, sont supposés connus et déjà entrés dans la coutume.

Aucune précisation sur les jours concrets du Carême qui ont les présanctifiés. Mais peut-être pourrait-on l'éclairer par le canon 52 du concile *in Trullo* (692). Ce canon en effet, de peu postérieur, est bien clair à cet égard:

Ἐν πάσαις τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς νηστειῶν ἡμέραις, πάρεκτος σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας, γινέσθω ἡ προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτουργία (2).

Nous avons, donc, une célébration de la liturgie des présanctifiés tous les jours fériaux au long du grand Carême. C'est la tradition qu'on peut appeler constantinopolitaine (3). Une variante

(1) PG 92, 989. La notice se refère à l'an 617.

(2) Mansi, XI, 908.

(3) Attestée surtout par les mss. Ste. Croix 40 (base de l'édition faite par le P. Mateos du Typicon de la Grande Eglise), Patmos, Evergétis. Siméon de Thessalonique le témoigne aussi; cf. *Responsa ad Ga-*

postérieure dans cette tradition consiste à commencer la célébration des présanctifiés seulement le mardi de la première semaine, le lundi étant ainsi un jour tout à fait aliturgique. Cela nous est témoigné par le Typicon studite d'Evergétis (1).

Les trois premiers jours de la semaine Sainte avaient aussi la liturgie des présanctifiés. De même, le mercredi et le vendredi de la « tyrophagie » ou des « laitages ». Dans ces deux jours, cependant, on ne chantait ni le Φῶς Χριστοῦ ni le Κατευθυνθήτω (2). Les présanctifiés étaient aussi célébrés, dans la tradition constantinopolitaine, le Vendredi-Saint. De nouveau, ce jour on ne chantait plus le Φῶς Χριστοῦ ni le Κατευθυνθήτω; une double rubrique de l'Evergétis le dit clairement. Le Mercredi-Saint, en effet, après avoir indiqué le Φῶς Χριστοῦ, il explique: ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀποδίδοται, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ *Κατευθυνθήτω* (3). Et le Vendredi-Saint il le rappelle une nouvelle fois:

> . . .καὶ τῆς ἑξῆς τῆς θείας λειτουργίας τῶν προηγιασμένων, πλὴν οὔτε *Φῶς Χριστοῦ* λέγομεν, οὔτε τὸ *Κατευθυνθήτω*, ταῦτα γάρ, ὡς εἴρεται, τῇ μεγάλῃ δ' ἀποδίδονται (4)

La célébration des présanctifiés le Vendredi-Saint finit par disparaître de la capitale byzantine. C'était un fait accompli déjà vers 1200, lors de la visite d'Antoine de Novgorod (5). Syméon de Thessalonique s'en plaint et cherche à en expliquer les causes, en même temps qu'il nous témoigne que cette tradition — avec le

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brielem Pentapolitanum, 56 (PG 155, 904). Il est encore intéressant de noter le témoignage qu'en donne le tristement célèbre Cardinal Humbert, dans sa réponse à Nicétas Stéthatos, ch. 23 (PG 120, 1032).

(1) A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie*..., I, Τυπικά, 1, Kiev 1895, p. 515.

(2) Le Typicon d'Evergétis, par ex., dit: Τὸ δὲ Φῶς Χριστοῦ οὐ λέγομεν, οὔτε σήμερον, οὔτε τῇ παρασκευῇ. Plus loin, il donne le prokeimenon 'Ελπισάτω 'Ισραήλ, avec 3 versets, ἀντὶ τοῦ Κατευθυνθήτω. A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie*... I, Τυπικά, 1, p. 508-510. Voir aussi le témoignage des *prophetologia*: C. HÖEG-G. ZUNTZ, *Prophetologium*, (Monum. Musicae Byzant., Lectionaria, vol I) fasc. 2, Copenhagen 1940, p. 114 et 119.

(3) A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *ibid.*, p. 553.

(4) ID., *ibid.*, Notons cependant la discordance aberrante du ms. de Patmos (rite constantinopolitain), qui signale le Φῶς Χριστοῦ le Vendredi Saint. Cf. J. MATEOS, *Le Typicon*... II, (O.C.A. 166). Rome 1963, p. 80.

(5) Cf. B. DE KHITROWO, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, Genève 1889, p. 105.

cursus « cathédral » — survivait à Thessalonique. Il est bon de lire ce passage:

Les présanctifiés ne sont pas célébrés pendant les autres jeûnes, mais seulement dans celui-ci (= le Carême), parce qu'il est le premier de tous, le principal, le jeûne du Seigneur. Et pendant ce jeûne, nous avons reçu par tradition de les accomplir seulement cinq jours par semaine [...] Pendant le Carême, les Pères nous ont ordonné de célébrer le sacrifice le samedi et le dimanche [...] Ils ont établi de célébrer les présanctifiés les cinq jours, et de ne pas accomplir le sacrifice non sanglant et vivant un autre jour [en dehors du samedi et dimanche]. Il faut ajouter deux autres jours: le mercredi et le vendredi appelés des « laitages », aussi bien que le Vendredi-Saint. Les deux jours des « laitages » ont été posés comme un prélude aux saints jours du jeûne [...] D'après l'ancien typicon de la Grande Eglise, le mercredi des « laitages » le patriarche célébrait, le premier, les présanctifiés [...] Dans ces deux jours de jeûne, donc, des « laitages » on célébrait ainsi anciennement les présanctifiés [...].

Le saint et grand Vendredi, on célébrait également autrefois les présanctifiés [...] Mais maintenant, je ne sais pas pourquoi, on a delaissé la célébration des présanctifiés ce jour-là. Je pense que, à cause du jeûne total, et du fait qu'on ne célèbre pas la liturgie complète comme d'habitude, on a négligé aussi celle de présanctifiés [1]. En plus, cela vient du typicon de Jérusalem, qui est monastique. Mais autre est celui de la grande Eglise, qui était observé dans toutes les églises. Les incursions ininterrompues des peuples bouleversèrent cette ordonnance [2]. Elle se maintient seulement dans l'église catholique de Thessalonique. Le Vendredi-Saint, nous ne célébrons pas la liturgie complète, parce que, après nous avoir donné, le jeudi, ses mystères en mémoire de sa passion, le vendredi le Seigneur subit volontairement cette passion, et par la croix s'offrit volontairement en victime au Père [...] C'est pourquoi le sacrifice dans son propre corps divin étant alors réalisé, par la passion, nous n'avons pas besoin de faire son mémorial, au moment où lui-même subit sa passion. A cause de cela, nous n'avons nullement reçu par tradition de célébrer alors le sacrifice complet, mais bien de présenter et de célébrer les présanctifiés, comme on peut le voir dans plusieurs constitutions mentionnées plus haut [...] Cependant, par l'influence du typicon monastique de

(1) Le texte de Migne présente, dans la premier incise de la frase, une négation qui n'a pas de sens: Οἶμαι δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ τελείαν εἶναι νηστείαν, καὶ μηδὲ λειτουργίαν ὡς ἔθος τελείαν γίνεσθαι, καὶ τῆς τῶν προηγιασμένων καταμελῆσαι.

(2) Ailleurs Syméon dit clairement que ce sont les persécutions des latins qui ont fait disparaître les meilleures coutumes de Constantinople. *De sacra precatione*, c. 347 (PG. 155, 625).

Jérusalem, on ne le fait plus aujourd'hui. Mais, du fait que, aux autres jeûnes on ne célèbre pas la liturgie des présanctifiés, il ne faudrait pas l'abandonner ce jour-là; c'est plutôt un motif de la conserver. Puisque, pendant le grand Carême, nous célébrons la liturgie complète le samedi et le dimanche, et pendant d'autres jeûnes inviolables, comme la vigile de la Nativité du Christ et des Lumières (= Epiphanie) et le grand Jeudi, nous faisons de même; sans pour autant rompre le jeûne en ces occasions par le fait de célébrer la liturgie complète (1).

Dans la tradition palestinienne, la célébration quadragésimale de la liturgie des présanctifiés est réservée aux mercredis et vendredis (2), et laissée encore à libre choix, d'après des usages particuliers (3). La réduction à ces seuls jours répond au désir de jeûner davantage.

Cette même tradition célèbre aussi les présanctifiés les trois premiers jours de la Semaine Sainte (4), tandis qu'elle les

(1) SYMEON THESS., *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, 56 (PG 155, 904-908).

(2) Voir, par ex., le *Typicon de Jérusalem* (éd. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS), on d'autres documents que nous mentionnons ailleurs.

(3) Δεῖ γινώσκειν, ὅτι κατὰ παρασκευὴν εἰς τὸ λυχνικόν, *ἐὰν θέλῃ γενέσθαι προηγιασμένων* [...] Εἰ δὲ τύχῃ παρασκευὴ *καὶ οὐ γίνεται προηγιασμένων* [...] (Sinaït. 1094, XIIe-XIIIe s.). A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie* ..., III, Τυπικά, 2, St. Pétersbourg 1917, p. 7. A ces deux jours il faut ajouter le jeudi de la cinquième semaine (*ibid.*, p. 18). D'après le Typicon du monastère de saint Nicolas des Cassouliens, en Calabre, les présanctifiés sont célébrés tous les mercredis, jeudis et vendredis du Carême. Au même temps, il nous témoigne d'une célébration plus fréquente dans les églises cathédrales. Voir le texte dans L. ALLATIUS, *De missa praesanctificatorum*..., col. 1594-1595. Ce Typicon réunit des éléments des Typica de Saint-Sabas, de Stoudion et du Mont Athos, (cf. L. ALLATIUS, *De libris ecclesiasticis graecorum*, p. 7 (édité par J. A. FABRICIUS dans le vol. 5 de sa *Bibliotheca graeca*), Hamburg 1712. Quant au début du Carême, on devrait célébrer les présanctifiés, selon la règle, le premier mercredi. Cependant, ceux qui sont forts, qui se sentent capables, peuvent la retarder jusqu'au vendredi, afin de jeûner davantage. Les rubriques du *Triodion* le disent encore aujourd'hui: οὐ γὰρ παρελάβομεν ποιεῖν Προηγιασμένην μέχρι τῆς τετάρτης, διὰ τὸ νηστεύειν ἐκ παραδόσεως πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀδελφότητα· οἱ δὲ δυνάμενοι, μενέτωσαν νήστεις ἕως τῆς Παρασκευῆς. Ed. de Rome 1879, p. 133.

(4) Cf. Typicon de Jérusalem, éd. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, p. 43-77.

omet la semaine des « laitages » [1], aussi bien que le Vendredi-Saint [2].

La pratique actuelle du rite byzantine suit tout à fait la tradition palestinienne, puisque c'est le typicon de Saint-Sabas qui régit toujours son office.

Y avait-il des présanctifiés pendant l'année, en dehors du Carême? Le *Chronicon paschale* le fait supposer, lorsqu'il dit: Τοῦτο δὲ (l'hymne Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις) οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς νηστείαις προηγιασμένων εἰσαγομένων ψάλλεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ὁσάκις ἂν προηγιασμένα γίνηται [3].

Au Xe siècle, le Typicon de la Grande Eglise offre des lectures de l'apôtre et de l'évangile, « pour celui qui voudrait célébrer la liturgie le mercredi et le vendredi, soit celle des présanctifiés, soit la liturgie complète » [4]. Cependant, Syméon de Thessalonique est catégorique lorsqu'il affirme que les présanctifiés ont lieu seulement pendant le grand Carême [5]. Il s'agit sans doute d'un nouvel exemple de l'influence et pénétration des règles palestiniennes, qui firent disparaître, petit à petit, les usages cathédraux de Constantinople et même de Thessalonique.

On doit mentionner ici un office de communion, de tradition monastique, qui avait lieu après None et constituait l'office appelé des *Typica*, office qui existe toujours dans le rite byzantin, au Carême et à certaines vigiles, sans que pourtant on y communie.

(1) Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ οὐ παρελάβομεν ὑπὸ τῶν Πατέρων τῶν ἁγίων ποιεῖν τῇ τετράδι καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς τυροφάγου λειτουργίαν τελείαν οὔτε προηγιασμένων. Ms. Sinaït. 1094 A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* ..., III, Τυπικά, 2, p. 6.

(2) Voir le texte de Syméon de Thessalonique cité plus haut, et le Typicon de Jérusalem, qui donne une structure de vêpres sans présanctifiés. Les anciens documents hiérosolymitains ne mentionnent pas non plus cette liturgie: lectionnaire arménien, lectionnaire géorgien. Seulement, pour ce dernier, le ms. de Kala (Xe s.) dit, à la fin des vêpres, à structure normale: *Et crucem lavant et populo dant communionem et orationem faciunt et discedunt*; M. Tarchnischvili, *Le grand lectionnaire* ... t. 1, p. 106, dans l'apparat.

(3) Voir plus haut la citation complète et la brève analyse que nous en avons faite.

(4) Cf. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon*..., p. 189.

(5) *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, 56 et 59 (PG 155, 904 et 912).

Un ancien *Horologion* en témoigne clairement (1). Ce document liturgique ne specifie pas pour quel temps de l'année est indiqué cet office, mais il faut supposer qu'il s'agit d'un office normal *per annum*. Mais, en Carême, continuait-on à le célébrer? En ce cas, on ne jeûnait plus jusqu'aux vêpres, ce qui rendrait les moines moins fervents que les autres fidèles. Ou faisaient-ils cette communion après les vêpres, malgré le récitation de l'office des *Typica* après None? Cela expliquerait l'évolution postérieure de cet office et sa répartition après none et après vêpres (2). Ou ces moines célébraient-ils plutôt les présanctifiés?

Notons que toute communion en dehors de la messe est nécessairement une communion aux dons *présanctifiés*. Mais il y a quelques différences, qui répondent à la solennité. Nous avons d'une part l'office des *Typica*, plus bref, et d'une autre part la liturgie des presanctifiés, liée à l'office vespéral et célébrée d'une façon plus solennelle. La distinction des termes, donc, évitera les confusions.

* * *

Nous sommes peut-être maintenant en condition de répondre à notre double question, que nous allons reprendre à l'envers.

D'abord, le « lucernaire des présanctifiés » et l'office de communion, sont-ils nécessairement liés l'un à l'autre? D'un côté, on ne trouve jamais le Φῶς Χριστοῦ ni le Κατευθυνθήτω — éléments constitutifs de notre lucernaire — sans cet office de communion (3). Mais d'autre part, nous l'avons vu, il peut y avoir une liturgie des présanctifiés sans ces éléments lucernaires. D'où nous pourrions tirer la conclusion que lucernaire et office de communion ne s'ap-

(1) Cf. J. Mateos, *Un Horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas, le Codex sinaïtique grec 863 (IXe siècle)*, à paraître dans les Mélanges Tisserant (Collection « Studi e Testi »).

(2) En effet, on trouve après ce deux offices, des éléments qui appartiennent à l'offre des *Typika*. Voir l'article cité du P. Mateos.

(3) Il y a un cas du κατευθυνθήτω suivi, non pas des présanctifiés, mais de la liturgie complète: celui de la fête de l'Annonciation (25 mars), selon les anciens documents, lorsque cette fête tombe un jour de jeûne, puisqu'alors la liturgie a lieu après les vêpres. Cf. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon...*, I, p. 254-255. De même A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie...*, Τυπικά, I, p. 431, 436-437.

pellent pas nécessairement l'un l'autre. Quant au premier aspect, il se trouve conditionné à la deuxième question que nous allons résoudre immédiatement. C'est à dire, si le Φῶς Χριστοῦ et le Κατευθυνθήτω ne se trouvent vraiment qu'en Carême, le temps propre des présanctifiés, on comprend alors bien que ces éléments se voient toujours suivis de l'office de communion.

Ensuite, donc, notre lucernaire appartient-il exclusivement au Carême? La réponse doit être affirmative. Si l'on ne chante pas le Φῶς Χριστοῦ ni le Κατευθυνθήτω les jours de la tyrophagie, c'est parce que le Carême proprement dit n'a pas encore commencé. Un ms. de Grottaferrata retarde encore davantage un de ces chants: Χρὴ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τὸ *Σωφία, ὀρθοί, φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι,* ἀπὸ τῆς τετάρτης μεσονηστίμου λέγεται (1).

Et une autre limite est fixée à la fin, puisqu'on les omet aussi le Vendredi-Saint, comme nous avons vu (toujours dans la tradition de Constantinople, puisque celle de Palestine ne connaît les présanctifiés aucun de ces jours). Mais, pourquoi cette omission le Vendredi-Saint? Est-elle l'indice qu'autrefois on ne célébrait pas les présanctifiés le grand Vendredi? Ou plutôt que ce jour n'appartient plus au Carême, déjà fini, mais à la célébration du grand mystère pascal, de mort et résurrection? Cela confirmerait davantage la constatation que les deux éléments lucernaires mentionnés se trouvent circonscrits au seul temps du Carême.

Faut-il donc conclure que le Carême byzantin avait un lucernaire spécial? Pas nécessairement. Nous pensons plutôt être en présence une fois de plus d'un fait assez général et connu dans l'histoire de la liturgie, à savoir que le Carême a conservé des éléments qui étaient auparavant communs à toute l'année, et qu'il les a conservés, en général, dans un était plus pur. On pourrait citer plusieurs cas semblables dans le rite byzantin lui-même (2). Mais, pour le cas concret qui nous occupe, il est intéressant de noter un parallélisme avec le rite ambrosien. Le *lucernarium* qui ouvre l'office vespéral est le survivant du ps. 140. Une évolution

(1) Cf. J. Goar, *Euchologium Graecorum,* Paris, 1647, p. 202. Goar ne donne pas la référence du manuscrit.

(2) Par ex., le cantique d'Isaïe après l'hexapsalme. Cf. J. Mateos, *Quelques problèmes de l'Orthros byzantin,* dans *Proche-Orient chrétien,* 11 [1961] 27-28), ou encore les tropaires propres des heures « mineures ».

s'est produite et on a choisi pour ce chant d'autres psaumes (en nombre réduit, d'ailleurs), mais toujours en rapport avec la lumière. Les vendredis du Carême ont conservé, seuls, le ps. 140, et deux versets cette fois-ci, au lieu d'un comme les autres jours (1):

Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo; elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum.

℣. Domine clamavi ad te, exaudi me, intende voci orationis meae. — Sacrificium...

℣. Pone Domine custodiam ori meo. — Sacrificium...

D'où vient cet office lucernaire?

Peut-on determiner la patrie de cet office lucernaire?

D'une part, les lampes avec l'inscription Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι nous orientent, d'après les fouilles, vers la Palestine, l'Asie-Mineure, l'Egypte. Il faut noter que ces lampes témoignent d'une acclamation familière aux chrétiens de ces régions, tout comme en Afrique les formules *Deo laudes* des donatistes et *Deo gratias* des catholiques. Formule commune, d'usage rituel, si l'on veut, mais domestique, avant de devenir formule liturgique. En tout cas, cette formule liturgique ne comporte pas nécessairement le Κατευθυνθήτω. Elle pouvait commencer partout un office lucernaire et être placée, par exemple, même avant le Φῶς ἱλαρόν. Et on aura remarqué que la Palestine, qui nous a fourni des lampes à inscription, connait le Φῶς ἱλαρόν. Par conséquent, on ne peut pas argumenter à partir de cette acclamation.

Le Κατευθυνθήτω nous fournit un peu plus d'indices. Il faut noter, en effet, que notre « lucernaire des présanctifiés » n'a qu'un seul psaume lucernaire, le 140 (réduit aux premiers versets). Les vêpres ordinaires du rite constantinopolitain ne connaissaient également que cet unique psaume lucernaire, contrairement à la tradition palestinienne — et donc au rite byzantine actuel — qui ajoute au ps. 140 d'autres psaumes (voir les schémas donnés plus

(1) Cf. J. Pinell, *Vestigis del lucernari...*, p. 112 et 118. Il est à noter que ces vendredis une vigile suivait l'office lucernaire. On rejoint ici la tradition attestée par Égérie.

haut). Pour Jérusalem, déjà Egérie parle au pluriel, de psaumes lucernaires:

... dicuntur psalmi lucernares, sed et antiphonae diutius. Ecce et commonetur episcopus et descendet et sedet susum nec non etiam presbyteri sedent locis suis, dicuntur ymni uel antiphonae... (1).

Dans la région d'Antioche et en Syrie on ne parle que du seul psaume 140, comme le prouvent deux témoignages contemporains. Les Constitutions Apostoliques, dans un endroit (2) mentionnent seulement de passage « le psaume lucernaire » (μετὰ τοῦ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμόν), mais explicitent ailleurs quel est ce psaume, en disant aussi qu'on le chante chaque jour:

Ἑκάστης ἡμέρας συναθροίζεσθε ὄρθρου καὶ ἑσπέρας ψάλλοντες καὶ προσευχόμενοι ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς, ὄρθρου μὲν λέγοντες ψαλμὸν τὸν ξβ', ἑσπερας δὲ τὸν ρμ' (3).

De son côté, saint Jean Chrysostome, dans son commentaire au ps. 140 (4), nous témoigne du fait qu'il est chanté chaque soir et que les fidèles le connaissent par cœur (5):

Τούτου τοῦ ψαλμοῦ τὰ μὲν ῥήματα ἅπαντες, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἴσασι, καὶ διὰ πάσης ἡλικίας διατελοῦσι ψάλλοντες· τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀγνοοῦσιν. Ὅπερ οὐ μικρὸν εἰς κατηγορίας λόγον, τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ψάλλοντας, καὶ διὰ στόματος τὰ ῥήματα προφέροντας, μὴ ζητῆσαι τῶν νοημάτων τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἐναποκειμένων τοῖς ῥήμασιν.

Par cette voie (et ayant présentes, il va de soi, toutes les constatations faites au cours de cet article), on pourrait peut-être conclure à une origine «byzantine» et «cathédrale» de notre lucernaire. Et si les derniers rapprochements sont valables, cette tradition «byzantine» serait plus large et puiserait à une source commune syro-antiochienne (6)

(1) ÉGÉRIE, *Journal de voyage*, ch. 24,4 (éd. PÉTRÉ, p. 192).
(2) *Constitutions Apostoliques*, VIII, 35,2 (FUNK, I, p. 544).
(3) *Ibid.*, II, 59,2 (*ibid.*, p. 171).
(4) PG 55, 426-442.
(5) *Ibid.*, 426-7.
(6) Nous regardons ici le ps. 140 en tant que psaume du lucernaire, faisant abstraction de l'encensement qui peut l'accompagner (c'est le cas des présanctifiés). L'office de l'encens — qui, d'ailleurs, lui convient fort mieux que le rite de la lumière — n'existe pas aux tout premiers siècles, et semble inconnu, même postérieurement, dans certaines traditions.

Double office vespéral.

Nous avons dit dès le début que la liturgie des présanctifiés comportait deux offices vespéraux unis et même, actuellement, enchevêtrés. Pouvons-nous préciser la date de cette fusion?

La plus ancienne attestation que nous ayions des présanctifiés, le *Chronicon paschale*, ne nous apporte aucune lumière. Il ne mentionne que le Κατευθυνθήτω, et seulement pour dire qu'après cela il faut chanter le Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις, lors du transfert des dons. Le codex Barberini (VIII[e] s.) est plus explicite:

Ἐν δὲ τῷ λυχνικῷ, μετὰ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα καὶ τὸ *Κατευθυνθήτω* καὶ τὸ *Κύριε ἐλέησον* γίνεται εὐχὴ κατηχουμένων ἐπὶ τῶν προηγιασμένων (1).

La phrase « au lucernaire, après les lectures et le Κατευθυνθήτω... » permettrait à la rigueur, de supposer le premier office vespéral, qui n'est pas décrit. Mais ce λυχνικόν peut désigner aussi l'office constitué justement par les lectures, le Κατευθυνθήτω, etc. On aimerait pouvoir être de cet avis. Mais des rubriques presque identiques nous les trouvons dans d'autres mss. qui arrivent jusqu'au XII[e] siècle (2). Or dès le X[e] siècle au moins, nous avons déjà attesté le double office vespéral (3). La seule chose qu'on peut dire c'est que, vraisemblablement, on a uni assez tôt ces deux offices vespéraux, sans que nous puissions préciser davantage.

Signalons que le rite arménien présente aussi, pour certains jours, des doublets dans l'office des vêpres.

BYZANTIN	ARMÉNIEN
Ps. 140, 141, 129, 116	Ps. 139, 140, 141
	« bénédiction de la lampe »
Φῶς ἱλαρὸν	Φῶς ἱλαρόν

(1) F. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, t. 1, Oxford 1896, p. 345.

(2) Ainsi, par ex., Sinaït 958 (X[e] s.), Sinaït. 959 (XI[e] s.), Paris gr. 391 (XI[e] s.), Sinaït. 962 (XI[e]-XII[e] s.), Vatic. gr. (Ross.) 1970 (XI[e]-XII[e] s.). Cf. D. MORAÏTIS, Ἡ λειτουργία... p. 53.

(3) Les mss. de Patmos et de la Sainte Croix, du Typicon de la Grande Eglise, le connaissent.

Byzantin	Arménien
Lecture	
Φῶς Χριστοῦ	
Κατευθυνθήτω	Dirigatur

C'est à dire, dans le rite arménien nous avons, après les psaumes 139-141, un rite de lumière, suivi d'un office de l'encens.

Nous ne pouvons que signaler le fait. Peut-être ne s'agit-il ici que d'une imitation de l'office byzantin déjà constitué en douible office vespéral. Mais il est possible que les documents liturgiques arméniens , malheureusement si peu étudiés et surtout si rarement publiés dans une languc facilement accessible, nous apporteraient des éclaircissements.

Triple office vespéral.

Le double office vespéral, dans la liturgie des présanctifiés, ne parut pas suffisant à certains moines. D'après Syméon de Thessalonique (1), après la fin de l'office appelé τριτοέκτη, le prêtre prononce la bénédiction initiale et on commence l'office des vêpres, récité selon la tradition monastiquc, c'est à dire, de Jérusalem.

Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ πλαγίᾳ ψάλλεται τοῦ ναοῦ ὡς παράκλησις ὁ ἑσπερινὸς παρὰ τῶν ψαλτῶν.

On lit des psaumes, d'accord avec la tradition monastique. On dit aussi le φῶς ἱλαρόν et le Καταξίωσον, et Syméon d'expliquer: ὡς κατανύξεως ἀκολουθία καὶ οἷον μοναχική. On n'allume pas de cicrges, « jusqu'à la lccture des Proverbcs de la liturgie des présanctifiés ». A la fin (certains éléments des vêpres sont omis, parmi lesquels l'*apolysis*) tous retournent à leur place. Après quoi (y a-t-il un temps de pause?) le diacre demande la permission (τοῦ δὲ διακόνου λαβόντος καιρόν) et, avec la bénédiction sacerdotale, commence la liturgie des présanctifiés, qui comporte déjà le double office vespéral. On a, donc, à proprement parler, trois offices vespéraux, à la suite l'un de l'autre.

Voilà en schéma cette multiplication d'offices (nous signalons seulement les éléments indispensables pour distinguer les offices):

(1) Symeon Thess., *De sacra precatione*, 352; PG 155, 653.

Lucernaire des présanctifiés	Présanctifiés composites		Moines de Thessalonique
	Jérusalem	Constantinople	
	Ps. 103		Ps. 103
	Psalmodie		Psalmodie
	Ps. 140, 141, 129, 116		Ps 140, 141, 129, 116
	Φῶς ἱλαρόν		Φῶς ἱλαρόν
			Apostiches, etc.
		Ps 85	Ps. 85
		Psalmodie	[ ]
		Ps. 140	Ps. 140
		3 antiphones	3 antiphones
Lectures	Lectures	Lectures	Lectures
Φῶς Χριστοῦ	Φῶς Χριστοῦ	Φῶς Χριστοῦ	Φῶς Χριστοῦ
Κατευθυνθήτω	Κατευθυνθήτω	Κατευθυνθήτω	Κατευθυνθήτω

Conclusions.

La liturgie byzantine des présanctifiés comporte un double office lucernaire. Le premier des deux est l'office des vêpres commun à toute l'année. Le deuxième ne se trouve que pendant le Carême, aux présanctifiés. Il est constitué foncièrement par un rite de lumière: Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι, et un rite d'encens: Κατευθυνθήτω.

Les lectures qui se trouvent entre les deux offices vespéraux correspondent à la catéchèse hiérosolymitaine, et elles doivent précéder le deuxième lucernaire, et non pas former une partie du premier.

Tout office lucernaire peut être précédé d'un autre office: psaumes, lectures, catéchèse..., et être suivi d'une « statio » con-

clusive, si le lucernaire ne se prolonge pas en vigile, ou s'il n'est pas suivi, comme c'est notre cas, d'un rite de communion (ou de la liturgie complète). Nos schémas pourront peut-être aider à une meilleure intelligence de l'office vespéral.

Notre « lucernaire des présanctifiés » ne se trouve qu'en Carême. Il ne s'agit pas, sans doute, d'un lucernaire particulier à ce temps-là, mais d'un très ancien lucernaire, disparu devant l'autre office vespéral que nous connaissons au rite byzantin, et conservé seulement pendant la Carême.

Cet office lucernaire appartient, semble-t-il, à la tradition cathédrale. Et l'on ne manquera pas de noter le caractère pastoral de cet office. La solennité donnée au chant du Κατευθυνθήτω, avec l'alternance de la strophe qui permet la participation des fidèles, rendent cet office vivant et populaire.

Un office vespéral, si bref soit-il, ne devrait jamais manquer, mais être vraiment familier aux fidèles. « Il a semblé à nos pères — disait saint Basile — de ne pas recevoir en silence le don de la lumière vespérale, mais d'en remercier [le Seigneur] dès qu'elle apparaît » ([1]).

V. Janeras O.S.B.

([1]) St. Basile, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 29, 73; PG 32, 205.

The Effect of the Administrative Recourse in the Latin and Oriental Codes

Before the promulgation of the Code of Canon Law for the Latin Church [1] the doctrine on the distinction between judicial and non-judicial appeals was based on some fundamental texts of the *Decretals* of Gregory IX. These texts are exposed briefly, but well, in a doctoral dissertation by C. O. Cavada, published in Madrid in 1955 with the title *Teoría general del recurso extrajudicial.* From the *Decretals* and the common interpretation of them before the Latin Code we learn that the *sacri canones etiam extra iudicium passim appellare permittunt* (X, II, 28, 5) and that such appeals are called *provocationes ad causam* (*ib.*). In fact, though they were directed to a superior and not to a judge, they were treated in a formal law suit, at least when a strict right of the appellant was at stake; if there was question of a mere personal advantage the matter was dealt with in an administrative way [2].

(1) Abbreviations:

CIC = *Codex iuris canonici.*

CA = *Motu proprio* " *Crebrae allatae* " on the Oriental Marriage Law, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 41 (1949) 89-119; promulgated on February 22nd, 1949; became effective on May 2nd, 1949.

SN = *Motu proprio* " *Sollicitudinem Nostram* " on the Oriental Procedural Law, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 42 (1950) 5-120; promulgated on January 6th, 1950; became effective on January 6th, 1951.

PA = *Motu proprio* " *Postquam Apostolicis* " on the Oriental Law of Religious and Church Property, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 44 (1952) 67-152; promulgated on February 9th, 1952; became effective on November 21st, 1952.

CS = *Motu proprio* " *Cleri sanctitati* " on the Oriental Law on Persons, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 49 (1957) 433-603; promulgated on June 2nd, 1957; became effective on March 25th, 1958.

(2) F. X. Wernz, *Ius Decretalium*, vol. V, Prato, 1914, p. 528 n.

The suspensive effect of the judicial appeal has always been fully recognized in canon law. It means that, pending the appeal, the execution of the sentence is suspended and that all the acts contrary to the principle *lite pendente nihil innovetur* are null and void *ipso iure*, even when it appears afterwards that the case has been removed to a higher court without reasonable grounds. Before the Latin Code there was no doubt that the non-judicial appeal also had a suspensive effect, but this was restricted in two ways. Firstly, the appeal had to be founded on a reasonable cause. If the opposite was proved, the acts contrary to the appeal (*attentata*) were declared valid. This was expressed by Abbot Panormitanus (Nicholas de' Tedeschi) in the following manner: "*In appellatione extraiudiciali est necesse probare prius veritatem causae antequam revocetur attentatum*" (1). Secondly, the principle "while a law suit (here an appeal) is pending no innovation should be made" affected only those acts which were directly opposed to the precise point for which the appeal was made. Abbot Panormitanus said in this connection that "*in iudicio revocantur omnia attentata..., sed extra iudicium non revocantur, nisi ea quae gesta sunt contra appellationem*" (2). Moreover, the authors before the Latin Code were in disagreement as to whether the acts contrary to a non-judicial appeal were null and void *ipso iure* or were to be revoked subsequently (3).

It is easy to understand how non-judicial appeals, through their suspensive effect, could be a great hindrance to bishops' administrative power. M. Lega, with great perspicuity, denounced this danger with the following words: "*Equidem gravia incommoda ex hisce appellationibus seu recursibus in disciplinam ecclesiasticam promanaverunt, cum exinde praepediretur expeditus usus potestatis administrativae Episcoporum.... In suspensivo effectu enim potissimum subest periculum ne exinde intercipiatur salutaris Ordinariorum pastoralis sollicitudo et administratio*" (4).

(1) *Abbatis Panormitani commentaria in Tertiam Secundi Decretalium Libri Partem*, Venice, 1578, ch. 51, *Bonae memoriae, de appell.*, no. 10, 14th difference. He gives fourteen differences which distinguish judicial from non-judicial appeals.

(2) *Ib.*, 12th difference.

(3) Cf. C. O. CAVADA, op. cit., p. 50.

(4) M. LEGA-V. BARTOCCETTI, *Commentarius in iudicia ecclesiastica*, vol. II, Rome, 1939, p. 1011, no. 2.

Some limitations in this matter may be found already in the *Decretals* of Gregory IX. Thus in cases of excommunication a suspensive effect is denied to the appeal (X, I, 31,8; X, II, 28,53); the punishments imposed on monks by their superior or on clerics by the rectors of churches were also made exempt from this effect of the appeal, in order not to give a means to the punished "*ut malitiam liberius suam valeant exercere*", since "*remedium appellationis non ideo est inventum, ut alicui a religionis et ordinis observantia exorbitanti debeat in sua nequitia patrocinium exhibere*" (X, II, 28, 3; X, I, 31, 13); in the case of the negligence of an abbot in punishing his subjects, who without permission lived outside the monastery, the bishop was given the right to compel them to return to their cells "*per suspensionem officii et beneficii appellatione remota*" (X, I, 31, 7).

The Council of Trent in session 24 (ch. 10 *de ref.*) removed the suspensive effect of any appeal against a decree concerned with the visitation of the diocese or the correction of ecclesiastical discipline according to the enactments of the same council. This was stressed explicitly also in many particular decrees of the council, as for instance, in regard to the Liturgy (sess. 21, ch. 8 *de ref.*), the administration of the sacraments and preaching (sess. 5, ch. 2 *de ref.*), the appointments of parish priests and curates (sess. 7, chs. 5 and 7 *de ref.*), the decrees concerning benefices (sess. 21, ch. 7 *de ref.*), the discipline of the clergy (sess. 22, ch. 1 *de ref.*), and so on. It may be said that the suspensive effect was removed from almost any appeal directed against an administrative decree of the local bishop, and this "*ne remedio, ad innocentiae praesidium instituto, ad iniquitatis defensionem* [*appellantes*] *abutantur*" (sess. 13, ch. 1, *de ref.*).

The decrees of the Council of Trent were stressed again by the Sacred Congregation for Bishops and Religious in a decree of October 16th, 1600 (1), and in some other documents of the Holy See which are enumerated in § 4 of the Apostolic Constitution *Ad militantis* of March 30th, 1742 (2). In this constitution Benedict XIV said that, although the non-judicial appeals (*inhibitiones*) were revoked if unreasonably proposed, nevertheless the

(1) *Codicis iuris canonici fontes*, vol. IV, Rome, 1926, no. 1586. artt. 7 and 8.

(2) *Ib.*, vol. I, Rome, 1926, no. 326.

bishops' authority was often injured because they had to postpone execution, pending the appeal, and " *otiosos immorari* ... *et ad continendos in officio Populos gravia saepe incommoda, et dispendia subire* " (§ 1). This constitution is for the most part an authentic interpretation of the decrees of the Council of Trent. In it there are enumerated all texts in which the council was explicit in removing the suspensive effect of appeals. Other texts are mentioned (as in § 7, sess. 25, *de Regular.*, ch. 12), in which this removal was less clear, and, finally, there are introduced some new cases, also pertaining to diocesan administration, which do not permit suspensive appeal (for instance in § 36).

The law enacted in this matter by the Council of Trent and interpreted by Benedict XIV remained substantially unchanged until the promulgation of the Latin Code. In this Code, however, there is no more mention of the non-judicial appeal, but only of recourse. This latter term is also an old one, yet its meaning was rather undefined in the ancient law of the Latin Church. According to Roberto Lancellotti " *recursus est quoddam generale nomen, quod ex sui generalitate potest compraehendere reclamationem, supplicationem, querelam, atque etiam appellationem, quia large sumpto vocabulo in his omnibus casibus, quis videtur ad superiorem recurrere* " (1).

M. Lega said that at times the recourse signified those non-judicial appeals which did not involve a suspensive effect, that is, all those dealt with in the documents given above. He said also that it meant recourse to the Holy See in cases that did not admit an appeal at all (2).

According to C. O. Cavada (p. 56), the recourse of the ancient Latin canon law does not coincide in its strict sense (*supplicatio* to the Holy See) with the recourse in the present Code, which can be made to others besides the Holy See. This is true, but it does not necessarily imply that the only precedent of the recourse in the Code was the *appellatio extraiudicialis* with a suspensive

(1) R. LANCELLOTTUS, *Tractatus de attentatis et innovatis*..., Rome, 1576, part II, ch. 19, *De attentatis*, no. 4.

(2) M. LEGA, *Praelectiones in textum iuris canonici de iudiciis ecclesiasticis*, book I, vol. I, no. 656, p. 636 (recourse " *aliquando assumitur pro ipsa appellatione extrajudiciali non habente effectum suspensivum* "). Note that, according to M. LEGA (*ib.* no. 657), the recourse meant also the " *restitutio in integrum* " and any " *supplicatio summo principi oblata* ".

effect. It is quite possible that, though admitting the general rule of the suspensive effect of such appeals in ancient Western law, one may think that the Code by the term *recursus* meant precisely those non-judicial appeals which did not convey such an effect. This seems all the more probable if the following points are taken into account: (i) the general aversion of the bishops against a suspensive effect in the non-judicial appeals directed against administrative decrees, (ii) the great credit and sanction that this aversion obtained by the Council of Trent and the enactments of Benedict XIV, and (iii) finally, that at the time the Latin Code was edited almost anything touching diocesan administration was an exception to the rule in the sense that it did not permit the appeal with a suspensive effect. J. Noval writes in this connection: " *Qui casus ... excepti tot numero erant ut vix aut ne vix quidem maneret ut regula generalis ius appellandi extraiudicialiter, cum praecipuus verae appellationis effectus sit suspensio sententiae vel decreti contra quae appellatur* " (1).

It is understandable that among the authors commenting on the Latin Code there is a great difference of opinion as to the suspensive or non-suspensive (*in devolutivo*) effect of the administrative recourse. Authors of great reputation, as, for instance, J. Noval, F. Cappello, and F. Roberti, say that the non-judicial appeal was abolished by the Latin Code. F. Roberti writes thus: " *Etenim appellatio extraiudicialis, quae ante Codicem quosdam cum iudiciali communes effectus habebat, cum nullibi in Codice reperiatur, abolita censenda est. Non restat nisi recursus, qui suis normis regitur* " (2). Also worthy of mention is J. D. McClunn, who arrived at the same conclusion in his doctoral dissertation on the administrative recourse, published in Washington, D. C., in 1946 (3). Other authors, also of great repute, are of a different opinion. Thus M. Lega, P. Vidal, and A. Vermeersch and J. Creusen. The

(1) J. Noval, *De processibus*, vol. IV, part I, Turin-Rome, 1920, no. 642, p. 425.

(2) Thus in *Apollinaris* I (1928) 73 n. 1. For F. Roberti cf. also *De processibus*, vol. I, Vatican, 1956, p. 117; and *Codicis iuris canonici schemata, lib. IV De processibus*, vol. I, *De iudiciis in genere*, Vatican, 1940, pp. 432-433, scheme B, cans. 282-292. For F. Cappello cf. *Summa iuris canonici*, vol. III, Rome, 1936, p. 273. For J. Noval cf. op. cit., vol. I, no. 642.

(3) *Administrative Recourse*, The Catholic University of America Press.

last two authors say that " *Codex voces ' appellatio extraiudicialis ' non usurpat, etsi rem non sustulit; sed eam nomine ' recursus '... designavit* " ([1]). Two other authors must be mentioned in this connection, who, treating the matter more closely, attempted to prove the same: C. O. Cavada, whose fundamental thesis was mentioned above, and J. F. Noubel, who in a recent study wrote thus: " *Le canon 1889 § 2* [of *CIC*] *formule ainsi cette règle: ' Tout appel est suspensif. ' Par sa terminologie, ce paragraphe semble ne viser que l'appel judiciaire. Mais, nous venons de rappeler, et nous l'avons montré en commençant cette étude, que la terminologie historique usait du mot '* APPELLATIO *' pour désigner le recours comme l'appel judiciaire, et, que le Code n'a pas fixé sa terminologie, quoique en excluant toute équivoque..., le § 2 du canon 1889 exige une disposition formelle du droit pour ôter au recours comme à l'appel son efficacité juridique propre, à savoir qu'il* EST DE DROIT SUSPENSIF " ([2]).

From those canons of the Latin Code which expressly mention an administrative recourse in its strict sense, it is hardly possible to draw a conclusion as to whether the recourse, as a rule, has a suspensive or non-suspensive effect. In fact, there are five canons in which the recourse is specified to be *in suspensivo*, and to this may be added a case where the recourse is qualified as suspensive only to a certain extent, six cases in which the recourse is unqualified, and twelve cases with a non-suspensive recourse, to which may be added a case with a special sort of qualification.

A. 1) can. 498, *in suspensivo.*
2) can. 647 § 2 no. 4, *pendente recursu, dimissio nullum habet iuridicum effectum.*
3) can. 1465 § 1, [*recursu*] *pendente, suspendatur collatio* ([3]).
4) can. 2146 § 3, qualified as suspensive to a certain extent: *pendente recursu, Ordinarius paroeciam vel beneficium..., alii stabiliter conferre valide nequit.*

([1]) Thus in *Epitome iuris canonici*, vol. III, Mechlin-Rome, 1936, no. 237. For M. LEGA cf. M. LEGA-V. BARTOCCETTI, op. cit., vol. II, p. 1010, no. 1. For F. X. WERNZ-P. VIDAL cf. *Ius canonicum*, vol. VI, Rome, 1927, no. 606.

([2]) J. F. NOUBEL, ' Les recours administratifs dans le code de droit canonique ', *Revue de droit canonique* 11 (1961) 99. The article is found in *Revue de droit canonique* 10 (1960) 97-140, 11 (1961) 97-121 and 227-243.

([3]) J. D. MCCLUNN, op. cit., p. 90, would say that here too the recourse is qualified as suspensive only to a certain extent.

5) can. 2243 § 2, *suspendunt.*
6) can. 2287, *in suspensivo.*

B. 1) can. 696 § 2, *salvo iure recursus.*
2) can. 699 § 1, *salvo iure recursus.*
3) can. 970, *salvo iure recursus.*
4) can. 1601, *non datur appellatio seu recursus.*
5) can. 2146 § 1, *unicum datur iuris remedium, idest recursus.*
6) can. 2194, *si clericus recursum ... interponat.*

C. 1) can. 106 no. 6, *remota omni appellatione in suspensivo.*
2) can. 192 § 3, *in devolutivo tantum.*
3) can. 296 § 2, *in devolutivo.*
4) can. 298, *recursus..., qui decreti effectum non suspendit.*
5) can. 345, *in devolutivo tantum.*
6) can. 454 § 5, *in devolutivo.*
7) can. 513 § 2, *in devolutivo tantum.*
8) can. 880 § 2, *in devolutivo.*
9) can. 1340 § 3, *non in suspensivo.*
10) can. 1395 § 2, *non tamen in suspensivo.*
11) can. 1428 § 3, *in devolutivo tantum.*
12) can. 2243 § 1, *in devolutivo.*
13) can. 162 § 2, *electio valet, sed... debet... irritari.*

The authors have a difficult task in trying to find a general principle for the effect of the administrative recourse. Those who hold the opinion that the ancient non-judicial appeal was abolished by the Latin Code are inclined to admit that the recourse has never a suspensive effect unless the contrary is expressly stated in the canons. Those of the contrary opinion must assert that, in virtue of can. 6 no. 2 of *CIC* (and nos. 3 and 4 as well), the same general principle that was valid for the ancient non-judicial appeal must be applied to the administrative recourse in the Code. Some authors, even admitting that the Code abolished such an appeal, nevertheless arrive at the principle that every recourse is suspensive if the contrary is not expressly stated. They argue from analogy, making use of *CIC* can. 20. Of this opinion was perhaps F. Roberti, when he wrote: "*Effectus qui proprii sunt appellationis applicantur quoque, servatis servandis, recursibus in ordine administrativo*" (1). But one does not know if "*servatis servandis*", as understood by F. Roberti, also comprehends the suspensive effect of the recourse.

(1) F. ROBERTI, *De delictis et poenis*, vol. I, part II, Rome, 1944, no. 288.

It is easy to see that there exists a *dubium iuris* on this point in the Western Church, even though some of the arguments of C.O. Cavada and J. F. Noubel seem solid. This being so, bishops can freely apply the rule that the administrative recourse has never a suspensive effect unless the contrary is expressly stated in the canons or is evident from the very nature of the case. There is no question about the validity of acts contrary to a recourse still pending, because the jurisdiction is supplied by the Church in virtue of *CIC* can. 209.

The foregoing exposition of the Latin Code was necessary for a better understanding of the changes in this matter that have been introduced into the Oriental Code. Now, it would seem that Western authors could find an easier way out of their doubts, relying on the *mens legislatoris* (*CIC* can. 18), which is clearly expressed in the Oriental Code. *Ubi eadem est ratio idem est ius* and, therefore, wherever there is no special reason why the discipline should be different in the East and in the West, the *mens legislatoris*, clear in one Church, should be a valid argument for the other. True, when W. Bertrams tried by a text of the Oriental Code to prove that the *mens legislatoris* with regard to *CIC* can. 105 requires consultation from certain persons as necessary for valid action (1), this was not accepted as a legitimate way of arguing. It seems indeed to be a most unusual way for the legislator, who is aware of some *dubium iuris* in the Latin Code, to let it stand unresolved for a long period of time and then settle it by changing the wording of the corresponding canon in the Oriental Code, a code which is not valid for the Latin Church. It may be noted, however, that the change in connection with the administrative recourse is in favour of the bishops' power, whereas the opinion of W. Bertrams is against it.

There were mentioned above three authors who explicitly treated the administrative recourse in the Latin Code, J. D. McClunn, C. O. Cavada, and J. F. Noubel. The nearest to the concept of this recourse as contained in the Oriental Code is J. D. McClunn. At the time he wrote (1946), this Code was still in an embryonic stage (*CA* was published in 1949). In 1955 C.O. Cavada joined to his study a page about the administrative recourse

(1) For the discussions between W. Bertrams and L. Bender cf. *Periodica de re morali canonica et liturgica* 69 (1960) 62-66.

in the Oriental Code, against which the principal objection is that it was published two years too early, that is before *CS* was promulgated. Yet the page remains and is read also by students of Oriental canon law, and this is the reason why it is one of the principal objectives of this short article. J. F. Noubel, though writing only in 1960-1961, did not take into account any of the four parts of the Oriental Code already published. Had he done so, his conclusions would probably have been, if not different for the Latin Code, at least less certain than the way they were put forth in the *Revue de droit canonique*. This is another justification for this short essay.

C. O. Cavada, commenting on *SN* can. 12, writes thus:

" Este libro *De Iudiciis* del Código Oriental, como, en general, todo el Código Oriental, en lo que va publicado, no contiene disciplina para nosotros, latinos, sino que ilustra nuestra doctrina canónica por el hecho de ir siguiéndose muy de cerca en su codificación nuestra legislación latina. Es lo que se ha ocupado de demostrar Galtier en su libro *Code Oriental de Procédure Ecclésiastique*, en el que va colocando la congruencia de los cánones de ambos Códigos.

" El recurso del can. 12, § 2, ¿es, por tanto, nuestro recurso extrajudicial, a quien aquí se niega radicalmente el efecto suspensivo, que para el nuestro hemos profusamente vindicado?

" Así lo ha entendido Galtier. ' Le rapprochement dans les deux § du C. 12 des notions d'appel et de recours, que les CC. 204 et 208 du CIC séparaient, permet de souligner la différence de leur effet: l'appel seul régulièrement suspend l'exercice de la juridiction... '.

" Sin embargo, nos permitimos disentir de Galtier y excluir del recurso del can. 12, § 2, el recurso extrajudicial nuestro del Código de Derecho Canónico.

" En efecto, este libro *De Iudiciis* trata en el capítulo primero *De potestate ordinaria et delegata*, porque en lo publicado precedentemente no lo había hecho, y lo era urgente ofrecer estas nociones antes de presentar la materia judicial, cuya necesidad manifiesta no puede ser discutida. Teniendo, por consiguiente, en consideración el carácter de este Libro, o sea el contexto del can. 12, § 2, no hay por qué estimar como extrajudicial el recurso que se encuentra allí, sino que debemos referirlo *única y exclusivamente* al recurso judicial. En tal caso, el efecto del recurso del can. 12, § 2, está en plena concordancia con el efecto del recurso judicial nuestro, que no suspende la potestad del juez " (1).

(1) C. O. CAVADA, op. cit., Appendix II, pp. 101-102. For F. GALTIER, cf. *Code oriental de procédure ecclésiastique*, Beyrouth, 1951, p. 24.

The second part of can. 208 of *CIC* corresponds to *SN* can. 12. The texts read as follows:

CIC can. 208, second part	*SN* can. 12
... potestas ordinaria ... silet, legitima appellatione interposita, nisi forte appellatio sit tantum in devolutivo, firmo praescripto can. 2264, 2284. (Note that the two canons here quoted are still wanting in the Oriental Code).	§ 1. Nisi aliter iure caveatur, potestas iurisdictionis sive ordinaria sive delegata suspenditur legitima appellatione interposita, excepto casu quo forte appellatio sit tantum cum effectu devolutivo. § 2. Haec potestas non suspenditur interposito recursu, nisi aliud ius expresse caveat.

In the first place it should be noted that a canon given in the Oriental Code with the same wording as in the Latin Code is not necessarily to be interpreted in the same way, as many people assume as a matter of course. Thus when the meaning of a particular canon in *CIC* is dubious and becomes clear only in the light of the ancient Western discipline contained in the *Corpus iuris canonici,* the corresponding canon for the Oriental Church may remain dubious, precisely because the *Corpus* is never quoted in the official editions of the Oriental Code as a source for any canon. Interpretations which are based on the *Decretals* have no force by themselves for the Oriental Church, and this seems to be the principal intention of the legislator when he purposely avoids all mention of them among the sources of the Oriental canon law. However, the solution valid for the Western Church may be an indication of the mind of the legislator where there is no reason to suppose a difference of discipline for the Oriental Church. Yet, if Western authors do not accept this way of arguing in the reverse cases, why should Orientals do so? Hence it follows that even in the supposition that C. O. Cavada and J. F. Noubel have solved the *dubium iuris* about the effect of the administrative recourse in the Latin Church, their solution still remains invalid for Oriental bishops, even if there were no change in the wording of the new Oriental Code, until it is proved that the sources quoted in it necessitate the same solution.

In the present case, however, there is no need to have any recourse to Oriental sources, because there are great changes in the

Oriental Code which leave no doubt whatsoever as to the effect of the administrative recourse. It now behoves the Western authors to consider whether they are willing to accept the mind of the legislator of the Oriental Code as being valid likewise for the Latin Code, seeing that there is really no reason why there should be any difference between the two Churches and seeing that the bishops in the West already apply in actual practice the principles set forth by canons of the new Oriental Code and by those who hold the opinion contrary to C. O. Cavada and J. F. Noubel.

C. O. Cavada, when writing, in 1955, that can. 12 § 2 of *SN* did not seem to establish a general principle in favour of the non-suspensive effect of the administrative recourse in the Oriental canon law, had an apparently good argument on his side. In fact *SN*, in giving canons 5-13 on ordinary and delegated jurisdiction, was careful to omit all those texts of the corresponding section of *CIC* which mention the non-judicial jurisdiction. Thus the following texts of *CIC* were omitted: cans. 201 § 3, 202, 204, 207 § 2, 210, and the last words (*pro foro tum externo tum interno*) of can. 209, none of which can be applied to the judicial power of jurisdiction. This short comparison between the two Codes would have given C. O. Cavada a still better argument than the one that he gives, namely, the general "*carácter de este Libro*". However, one may reply to this, in the first place, by asking whether there was any need of a new paragraph in *SN* can. 12, if this is applied only to the judicial recourse, the effect of which in the Oriental Code is, as a rule, non-suspensive and "*está en plena concordancia con el efecto del recurso judicial*" in *CIC* and "*no suspende la potestad del juez*". Secondly, one may observe that the principle established by *SN* can 12 § 2 is meant to apply to at least all the recourses which are explicitly mentioned in the same *SN*. If this be admitted, and it seems there is no way of avoiding it, then the opinion of C. O. Cavada must give place to that of F. Galtier. In fact, in this part of the Oriental Code there is also included a canon that corresponds to can 1601 of the Latin Code.

CIC can. 1601	*SN* can. 36
Contra Ordinariorum decreta non datur appellatio seu recursus ad Sacram Rotam; sed de eius-	§ 1. Contra Hierarcharum decreta, actus, dispositiones, quae ad regimen seu administrationem

modi recursibus exclusive cognoscunt Sacrae Congregationes.

eparchiae spectant, non datur appellatio, ne ratione quidem refectionis damnorum, sed tantum recursus.

§ 2. De recursu, de quo in § 1, qui fiat ad Sedem Apostolicam, vident exclusive Sacrae Congregationes.

Can. 1601 of *CIC* deals with all recourses whatsoever against the administrative decrees of ordinaries. The canon is the last of the section dealing with the competence of the Sacred Roman Rota and stresses its absolute incompetence in all actions directed against an administrative decree of an ordinary. This is in accordance with can. 17 of the *Rules* of the same Sacred Rota: "*Defectus auctoritatis S. Rotae in his causis videndis, est absolutus, ita ut ne obiter quidem de his cognoscere queat, et si tamen sententiam proferat haec ispo iure sit nulla*" (1). But can. 36 of *SN* was placed among the general prescriptions concerning different kinds of ecclesiastical courts. The corresponding place in *CIC* would be among canons 1571-1572. Why this change? The answer is that § 1 of this canon gives in fact a general principle, which in the text of *CIC* cannot be seen so clearly. That the same principle, however, is also valid for the Latin Church is manifest from an answer of the Code Commission of May 22nd, 1923 (2). Incidentally, it may be noted that it is this answer which is the real source of *SN* of can. 36 § 1, not only for its contents but also, to a great extent, for its words (3). In the Latin Church such recourses are forwarded to the Holy See, while in the East the normal procedure is first to approach the immediate superior of a bishop, that is, the patriarch or the major archbishop (as in the Ukrainian Church), according to *CS* can. 145, which reads as follows:

" Salva cuilibet fideli in toto orbe catholico facultate, ob primatum Romani Pontificis, Sedem Apostolicam directe adeundi atque cum ea libere communicandi, in interponendis recursibus iure ad-

(1) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 15 (1923) 299.

(2) *Ib.*, 16 (1924) 251.

(3) The words " *contra Ordinariorum decreta, actus, dispositiones, quae ad regimen seu administrationem diocesis spectent... ne ratione quidem refectionis damnorum* " may be found in the answer of the Code Commission.

missis, is, nisi aliter expresse statuatur, servetur ordo ut a decretis loci Hierarchae, subiecti Patriarchae vel Archiepiscopo, recursus fiat ad Patriarcham vel Archiepiscopum; a decretis autem Hierarchae loci, Patriarchae vel Archiepiscopo non subiecti, itemque a decretis ipsius Patriarchae vel Archiepiscopi, ad Sedem Apostolicam ".

If the matter is forwarded to the Holy See it is dealt with in the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church, except in matters reserved to the Holy Office and to the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs; recourses concerning beatifications, canonizations, and relics are of the competence of the Sacred Congregation of Rites; in what regards the Universities and other Ecclesiastical Faculties the recourse must be made to the Sacred Congregation for Seminaries (1).

Even though C. O. Cavada may have had forceful reasons for his opinion when he expressed it in 1955, they were certainly deprived of all their validity by the promulgation of *CS* on June 2nd, 1957. This *motu proprio* gives the law on persons, corresponding to the second book of the Latin Code. Among the canons on ordinary and delegated jurisdiction there are found again the canons of *SN* on the same matter. According to the general principle which states (*CIC* can. 22) that a later law abrogates the former one when *totam de integro ordinet legis prioris materiam*, only the text of these canons as found in *CS* is to be considered valid and official. True, there is no substantial change between the two documents, but the context of the canons dealing with judicial power was changed. It was this context which had led C. O. Cavada to erroneous conclusions about the meaning of *SN* can. 12 § 2. To this canon there now corresponds *CS* can. 151. It is worded identically except for the phrase *nisi forte*, for which in *SN* there stood *excepto casu quo forte*. This is of small importance, yet it shows that in the composition of *CS* the Latin Code was consulted again, since *nisi forte* is found there too. This proves once more that the changes in the canon were well thought out and deliberately introduced to clarify the Latin Code. The canon, indeed, is placed in such a position that it is no longer possible to claim that it does not refer to the administrative recourse. The following chart may be useful. (The sign * means

(1) Cf. *CS* cans. 195, 193, 200 §§ 2 and 3, 202, 203 § 1.

that the legal language is more accurate but without substantial change.)

CIC	*SN*	*CS*	
196	—	138	
197	—	139	
198	—	—	this is found in *PA* can. 306.
199	5*	140*	
200	6	141	
201	7	142	*SN* omits § 3; *CS* contains, in § 2, *SN* can. 152 (*CIC* can. 1637).
202	—	143	
203	8	144	
—	—	145	(this canon was quoted above.)
204	—	146*	
205	9*	147*	
206	10*	148*	
207	11	149	*SN* omits § 2; *CS* adds, in § 1, " *nisi...* " (this addition is in *CIC* can. 61).
208a	—	150	
208b	12*	151*	*SN* and *CS* introduce a new §.
209	13	152	*SN* omits " *pro foro ... interno* ".
—	—	153	gives the answer of the Code Commission of March 26, 1952 about dominative power.
210	—	154	

If those Western authors are correct who hold that every recourse has a suspensive effect unless the contrary is explicitly stated, then why in some canons is the recourse qualified as *in suspensivo*? J. F. Noubel says that this is rare and is done only in cases where a doubt is still possible (1). This seems to be an artificial explanation, for what doubt can occur in *CIC* cans. 498 (decree of suppression of a religious house) or 647 § 2 no. 4 (decree of dismissal of a religious), in which the very nature of the case requires that the recourse have a suspensive effect. If, on the other hand, those are right who hold in regard to the Latine Code that no recourse has a suspensive effect unless the contrary can be proved, then there was non need to add the qualification *in devolutivo* in so many canons of *CIC*. Finally, if *CIC* did not

(1) *Revue de droit canonique* 10 (1960) 101 (" *dans des hypothèses où le doute pourrait surgir* "). For cans. 1465 § 1, 2146 § 3, 2243 § 2, and 2287, J. F. Noubel may be right.

suppose any general principle in this matter, then the canons that speak of a recourse without any qualification (including all other cases of a recourse against administrative decrees not directly treated by the canons) become incomprehensible.

In the Oriental Code, however, seeing that a general principle has been established, one would expect that the canons which mention explicitly an administrative recourse would be more consistent than the corresponding canons in the Latin Code in the following two ways:

(i) those canons which in the Latin Code mention an unqualified recourse should contain in the Oriental Code the qualification *in suspensivo* if the legislator wants the recourse to be such; if, however, it remains unqualified, then it should be interpreted as non-suspensive, the doubts of Latin authors being resolved by virtue of *CS* can. 151 § 2;

(ii) those canons which qualify the recourse as non-suspensive in the Latin Code should ordinarily not retain this qualification in the Oriental Code; this however, does not mean that for special reasons, such qualification could not be allowed to remain.

If these two prepositions are verified it may be expected that the number of the recourses qualified as suspensive and those not qualified at all should increase, but that the recourses with the qualification *in devolutivo* should, if not completely disappear, then at least decrease considerably. Actually, this consistency is to be seen in the Oriental Code. This becomes evident from comparison of *CIC* and the Oriental Code summarized in the following pages.

A) No comparison is possible with the following canons of the Latin Code, since the corresponding parts of the Oriental Code are as yet not published: cans. 880 § 2, 970, 1340 § 3, 1395 § 2, 1428 § 3, 1465 § 1, 2146, 2194, 2243, 2287.

B) There is only a single canon of the Latin Code with an unqualified recourse to which there corresponds a canon with a qualified recourse in the Oriental Code.

CIC can. 699 § 1	*CS* can. 547 § 1
Ob graves causas et salvo iure recursus ad Apostolicam Sedem, potest loci Ordinarius supprimere	1. Ob graves causas et salvo iure recursus ad Apostolicam Sedem, potest loci Hierarcha suppri-

non solum associationem a se vel a decessoribus suis erectam, sed etiam associationem ex apostolico indulto a religiosis erectam de consensu Ordinarii loci.	mere non solum consociationem a se vel a decessoribus suis erectam, sed etiam consociationem ex apostolico indulto a religiosis erectam de consensu Hierarchae loci, firmo praescripto can. 260, § 2.
	2. Recursus contra decretum Hierarchae loci supprimentis consociationem a religiosis ad normam n. 1 erectam suspendit decreti exsecutionem.

Note that *CS* can. 260 § 2 says that in the patriarchates this recourse must be made to the patriarch. The same must be said for major archbishops in virtue of *CS* can. 326 § 1 no. 12, which enacts that archbishops may " *recursus recipere in casibus in quibus canones recursus ad Patriarcham admittunt* ".

The Oriental Code makes a clear distinction between a decree of suppression of an association erected by the ordinary of the place (hierarch) and the decree by which is suppressed an association erected by religious with the consent of the bishop. Only in this second case is the effect of the recourse suspensive, while in the first case the general principle is to be applied: the effect of the recourse is non-suspensive in virtue of *CS* 151 § 2. The Western authors discuss whether the effect of the recourse mentioned in *CIC* can. 699 is suspensive. The solution depends mainly from the different views concerning which general principle is valid in this matter in the Latin Code. J. F. Noubel writes in this connection: " *Si ce recours était simplement dévolutif, le décret épiscopal de suppression serait bel et bien valable; l'Evêque pourrait procéder à l'interdiction des réunions et à la liquidation de l'avoir social. Sans doute, si le recours est reconnu justifié, l'évêque devrait tout ramener à l'état antérieur, mais ce ne serait pas sans des sérieuses difficultés pécuniaires et psychologiques* " [1]. In regard to a recourse against the suppression of an association erected by the hierarch, however, the decree of suppression according to the Oriental Code is indeed " *bel et bien* " valid; the consequences are left to the prudence of the hierarch.

[1] *Revue de droit canonique* 11 (1961) 104.

C) Recourses qualified as suspensive.

I. In the Oriental Code only.

Recourse against the decree of suppression of a monastery *sui iuris* has a suspensive effect in virtue of *PA* can. 10 § 1: "*In patriarchatibus, monasterium sui iuris vel filiale sine pontificia exemptione supprimi non potest nisi a Patriarcha... salvo recursu cum effectu suspensivo ad Sedem Apostolicam*".

II. In both the Latin and Oriental Codes.

(i) Recourse against the decree of suppression of a house of a religious community: *CIC* can. 498 corresponds to *PA* can. 20. The Oriental canon runs differently, corresponding to the different kinds of religious in the East, but in what regards the recourse its effect is qualified as suspensive in § 5: «*Decretum suppressionis..., nisi recursus interpositus fuerit, exsecutioni tradi potest tres post menses a die apposito eidem decreto*". *CIC* can. 498 says only "*salvoque iure recursus in suspensivo ad Sedem Apostolicam*"

(ii) Recourse against the decree of dismissal of a religious with temporary vows.

CIC can. 647 § 2 no. 4	*PA* can. 199 § 3 no. 4
Contra dimissionis decretum est religioso facultas recurrendi ad Sedem Apostolicam; et pendente recursu, dimissio nullum habet iuridicum effectum	Contra dimissionis decretum datur religioso recursus cum effectu suspensivo intra decem dies ad Sedem Apostolicam aut, si agatur de Religione quae non sit iuris pontificii, ad Patriarcham, excepto casu quo decretum ipse ediderit.

Note that in the case of the *remissio ad saeculum* of a religious in urgent cases, that is, in case of grave scandal or of imminent and very serious injury to the community, no qualification is given by *CIC* can. 653 to the effect of such dismissal. Hence the guilty religious in the Latin Church remains a member of the institute until the decree of dismissal is confirmed by the Holy See. This is not so in the Oriental Church in the case of a religious with temporary vows. He is definitively dismissed from the institute, except in the case of a recourse made within ten days after having been sent away in an urgent case. This is expressed in *PA* can. 198 § 1 no. 2 in the following manner: "*Ad saeculum remissio...*,

si agatur de religioso votorum temporariorum, obtinet effectus qui dimissioni tribuuntur in can. 200 [*CIC* can. 648]; *et contra eam datur recursus cum effectu suspensivo ad normam can. 199, § 3, n. 4*".

Here it may be well to mention *CS* can. 515, which speaks of a recourse that at first sight seems to correspond fully to *CIC* can. 474. Yet this to a certain extent is not so.

CIC can. 474	*CS* can. 515
Vicarius substitutus qui constituitur ad normam can. 465, §§ 4, 5 et can. 1923, § 2, locum parochi tenet in omnibus quae ad curam animarum spectant, nisi Ordinarius loci vel parochus aliquid exceperint.	Vicarius substitutus qui constituitur ad normam can. 506, §§ 4, 5 vel in casu recursus iure admissi et interpositi a parocho a paroecia remoto, locum parochi tenet in omnibus quae ad curam animarum spectant, nisi Episcopus vel parochus aliquid exceperint.

In this connection the text of the following canons should be cited in full.

CIC can. 1923 § 2	*SN* can. 575
Ad exsecutionem privationis beneficii iudex ne procedat contra clericum qui Sanctam Sedem adierit; sed si agatur de beneficio, cui adnexa sit animarum cura, Ordinarius provideat per designationem vicarii substituti.	Ad exsecutionem privationis beneficii inamovibilis iudex ne procedat contra clericum qui Apostolicam Sedem vel Patriarcham adierit; sed si agatur de beneficio cui adnexa sit animarum cura, Hierarcha provideat per designationem vicarii substituti.

The last two canons belong to the treatment of judicial recourses since a *privatio* from an irremovable office or benefice is always a canonical punishment which may be imposed on the guilty person only in cases expressly defined in the canons (*CIC* can. 2299 § 1), and this only in a formal law suit (*CIC* can. 192 § 2: *CS* can. 134 § 2). The *privatio* should be distinguished from the *remotio* from a benefice or offce (1). For the *remotio* of a parish priest a special administrative procedure is prescribed in *CIC*

(1) For this distinction cf. E. SUÁREZ-A. M. ABATE, *De remotione parochorum aliisque processibus tertiae partis lib. IV Cod. iur. can.*, Rome-Naples, 1959, p. 24.

cans. 2147-2161. The corresponding section of canons in the Oriental Code is still wanting and therefore in this matter the prescriptions of the particular law of each Oriental Church must be followed (cf. *CS* can. 134 § 3: "*salvo iure particulari de modo procedendi in remotione parochorum amovibilium*"). *CS* can. 515 by the words "*in casu recursus iure admissi et interpositi a parocho a paroecia remoto*" has in view not only the *privatio* of which *CIC* can. 1923 § 2 and *SN* can. 575 speak, but also the administrative removal of parish priests. It seems right to say that to the latter is to be applied the general rule about the non-suspensive effect of administrative recourses. However, the prescription of *CIC* 2146 § 3 ("*Pendente recursu, Ordinarius paroeciam vel beneficium quo clericus privatus sit, alii stabiliter conferre valide nequit*") seems to be valid also for the Oriental Church. In fact the prescription of *CS* can. 515 in regard to parish priests removed from their office would be unnecessary if the contrary were true.

Incidentally, note that *SN* can. 575 restricts the prescription of *CIC* 1923 § 2 to irremovable benefices and extends it in regard to the power of the patriarch. This canon of *SN* is not found in the corresponding section of *CIC*, but it is a special canon of the section *De iudicio criminali*. The recourse in the canon has a suspensive effect ("*iudex ne procedat*") and is an exception to the general rule. It belongs, as said, to the class of judicial recourses.

D) Recourses qualified as non-suspensive in the Latin Code but unqualified in the Oriental Code.

(i) Recourse against a decree of deprivation from an irremovable office.

CIC can. 192 § 3	*CS* 134 § 3
... privatio tamen effectum non habet, nisi postquam fuerit a Superiore intimata; et ab Ordinarii decreto datur recursus ad Sedem Apostolicam, sed in devolutivo tantum.	... privatio tamen effectum non habet nisi postquam fuerit a Superiore intimata; et ab Hierarchae decreto datur recursus ad Sedem Apostolicam, firmo praescripto can. 260 § 2, [which says that in the patriarchate this recourse must be made to the patriarch].

(ii) Recourse against a command of a vicar (apostolic exarch in the Oriental Code) or prefect apostolic which is contrary

to a command that regards the care of souls issued by a religious superior.

CIC can. 296 § 2	*CS* can. 370 § 2
... si ... conflictus oriatur inter mandatum Vicarii aut Praefecti Apostolici et mandatum Superioris, prius praevalere debet, salvo iure recursus in devolutivo ad Sanctam Sedem et salvis peculiaribus statutis a Sede Apostolica probatis.	... si ... conflictus oriatur inter mandatum Exarchi et mandatum Superioris, prius praevalere debet, salvo iure recursus ad Sedem Apostolicam et salvis peculiaribus statutis et conventionibus a Sede Apostolica probatis.

(iii) Recourse against the settlement made by a vicar (apostolic exarch) or prefect apostolic of disputes regarding the care of souls among clerics, whether secular or regular.

CIC can. 298	*CS* can. 372
... dissidia ... quamprimum componere curent Vicarii aut Praefecti Apostolici, qui huiusmodi quaestiones, ubi opus fuerit, dirimant, integro tamen iure recursus ad Apostolicam Sedem, qui decreti effectum non suspendit.	... dissidia ... quamprimum componere curent Exarchi apostolici, et si opus fuerit, ea dirimant, integro tamen iure recursus ad Apostolicam Sedem.

Note that *CS* can. 391, which treats of patriarchal and archiepiscopal exarchs, says expressly that this recourse is to be made to the patriarch or, correspondingly, to the archbishop (cf. also *CS* can. 326 § 1 no. 12).

(iv) Recourse against decrees issued by a local ordinary during the visitation of his territory.

CIC can. 345	*CS* can. 411
... ab eius praeceptis ac decretis datur recursus in devolutivo tantum;	... firmo iure recurrendi contra eius praecepta ac decreta; ....

(v) Recourse against the removal of a parish priest, who belongs to a religious community.

CIC can. 454 § 5	*CS* can. 494 § 5
Parochi autem, ad religiosam familiam pertinentes, sunt semper.... amovibiles ad nutum tam	Parochi autem, ad religiosam familiam pertinentes, sunt semper .... amovibiles ad nutum tam

loci Ordinarii ... quam Superioris... salvo recursu in devolutivo ad Apostolicam Sedem.	Episcopi ... quam Superioris ... salvo recursu ad Apostolicam Sedem et praescripto can. 260, § 2 [in the patriarchate this recourse is made to the patriarch].

(vi) Recourse against the removal of a confessor for nuns.

CIC can. 527	*PA* can. 59 § 1
Loci Ordinarius, ad normam can. 880, potest... religiosarum confessarium... amovere....	Loci Hierarcha, firmo praescripto § 2, potest ... religiosarum confessarium... amovere....

Paragraph 2 of *PA* can. 59 requires grave reasons for this removal and prohibits the removal (at one and the same time) of all confessors of a formal religious house unless the Holy See or the patriarch have first been consulted. Both these prescriptions were taken from *CIC* can 880 §§ 1 and 3, but in *PA* the second paragraph of this canon is omitted which reads: " *At graves ob causas Ordinarius potest etiam parocho aut poenitentiario confessarii munus interdicere, salvo recursu in devolutivo ad Sedem Apostolicam* ". Thereby there would seem (1) to be likewise qualified the recourse of a confessor for nuns against his removal from office, which is implied in *CIC* can. 527 (and *PA* can. 59 § 1) when it is said that the ordinary is not bound " *causam amotionis cuiquam significare, excepta Apostolica Sede, si ab ea requiratur* ". In the Oriental Code, however, this recourse remains unqualified probably because of the fact that the section on the Sacrament of Penance, to which *CIC* can. 880 § 2 belongs, has not as yet been published.

E) Recourses qualified as non-suspensive.

I. In both Latin and Oriental Codes.

(i) Recourse against the decrees of a bishop on the right of precedence in urgent cases.

CIC can. 106 no. 6	*CS* can. 37 no. 6
Loci Ordinarii est... omnes de praecedentia controversias... componere in casibus urgentioribus,	Hierarchae est ... omnes de praecedentia controversias ... componere in casibus urgentiori-

(1) J. F. NOUBEL disagrees in *Revue de droit canonique* 11 (1961) 234-235.

remota omni appellatione in suspensivo, sed sine praeiudicio iuris uniuscuiusque.	bus, remoto omni recursu in suspensivo, sed sine praeiudicio iuris uniuscuiusque.

It may be seen that *CS* did not omit here the specification of the recourse, even though it carefully changed the word *appellatio* into *recursus* so as to avoid any misunderstanding. Why this specification? The answer can only be a guess. The whole canon adheres strictly to the wording of *CIC*, and it is not easy to see how the text could have been changed. It was necessary to say something here expressly about the recourse "*pour qu'en pleine cérémonie*", as J. F. Noubel says very well (1), "*on n'aille surtout pas penser que ce recours puisse être suspensif*". Perhaps it could have been changed into something like "*salvo iure recursus*", but this expression would not be strong enough to make clear to people their obligation to obey at once in such urgent cases.

(ii) Recourse against the decrees of the visitor of a religious house. *CIC* can. 513 § 2 says: "*A decretis Visitatoris recursus datur in devolutivo tantum, nisi Visitator ordine iudiciario processerit*". This praescription is found in *PA* can. 45 § 2. The wording in *PA* is the same (2). Why was this specification not omitted in *PA*? Here too it seems very difficult to change the text of the Latin Code. It could, however, have been changed in a manner similar to the text of *CS* can. 411 on the visitation by a bishop of his diocese.

II. In the Oriental Code only.

In *CS* can. 293 reads thus: "*A decretis Synodi permanentis, extra ordinem iudiciarium datis, circa ea quae eidem iure reservantur datur recursus cum effectu devolutivo ad Sedem Apostolicam*". Why this qualification should have been added is difficult to see. From the strictly canonical point of view it seems unnecessary.

Here mention must be made of a special kind of qualification of a non-suspensive recourse, which appears in two places of the Oriental Code and in one place of the Latin Code. *CIC* can. 162

(1) *Revue de droit canonique* 11 (1961) 117.

(2) Except that for *recursus datur* and *nisi Visitator* (*CIC*) there stands *datur recursus* and *nisi ipse*.

§ 2 says about ecclesiastical elections that "*si quis ex vocandis neglectus et ideo absens fuerit, electio valet, sed ad eius instantiam debet ... irritari ... dummodo iuridice constet recursum saltem intra triduum ab habita notitia electionis fuisse transmissum*". The same prescription, with slight variants, is found in *CS* can. 104 § 2, which speaks also about elections, and in *CS* can. 35 § 2 (in *CIC* can. 105 this prescription is missing), which runs thus: "*si convocandorum, quorum consensus requiritur* [for valid action], *quis negligatur, Superior valide agit, sed ad neglecti instantiam debet, probata praeteritione et absentia, a competenti Superiore vel iudice actus irritus fieri, dummodo ad normam iuris constet recursum, saltem intra triduum ab habita notitia de conventu ad exquirendum consensum, fuisse transmissum*". This, as has been said, is a recourse with a non-suspensive effect, since the election or the act (for the validity of which the consent of certain persons is necessary) are declared to be valid, but must be revoked if the recourse proves to be justified.

F) Recourse unqualified in both codes. To this category belongs a single canon of the Oriental Code, namely *CS* 544 § 2, which corresponds to *CIC* can. 696 § 2. The wording of both texts is the same (*salvo iure recursus ad Ordinarium* or *Hierarcham*). They direct that non-Catholics and those who are members of a prohibited sect, are notoriously under censure or are public sinners should be expelled from an ecclesiastical association. Western authors do not agree whether the effect of the recourse against such dismissals is suspensive or not. For the Oriental Code the matter is solved by *CS* can. 151 § 2. The effect is non-suspensive.

G) Canons in which the recourse is not qualified because they give a general prescription concerning recourses, whether they have a suspensive or non-suspensive effect: *SN* can. 36 corresponding to *CIC* can. 1601; *CS* can. 145 with which are connected *CS* cans. 260 § 2, 326 § 1 no. 12, and 391, all of them dealing with recourses that, as a rule, should be made to the patriarch or to a major archbishop; and *CS* can. 173 § 2, which says that "*a sententia Romani Pontificis non datur ad Synodum Oecumenicam appellatio; nec a ceteris actis recursus*". The last five words are wanting in the corresponding canon of *CIC* (228 § 2).

Taking into account only the eleven canons of *CIC* and the Oriental Code where a strict comparison is possible in regard to

the qualification of the effect of the recourse, the following chart can be made.

Latin Code		Oriental Code
1. can. 106 no. 6 non-suspensive	*CS*	can. 37 no. 6 non-suspensive
2. can. 192 § 3 non-suspensive	*CS*	can. 134 § 3 unqualified
3. can. 296 § 2 non-suspensive	*CS*	can. 370 § 2 unqualified
4. can. 298 non-suspensive	*CS*	can. 372 unqualified
5. can. 345 non-suspensive	*CS*	can. 411 unqualified
6. can. 454 § 5 non-suspensive	*CS*	can. 494 unqualified
7. can. 498 suspensive	*PA*	can. 20 § 5 suspensive
8. can. 513 § 2 non-suspensive	*PA*	can. 45 § 2 non-suspensive
9. can. 647 § 2 no. 4 suspensive	*PA*	can. 199 § 3 no. 4 suspensive
10. can. 696 § 2 unqualified	*CS*	can. 544 § 2 unqualified
11. can. 699 § 1 unqualified	*CS*	can. 547 § 1 suspensive

The Oriental Code, in which the general principle has been established by *SN* can. 12 § 2 and *CS* can. 151 § 2 that every recourse has only a non-suspensive effect if the contrary is not expressly said, is actually more consistent than *CIC* in the qualification of the recourses mentioned in the canons. The number of recourses qualified as suspensive and those which are not qualified is greater, while the canons which qualify the recourse as non-suspensive are very much fewer. This latter qualification could also have been omitted, though a reason was indicated above why this qualification could be allowed to remain.

In conclusion it may be significant to quote a page of J. F. Noubel which is perhaps valid for the Latin Church, but which has no meaning in Oriental canon law.

" Le Code canonique mentionne toujours expressément ce caractère *dévolutif* [of the recourse]. Par conséquent, la liste en peut être dressée exhaustivement. Par suite, ils sont en apparence les plus nombreux, à cause de cette mention expresse. Mais normalement les recours sont suspensifs. Le législateur, en effet, prend soin... de souligner spécialement ce caractère suspensif — ' *in suspensivo* ' — dans des hypothèses où le doute pourrait surgir. Les droits de l'administration apparaissent à première vue come prioritaire. Dans d'autres cas, le législateur tient à sauvegarder, au plus haut degré, des droits individuels essentiels.... Retenons ... que cette sorte de décalage entre le nombre des mentions de recours dévolutifs et le nombre des mentions rarissimes de recours suspensifs provoque l'illusion que ce sont les recours dévolutifs qui sont de règle. Il s'ensuit également, pensons-nous, une sorte d'ostracisme psychologique

envers tout usage des recours administratifs quels qu'ils soient, malgré l'ouverture qui en est faite par le Code aux intéressés qui ont à se plaindre d'une décision administrative ecclésiastique leur faisant grief " (1).

In the Oriental Code the canons in which mention is made of the non-suspensive effect of a recourse are by no means the most numerous, rather they are " rarissimes ". The rights of the administrative power are usually given precedence over the rights of individuals; the ratter are protected most carefully where there is provided a recourse qualified as *in suspensivo*. The recourse is expressly said to have, as a rule, only a non-suspensive effect in the Oriental canon law (*CS* can. 151 § 2). As for the " *ostracisme psychologique* " one may hope that some remedy may be found.

IVAN ŽUŽEK S. J.

(1) *Revue de droit canonique* 10 (1960) 100-101. Cf. also what follows this text.

COMMENTARII BREVIORES

Deux problèmes de traduction dans la Liturgie Byzantine de S. Jean Chrysostome

I. La prière de la proscomidie

Sous le titre de « prière de la proscomidie », apparaît dans la Liturgie byzantine une prière qui se place entre la grande Entrée et le baiser de paix. Voici le texte de cette prière selon le ms. Barberini gr. 336 (¹):

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ
ὁ μόνος ἅγιος
ὁ δεχόμενος θυσίαν αἰνέσεως παρὰ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐν ὅλῃ
πρόσδεξαι καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὴν δέησιν [*καρδίᾳ*
καὶ προσάγαγε τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ
καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσενεγκεῖν σοι δῶρα καὶ θυσίας πνευματικὰς
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων
καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων
καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς εὑρεῖν χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου
τοῦ γενέσθαι εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν
καὶ ἐπισκηνῶσαι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα
καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου.

A la ligne 5, on trouve le verbe *προσάγειν* sans complément. Puisque ce verbe en exige un, la plupart des traducteurs le trouvent dans la *δέησις* qu'on vient de mentionner dans la proposition pré-

(¹) F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford 1896, p. 319 B.

cédente. Ainsi, parmi les traducteurs en langue française, E. MERCENIER [1], N. EDELBY [2], V. I. GHIKA [3]; parmi les versions en langue anglaise, J. RAYA [4], le Fordham University Center [5]; pareillement, l'édition italienne de P. DE MEESTER, reproduite par l'Institut Pontifical Oriental [6]. Tous traduisent les lignes 4 et 5 du texte par une phrase semblable à celle-ci.:

« accepte aussi notre prière de pécheurs et fais-*la* parvenir à ton saint autel » [7].

D'autre part, R. STORF dans sa traduction allemande [8], réfère le verbe « rapprocher » aux célébrants, non à « la prière » qu'on vient de mentionner: « nimm die Bitte von uns Sündern und führe *uns* zu Deinem heiligen Altare »; de même DE MEESTER dans l'édition française [9]: « recevez aussi notre prière, de nous pauvres pécheurs, et faites-*nous* approcher de votre saint autel ».

Quelle traduction adopter parmi les deux qui sont ainsi proposées? Evidemment, la liaison des propositions par des particules copulatives crée l'incertitude. Pour en sortir, nous examinerons d'abord la phrase en question et ensuite nous la comparerons avec d'autres phrases parallèles.

Dans cette phrase, on mentionne (ligne 5) l'autel de Dieu: « ton saint autel ». Nous devons nous demander: s'agit-il ici de l'autel céleste ou bien de l'autel de l'église où l'on célèbre? Il faut répondre, sans hésiter, qu'il s'agit du second, de l'autel de l'église. L'autel céleste, en effet, est toujours déterminé par des adjectifs, tels ὑπερουρά-

(1) *La Prière des Eglises de rite byzantin* I, 2e éd., Chevetogne 1947, p. 248.

(2) *Liturgicon, Missel Byzantin à l'usage des fidèles*, Beyrouth 1960, p. 442.

(3) *La Messe Byzantine dite de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, 2e éd., Lille (sans date), p. 36.

(4) *Byzantine Missal*, Birmingham (Alabama) 1958, p. 97.

(5) *The Byzantine Liturgy*, New York 1952, p. 42.

(6) *La Santa Liturgia di San Giovanni Crisostomo*, Roma 1958, p. 30.

(7) Nous devons aussi nous compter parmi ceux qui ont proposé une traduction en ce sens, dans l'article *L'action du Saint-Esprit dans la Liturgie dite de S. Jean Chrysostome*, dans *Proche-Orient Chrétien* IX (1959), p. 194.

(8) *Griechische Liturgien*, Kempten und München 1912, p. 243.

(9) *La Divine Liturgie de notre Père S. Jean Chrysostome*, 3e éd., Rome-Paris 1925, p. 63.

νιον (prière de la prothèse), *ὑπερουράνιον, νοερόν* (litanie avant le Pater); par contre *τὸ ἅγιόν σου θυσιαστήριον* désigne sans aucun doute l'autel terrestre dans la prière du trisagion (*στῆναι κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου σου θυσιαστηρίου*), dans la première prière des fidèles (*παραστῆναι καὶ νῦν τῷ ἁγ. σου θυσ.*), dans la seconde prière des fidèles (*δῷς ἡμῖν... τὴν παράστασιν τοῦ ἁγ. σου θυσ.*) et, pareillement, dans les prières des fidèles propres à la Liturgie de S. Basile (*γενέσθαι λειτουργοὺς τοῦ ἁγ. σου θυσ., λειτουργεῖν τῷ ἁγ. σου θυσ.*). Si donc dans la prière de la proscomidie dont nous traitons il s'agit de l'autel terrestre, le verbe *προσάγειν* ne peut pas avoir comme complément « la prière » mentionnée auparavant; demander à Dieu, en effet, qu'il rapproche ou conduise la prière des célébrants à l'autel qui est placé devant eux, n'a pas de sens. Le complément sous-entendu du verbe « rapprocher » doit donc être cherché dans la proposition suivante: ce seront les célébrants.

L'examen des textes parallèles ne fait que confirmer cette analyse. Nous en proposons trois:

1) La traduction syriaque. Parmi les « sedre » de l'Entrée en usage dans la Messe syrienne, apparaît en premier lieu la traduction de cette prière grecque de la proscomidie. Or, dans cette traduction, on ajoute au verbe « rapprocher » le complément « nous » (*qarreb lan*) [1].

2) La Liturgie grecque de S. Marc. Elle possède une prière parallèle à celle de la proscomidie, où l'on demande à Dieu: *καὶ προσάγαγε ἡμᾶς τῷ τιμίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ*. La phrase est identique à celle de Chrysostome, excepté l'adjectif *τίμιον* qui remplace *ἅγιον* [2].

3) La Liturgie de S. Basile. Dans la prière de la proscomidie de cette Liturgie, on retrouve l'idée de l'accès du clergé à l'autel: *πρόσδεξαι ἡμᾶς προσεγγίζοντας τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ* [3].

Une fois bien déterminée la traduction de la phrase en question, il apparaît clairement que la prière de la proscomidie est une prière faite pour le clergé. On y demande trois choses, toutes relatives aux célébrants: 1) rapproche-nous de ton saint autel; 2) rends-nous capables de t'offrir; 3) juge-nous dignes de ta faveur. Les dons, l'acceptation du sacrifice et la descente du Saint-Esprit ne sont mentionnés que de façon indirecte, en dépendance des dispositions du clergé.

(1) *Taksa d-qurbana*, éd. Charfet 1923, p. 22.

(2) Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 122 B.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 319 A.

H. Lietzmann, dans son traité « Messe und Herrenmahl » (1), considérait cette prière comme une prière d'offertoire (Offertoriumsgebet). Il remarque, très opportunément d'ailleurs, que la pensée centrale (Kerngedanke) de toute prière d'offertoire s'exprime dans une demande: « Respice propitius super haec dona » ou « Suscipe oblationem propitius ». Lorsqu'il traite de la prière de la proscomidie de Chrysostome, il considère comme une seule demande les lignes 1-5; ainsi, croyant qu'il a affaire à une prière d'offertoire, il présente ce commentaire: « Am Beginn steht eine Bitte (a), welche als Opfer das Gebet bezeichnet und darum an dieser Stelle Fremdkörper ist, wo es sich um die realen Opfergaben der Gemeinde handelt ». Le verbe *προσάγειν* y est rapporté, sans aucun doute, à la prière, non aux célébrants; c'est, en effet, à partir de la ligne 6 qu'il met le début de la demande pour que le célébrant soi rendu digne (die Bitte um Würdigkeit des Opfernden) et celle pour l'acceptation de l'oblation (und die gut anschliessende um Annahme des Opfers); il n'y distingue toutefois pas que la première est l'objet direct de la demande tandis que la seconde en est la conséquence. Or, d'après l'analyse de cette prière faite ci-dessus et la traduction qui s'impose, nous estimons que cette prière ne peut pas être considérée comme une prière d'offertoire.

Si la prière de la proscomidie n'est pas une prière d'offertoire, quel pourrait être son rôle dans la Liturgie? Nous pensons que, d'après son contenu, elle est une prière d'accès à l'autel, comme on en trouve dans d'autres liturgies orientales.

Dans la Liturgie chaldéenne, par exemple, pendant le chant de la '*onita d-raze*' le célébrant monte du béma au sanctuaire. Voici la rubrique et la prière:

« Ensuite, il monte la marche du *qestroma*, et, lorsqu'il arrive à la porte du sanctuaire, c.-à-d. de l'autel, il s'incline... et se redressant et étendant ses mains, il dit:

Ayant nos cœurs aspergés et purifiés de toute intention mauvaise (2), soyons dignes d'entrer dans le Saint des Saints haut et su-

(1) *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* 8, Bonn 1926, ch. 5, « Opfer und Weihrauchgebete », pp. 81-93.

(2) Cette phrase initiale ܟܕ ܪܣܝܣܝܢ ܠܒܘܬܢ ܘܕܟܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܐܪܬܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ traduit dans la Pšiṭṭa Hebr. 10,22: *ῥεραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς*. Ce verset est aussi utilisé dans la prière byzantine du Chérubicon: *καθάρισόν μου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς*.

blime, de nous tenir avec pureté, dignité et sainteté devant ton saint autel, et de t'offrir des sacrifices spirituels et rationnels dans la vraie foi » (1).

Dans la Liturgie syro-antiochienne, c'est la « prière du voile » qui exprime souvent l'idée de l'accès à l'autel:

Dignos nos effice qui ... accedamus ad te (Anaph. Severi Antiocheni) (2).

Dignos nos effice introitu in sancta sanctorum interiora tua (Anaph. Gregorii Nazianzeni) (3).

... facias nos dignos qui ... accedamus ad altare tuum sanctum (Anaph. Duodecim Apost. secunda) (4).

Dans la Liturgie grecque de S. Jacques, après l'Entrée avec les dons et le dialogue entre les concélébrants, on rencontre cette prière:

Souverain Seigneur qui nous visites dans ta miséricorde et ta clémence, et qui nous donnes, à nous tes serviteurs humbles et indignes, assurance pour nous tenir devant ton saint autel et t'offrir le sacrifice redoutable et non-sanglant pour nos péchés et pour les ignorances du peuple, regarde-moi ton serviteur inutile et efface mes transgressions ... et rends-moi apte, par la force de ton Esprit Saint, pour cette liturgie, et, en ta bonté, reçois-moi qui m'approche de ton saint autel (*πρόσδεξαι με... προσεγγίζοντα τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ*)... (5).

Nous avons cité plus haut la prière parallèle de la Liturgie de S. Marc. Voici le début de cette prière:

« Saint, Très-Haut, Redoutable, qui reposes parmi les saints, Seigneur, toi-même sanctifie-nous, rends-nous dignes du sacrifice redoutable et rapproche-nous de ton vénérable autel, en toute bonne conscience, et purifie nos cœurs de toute tache... » (6).

On peut faire état aussi de la prière copte avant le baiser de paix (7).

(1) J. E. Y. de Kelaita, *The Liturgy of the Church of the East*, Mossoul 1928, p. 14, Cf. Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

(2) *Anaphorae Syriacae* I, Romae 1939, p. 60-61.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 108-109.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 242-243.

(5) *La Liturgie de Saint Jacques*, éd. B.-Ch. Mercier, dans *PO* 26, p. 190.

(6) Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 122 B.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 163.

La prière de la proscomidie appartient donc à une espèce de prière qu'on rencontre fréquemment: la prière d'accès du clergé à l'autel avant de commencer l'anaphore; elle doit être récitée avant qu'on s'approche de l'autel, généralement devant la porte du sanctuaire, comme l'indique la rubrique chaldéenne.

Le mot « proscomidie », devrait donc être interprété ici comme synonyme d'« anaphore » ou d'« oblation ». C'est cette signification qu'il a dans le titre de l'anaphore grecque de S. Jacques: *'Αρχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς τοῦ ἁγίου 'Ιακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου* (1); de même, dans la vie de S. Euthyme (2). Le titre de notre prière devrait donc se traduire ainsi: « Prière pour [commencer] l'oblation ». En ce cas, dans la Liturgie chrysostomienne la prière du Chérubicon ne serait qu'un doublet plus récent (3) et plus développé de cette prière (4).

Ceci amène une observation à propos de la prière de la *proscomidiè* dans la Liturgie de S. Basile. Cette longue prière semble, en effet, le résultat de la juxtaposition de deux prières différentes: l'une, la prière d'accès à l'autel (*Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ... τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος*); la seconde, une vraie prière d'offertoire (*'Επίβλεψον ... τῆς δικαίας*). Cette juxtaposition est rendue plus vraisemblable par les différentes formules employées pour coller ensemble les deux prières. Tandis que la recension du Basile byzantin commence par le verbe « regarde », la recension qui apparaît dans Jacques grec y a intercalé la particule « Oui » (*ναί*), qu'on utilise souvent pour prolonger des prières anciennes (5).

(1) A. MAI, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* X, 2a pars, p. 57.

(2) Ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (= *Texte und Untersuchungen* 49,2), Leipzig 1939, p. 45[23]: *κατὰ τὴν ὥραν τῆς θείας προσκομιδῆς*. Cf. p. 46[3]: *ὅταν προσεκόμιζεν τὰ θεῖα δῶρα, ἔβλεπεν πλειστάκις τοὺς ἀγγέλους συλλειτουργοῦντας αὐτῷ.*

(3) La longueur de la prière, le fait d'être adressée au Christ et celui de l'usage de la première personne du singulier semblent indiquer une date plus récente que celle de la prière de la proscomidie.

(4) Rappelons que, du moins jusqu'au Xe siècle, cette prière est reservée à la Liturgie de S. Basile; pour le ms. Barberini, v. BRIGHTMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

(5) Ed. citée, p. 192-94. Le même artifice apparaît dans la prière avant le Pater de la Liturgie de S. Basile, et dans la septième prière vespérale, v. *Hiératicon*, éd. Rome 1950, p. 203, 10.

II. La prière d'inclination

La prière de bénédiction des fidèles avant la communion présente un passage que les traductions courantes rendent imparfaitement. Il s'agit de la partie finale de la prière:

> *Σὺ οὖν, Δέσποτα,*
> *τὰ προκείμενα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐξομάλισον,*
> *κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου ἰδίαν χρείαν·*
> *τοῖς πλέουσι σύμπλευσον κτλ.*

Les traductions citées à propos de la prière de la proscomidie traduisent cette proposition de la manière suivante:

« Vous donc, Seigneur, partagez entre nous tous, pour notre bien et selon les besoins de chacun, les dons que voici; naviguez etc. » (MERCENIER; pareillement EDELBY et DE MEESTER).

« Vous donc, Maître, partagez-nous à tous, pour notre bonheur, selon les besoins de chacun, ce qui vous est présenté sur cet autel. Soyez sur mer etc. » (GHIKA).

« O Master, give out these offerings to all of us for our good, according to the needs of each one: do Thou sail etc. » (RAYA).

« Do Thou therefore, O Lord, distribute to all of us, for our own good and according to each one's need, the gifts that lie here before us. Sail with those etc. » (FORDHAM).

« Tu, dunque, o Signore, compartisci a noi tutti per nostro bene e secondo il bisogno di ciascuno, i doni qui presenti; naviga coi naviganti etc. ». (DE MEESTER, en italien).

Toutes ces traductions réfèrent les mots *τὰ προκείμενα* aux dons qui sont sur l'autel, se basant sans doute sur l'usage fréquent dans la Liturgie de l'expression *τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα*. Pour arriver à cette traduction, ils doivent forcer le sens du verbe *ἐξομαλίζω* qui, selon les dictionnaires, ne signifie autre chose que « aplanir », « to smooth away », jamais « partager », « distribuer ».

STORF, dans l'ouvrage indiqué, donne une traduction qui respecte le sens du verbe, renonçant à interpréter *τὰ προκείμενα* des dons consacrés:

« Du also, Herr, ebne all unsere Anliegen nach dem Bedürfnisse eines jeden, schiffe mit den Schiffahrenden etc. ».

Les mots grecs *εἰς ἀγαθόν* n'ont pas été traduits, mais le sens général est excellent. Seulement, est-il permis de traduire *τὰ προκείμενα* par « unsere Anliegen »?

Selon les dictionnaires, *τὰ προκείμενα* s'oppose à *τὰ μέλλοντα* comme en latin *praesentia* et *futura*. Or, ce sens de *τὰ προκείμενα* apparaît également au IV[e] siècle, et précisément dans le langage liturgique, selon le témoignage de S. Jean Chrysostome. En effet, dans son homélie *In 2 ad Cor.*, 2,8 (¹), il donne le texte des litanies pour les catéchumènes, et parmi les demandes que le diacre proposait, on en trouve une où *τὰ προκείμενα* a nécessairement le sens de « circonstances présentes », « la vie »:

Ἵνα κατευθύνῃ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ προκείμενα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.

Remarquons le parallélisme avec la phrase de la prière d'inclination. Les deux verbes utilisés, *ἐξομαλίζω* et *κατευθύνω*, indiquent une méthaphore de chemin; dans les deux cas on ajoute le but de la demande par deux expressions synonymes: *εἰς ἀγαθόν, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον*.

Nous pensons donc qu'il ne faut pas hésiter à traduire la phrase proposée, à peu près comme ceci: « Toi donc, Maître, aplanis à nous tous, pour le bien, le chemin présent, selon le besoin propre à chacun ».

C'est ainsi que s'explique la mention des navigateurs, de ceux qui sont en chemin et des malades, circonstances spécialement périlleuses. Autrement, ces thèmes devraient être considérés comme une addition à la prière originale.

Un autre problème, que nous n'avons pas à traiter ici, pourrait être soulevé: comment une prière d'un contenu si général est-elle devenue la bénédiction des fidèles avant la communion? Dans la Liturgie de S. Basile et dans celle des Présanctifiés, la prière correspondante fait clairement allusion à l'Eucharistie.

J. Mateos S. J.

(¹) *PG.* 61, 403.

Textes de Marc l'ermite, Diadoque de Photicé, Jean de Carpathos et Maxime le confesseur, dans le cod. Harleianus 5688

R. Nares, dans son catalogue du fonds Harley du British Museum, décrit ainsi le codex grec 5688: « Codex membraneus, notatus in fronte ' Z. Miscellanea ' ... In hoc volumine plurima sunt manca et distracta, ita ut omnia recte describi vix certo affirmaverim. Folia sunt 116 » (1). D'utiles compléments peuvent être apportés à cette description. Le codex Harleianus 5688 est un beau manuscrit grec, de parchemin, écrit vers la fin du XI[e] s. ou le début du XII[e] s. (2); il mesure 20 cms, 3 sur 27 cms, 5, et compte en fait 117 folios. Le texte est copié tout entier d'une même main, à pleine page, à raison de 28 à 30 lignes par page. Ce manuscrit a beaucoup souffert puisque, sur les 7 pièces qu'il contient, 3 sont acéphales et 4 trahissent des lacunes internes: ce qui ne facilite guère l'inventaire du contenu.

Les fol. 29-59, comme le signalait Nares — « Diadochi, Photices episcopi, sermo asceticus » — renferment les *Cent Chapitres gnostiques* de *Diadoque de Photicé*, tels qu'on peut les lire dans l'édition du RP. Ed. des Places (*Sources Chrétiennes*, vol. 5 bis). Un préambule de « Dix définitions » précède le traité, comme à l'accoutumée (SC, p. 84-85). Suivent les cent chapitres (SC, p. 85-163. Inc. *Πάσης πνευματικῆς*), avec toutefois quatre lacunes: entre les fol. 34v et 35 (du chap. 28,17: *λυπεῖτε* || jusqu'à || *μνήμης τοῦ Θεοῦ*: Chap 32,6); entre les fol. 36v et 37 (du chap. 38,8; *πώποτε καὶ* || jusqu'à || *γὰρ ὄφελος*: chap. 42,20); entre les fol. 38v et 39 (du chap. 53,6: *ἰάσεως* || jusqu'à || *πταίσματι*: chap. 56,14); et entre les fol. 58v et 59 (du chap. 98,10: *τοῦ κόσμου* || jusqu'à || *ἐμαυτὸν ἀνακρίνω*: chap. 100,14). Soit quatre folios disparus, si l'on en juge d'après la longueur des lacunes.

(1) *A Catalogue of the Harleian Mss in the British Museum*, vol. III (Londres, 1808), p. 288.

(2) M.T.C. Skeat, Conservateur des manuscrits grecs au British Museum, a bien voulu, pour nous, préciser cette date.

Pour les fol. 59v-69, la notice du catalogue mentionnait: « Joannis, Carpathiorum episcopi, opus consolatorium ad Indiae monachos ». Voici d'après ce manuscrit le titre de l'ouvrage: *Τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρπαθίου πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδίας προτρέψαντας μοναχούς*. Incipit: *τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς βασιλεῦσιν ἐαρινὰ ἄνθη*. On peut lire dans Migne (*PG* 85,791-812) une traduction latine partielle, faite par Jacobus Pontanus (Ingolstadt, 1604) de cette *Consolation aux moines de l'Inde* (1). Le texte grec a paru dans la *Philocalie* d'où il est passé parfois, sous forme d'appendice, dans la Patrologie de Migne (*PG* 85,1837-1860)(2). Citons plutôt la dernière édition de la *Philocalie* (Athènes, 1957): I, p. 276-301. L'ouvrage compte cent chapitres, comme dans les éditions, avec cette différence que le 100e chap. du texte imprimé n'y apparaît point: la longue pièce (inc. *μὴ θελήσῃς ποτέ*) des fol. 65v-69, à laquelle l'éditeur donnait une existence autonome (*Philocalie*, p. 297-301), en tient lieu. Là encore, un folio a été arraché entre 64v et 65 (du chap. 87: *καὶ παρασκευάζοντας* || jusqu'à || *μιμείσθω προφήτην* chap. 92). Voilà certes un beau texte spirituel qui mériterait une édition critique et une traduction.

« Ejusdem Joannis Carpathii capita *ριϛ'* id est 112 », notait le catalogue, au sujet des fol. 69-81v. Petite erreur: il faut lire: « *Τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρπαθίου κεφ. ριζ'* », c'est-à-dire 117 chapitres. Noter l'incipit: *καλὰ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν τὰ πάντα γεγόνασι*. Le dernier chapitre se termine sur cette phrase, sans que la pièce paraisse mutilée: *αἳ τὸν κατορθοῦντα κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἀπεργάζονται θεοῦ*. Ce traité n'est connu que par la version latine de Pontanus (*PG* 85, 811-826); le texte grec attend toujours un éditeur (3).

Nares désignait ainsi la dernière pièce, acéphale, des fol. 82-117v: « Maximi, prologus De Amore ad Elpidium presbyterum. Ita titulus graecus ad calcem folii 81. Opus imperfectum at in capitula 391 divi-

(1) Cfr. article de Th. Niggl, *Johannes v. Karpathos* dans *Lex. für Theol. Kirche*, V, p. 1049 (éd. 1960). Nous ne croyons pas que R. Henry ait raison de traduire « Consolation aux moines *revenus* des Indes » (Photius, *Bibliothèque* III, cod. 201, p. 101). Ces moines ont sollicité, des Indes où ils se trouvaient, cette lettre de « Consolation ». Photius a conservé très exactement le titre que nous lisons dans notre ms.

(2) Seuls certains volumes de l'édition de 1864 comportent cet appendice.

(3) On trouvera d'utiles renseignements sur la tradition manuscrite dans l'article de M.-Th. Disdier, *Jean de Carpathos* dans *Echos d'Orient*, XXXI, 1932, p. 284-303.

sum ». Dans le bas du fol. 81v, une main plus récente avait en effet inscrit ce lemme d'attribution: *τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀββᾶ Μαξίμου λόγος περὶ ἀγάπης*. Le Prologue à Elpidius ne se trouve point ici, et le fol. 82 commence ex abrupto: *ὁ καταλιμπάνων* à la fin du chap. 5 de la première *Centurie* de *Maxime le Confesseur, Sur la Charité* (*PG* 90,961 C5). L'ouvrage, mutilé en finale, s'arrête à la Centurie III, chap. 91: *κατάστασιν· ἡ δὲ καθαρά* (col. 1069 D3). Les chapitres se succèdent du n° 6 au n° 391, sans être groupés par centuries. Une seule lacune intérieure, entre les fol. 103v et 104 (du chap. 328: *ἐναντίωσιν εἶναι* || jusqu'à || *ὁ μὴ σκανδαλιζόμενος* chap. 337 (col. 1025 B5 à 1028 D3).

Reste le cas difficile des trois opuscules occupant les fol. 1-29. Au fol. 6v toutefois, comme le remarquait Nares, commence un texte anonyme sur Melchisédech. L'incipit *ὁ θεὸς τὸν μὲν κόσμον ἀγρῷ, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας* ne figure pas dans le recueil des *Initia Patrum graecorum* publié par Dom Baur. Serait-ce une pièce inédite? Avant de conclure en ce sens, il est prudent de se reporter à l'index (1) de Fern. Cavallera: or ce dernier signale la présence de cinq textes sur Melchisédech dans la Patrologie grecque de Migne. Vérification faite, on constate que la présente pièce n'est autre que *l'opuscule X de Marc l'ermite*, malgré un incipit légèrement différent. Malheureusement la pièce s'arrête, mutilée, avec la fin du fol. 14v: *προλέγων τὰ ἐσόμενα* (*PG* 65,1140 B3). On possède donc désormais un noyau solide et connu (fol. 6v-14v) dans la masse anonyme des 29 premiers folios. Or le titre de la pièce identifiée portait cette mention précieuse: « Du même, sur Melchisédech » *τοῦ αὐτοῦ· εἰς τὸν Μελχισεδέκ*.

La première pièce du recueil (fol. 1-6v) — « Fragmentum tractatus theologici », notait évasivement Nares — n'appartiendrait-elle pas aussi à Marc l'Ermite? De fait, il s'agit de son *opuscule III, De paenitentia*, commençant ex abrupto *τοὺς τοιούτους, οἶμαι, ὄφεις* (*PG* 65, 968 C3) et se poursuivant sans lacune jusqu'à la fin (col. 984D).

Avec un peu de chance, ne pourrait-on pas espérer retrouver dans les fol. 15-29 un nouvel opuscule de Marc l'ermite? A leur sujet Nares avançait cette formule prudente: « Abrupte hic incipere videtur catechismi species ». On retrouve là en effet son *opuscule IV, De Baptismo* avec alternance de questions et de réponses (*ἐρώτησις, ἀπόκρισις*) mais en assez piteux état. Le traité, acéphale, commence sur ces mots

(1) *Patrologiae Cursus completus. Series graeca. Indices digessit Ferdinandus Cavallera* (Paris, 1912), p. 145.

πίστις γάρ ἐστιν οὐ μόνον (*PG* 65,985 D1), pour s'interrompre au bas du fol. 15v: *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μαρτυριῶν* (col. 988 D12). Des folios ont encore été arrachés, sans doute quatre folios. Les fol. 16-16v offrent un second fragment: [*προσευ*]-*χόμενος καὶ πολλὰς* (col. 997 B3) jusqu'à *ἀπάγεσθαι* (col. 1000 B5). Après une nouvelle lacune d'un folio, on peut lire, du folio 17 au fol. 29, le reste du *De Baptismo*, sans plus de rupture: depuis *τὴν ἐλευθερίαν* (col. 1001 C1) jusqu'à la fin (col. 1029 C). Nous venons de récupérer un témoin de trois traités de Marc l'ermite — les *De paenitentia, De Melchisedech, De Baptismo*: opuscules III, X, IV — un témoin lacuneux certes, mais qui n'en est pas moins un bon manuscrit, datant des environs de l'an 1100.

Souhaitons qu'un heureux hasard nous restitue un jour la première partie du codex: le numérotage des folios, par cahiers de huit, révèle en effet que l'actuel fol. 1 était la première page du sixième cahier (1). Peut-être ces 40 folios manquants contenaient-ils d'autres œuvres de Marc l'ermite? Photius note, à propos du corpus de cet auteur: « Quant à l'ordre des livres..., tous leurs manuscrits ne le gardent pas identique, mais quelques uns en déplacent vers l'avant, d'autres en rejettent vers l'arrière, à telles enseignes que certains exemplaires mettent en dernière place les premiers livres » (2). Déjà, du temps de Photius, les œuvres de Marc l'ermite, de Diadoque de Photicé et de Jean de Carpathos se rencontraient souvent groupées, si l'on juge par ses remarques aux cod. 200 et 201 de sa *Bibliothèque*.

Le codex Harleianus 5688 sera précieux aux éventuels éditeurs de Marc l'ermite, de Jean de Carpathos et de Maxime le confesseur. Puissent-ils nous donner surtout les 117 chapitres inédits de Jean de Carpathos.

C.N.R.S. Paris MICHEL AUBINEAU S. J.

(1) Voici les indications, sur les divers cahiers, (notées au recto de certains folios, en bas de page, à gauche) que nous avons pu recueillir: fol. 1 (n° 6), fol. 7 (n° 7), fol. 25 (n° 10), fol. 33 (n° 11), fol. 46 (n° 13), fol. 54 (n° 14), fol. 67 (n° 17), fol. 74 (n° 18), fol. 88 (n° 20), fol. 96 (n° 21), fol. 110 (n° 23).

(2) PHOTIUS, *Bibliothèque*, texte et traduction par R. HENRY, tome III (Paris, 1962), p. 200.

Maksim Grek als Theologe (*)

In dem vorliegenden stattlichen Band hat sich B. Schultze zum Ziel gesetzt, die literarische Hinterlassenschaft eines im 16. Jahrhundert lebenden griechischen Mönches, der unter dem Namen Michael Trivolis in Italien z. Zt. von Savonarola studiert hatte, später Athosmönch wurde und als Maxim Grek in Rußland eine überragende Rolle in der Kirchenpolitik gespielt hat, speziell auf den theologischen Gehalt zu untersuchen und hat damit ein ausgesprochen dankbares Thema aufgegriffen, das innerhalb der an sich reichlich vorhandenen Spezialliteratur bisher entweder überhaupt nicht oder doch nur recht unvollkommen behandelt worden ist.

Zu diesem Behuf vermittelt uns der Verfasser nach einer kurzen Lebensskizze Maxims, die auf den letzten Stand der Forschung gebracht worden ist (S. 2-4), zunächst einen Einblick in die verschiedenartigen Beurteilungen, die dieser zwischen Ost und West stehende Grieche auf einem internationalen Boden gefunden hat (S. 4-11): Zeugnisse, die zum Teil recht weit auseinandergehen, mancherlei Momente betonen, aber doch wohl nicht immer auf einer gleich tiefen Sachkenntnis beruhen und daher gelegentlich nicht gerade kompetent wirken: Zu einem wirklich fundierten Urteil über Maxim gehört eben ein sorgfältiges Studium seiner Werke und zu einem derart zeitraubenden Unternehmen fehlte es wohl in den meisten Fällen an innerer Bereitschaft. Wie positiv dann Maxim Grek noch in neuester Zeit als Theologe gewertet wurde oder — wenn man so will — für die verschiedensten Zwecke ausgebeutet werden konnte, läßt sich übrigens noch an einer unter dem Schutz der Russischen Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei von L. Nadeždin herausgegebenen, sich in der Hauptsache gegen den Petersburger Metropoliten Antonij [1] wendenden

(*) B. Schultze S. J., *Maksim Grek als Theologe*, Roma 1963, 368 S. (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 167).

[1] Vgl. A. M. Ammann, *Abriß der ostlawischen Kirchengeschichte*, Wien 1950, S. 568 f.

Streitschrift [1] erkennen, die unter anderem Auszüge aus einem Werk von Maxim Grek bringt und daran anschließt [2]: «So sind die Worte des verständigen und ehrenwerten Mönches Maxim Grek, der viele Jahre im klösterlichen Gefängnis zugebracht hat. Wenn man in den Kirchen anstatt der verschiedenen Triodions, anstelle des Stundengebetes und des geistlichen Gesanges die Reden solcher Männer wie Maxim Grek zur Belehrung vorlesen würde — ja, das wäre sehr schön. Aber schön für das Volk und nicht für den Metropoliten Antonij und seine ganze kriegerische Popenschar. So murmelt man in den Kirchen, was niemand begreifen kann, aber wenn man es begreifen soll, so bringt man betäubend wirkende Ansprachen vor und läßt Exkommunikationen erklingen... Es sind die gleichen Feinde von Volk und Evangelium, die Maxim Grek so treffend charakterisiert und brandmarkt!».

In dem ersten Teil seines breit angelegten Buches (S. 15-210) untersucht sodann B. Schultze in der ihm eigenen subtilen Art die zeitlich am frühesten liegende, aus dem Jahre 1519 stammende Streitschrift Maxims, die sich gegen den römisch-katholischen großfürstlichen Leibarzt Nikolaj Nemčin und seine leider verlorengegangene Abhandlung richtet. Da es hier neben der auf nicht besonderer Höhe stehenden Ausgabe der Kazaner Geistlichen Akademie noch einen besseren Text in der sogenannten « Kirillova kniga » (Moskau 1644) sowie eine gleichfalls um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts anzusetzende lateinische Übertragung von Jurij Križanič gibt, gehört es zu den vordringlichen Aufgaben, sich zunächst einmal eine einigermaßen gesicherte Textgestalt zu erarbeiten, worum sich denn auch der Verfasser die erdenklich größte Mühe gibt. Und das wird sich selbst in den Fällen sagen lassen, in denen man bei der Restituierung des Textes nicht unbedingt in gleicher Weise entscheiden würde. Wenn dann trotz solchen Einsatzes gelegentlich Unklarheiten übrig geblieben sind (vgl. etwa S. 24, 31, 33, 122, 145 f., 179, 191 und öfter), so sind sie zumeist dem Umstand zuzuschreiben, daß uns allen infolge der politischen Weltlage eine Überprüfung der weitläufigen handschriftlichen Tradition versagt bleibt. Dafür sind andererseits die sich ergebenden Textverbesserungen zuweilen evident: So ist es durchaus erwägenswert, S. 25 anstelle des unverständlichen « chanaanskij » der Kazaner Ausgabe mit der Kirillova kniga « chalanskij » zu lesen und

(1) *Cerkovnyja reči o rabočich nevzgodach i volnenijach*, Genf 1905, 28 S.

(2) S. 19.

dieses als ungenaue Wiedergabe von « chaldäisch » anzusprechen, weil erst damit der volle Sinn, eine Anspielung auf den Turmbau zu Babel, zu Tage tritt — oder später S. 283 bei « chvalitisja velmi o sane i vlasti paki » (hier freilich nach dem Vorgang der modern-russischen Übersetzung) einen Schreibfehler anzunehmen und statt des letzten Wortes « paki » getrost ein nunmehr verständliches « papy » (des Papstes) zu setzen. Wieweit der häufig schlecht und ohne Verständnis überlieferte Text mit geringfügigen Emendationen zu heilen ist, habe ich übrigens selbst vor Jahren an einem auffälligen Beispiel darlegen können [1].

Wenn dann der Verfasser auf die Interpretation des Inhaltes eingeht und in umfassender, ja imponierender Arbeit das Für und Wider der einzelnen Positionen jeweils recht objektiv und didaktisch, allerdings auch unter Anwendung polemischer wie apologetischer Kunstgriffe herausstellt, so wird ganz natürlich der Theologe, in Sonderheit der römisch-katholische Theologe den größten Gewinn daraus zu ziehen haben. Urteilt man vom Standpunkt des Historikers, der ja hier auch nach den Worten von Schultze (S. 311) in einer wesentlich günstigeren Lage sein soll als der katholische Theologe, so wird man unter Anerkennung der tiefen, hier niedergelegten Gedankenarbeit die positiven Ergebnisse der minutiösen Untersuchung vor allem in der Tatsache erblicken, daß Maxim Grek in der slavischen Transkription eines gereinigten Originaltextes wie in einer gepflegten deutschen Übersetzung, weniger allerdings nach dem lateinischen Wortlaut der Übersetzung des Križanič zur Geltung kommt, eine gerechte Einstufung seines theologischen Weltbildes zu erfahren scheint und zum ersten Mal in größerem Umfang auf seine griechischen Quellen zurückgeführt wird, wobei der Verfasser eine erstaunliche, vielfach mit Erfolg gekrönte Sucharbeit niedergelegt hat. Das wird vielleicht nicht einmal so deutlich bei den verschiedenen Katenen, die Maxim vollständig oder nur teilweise aus dem Griechischen übertragen hat (S. 3), oder bei den beiläufig von Maxim angeführten Bibelsprüchen und ihrer Erklärung, als vielmehr bei der Berufung auf einzelne Konzilientexte (S. 65, 68, 71, 76 f., 79 f.) oder bei der Verifizierung zahlreicher Väterzitate (S. 90-131), wo nunmehr griechischer und slavischer Text nach den neuesten Editionen in Kolumnen einander gegenübergestellt

[1] Vgl. R. A. Klostermann, *Ein mißverstandener Kirchenvater, Zs. f. slav. Philologie* 10, 1933, S. 126.

werden können und man ein klares Bild über die Quellen unseres Schriftstellers gewinnt.

Auf der anderen Seite dürfte man (ohne das Verdienst des Verfassers irgendwie in den Schatten stellen zu wollen) doch sich fragen, ob nicht Schultze, wie er gelegentlich selbst anzudeuten scheint, vgl. S. 57, 132, 156 und öfter, die polemische Schrift unseres Maxim ein wenig zu ernst genommen hat. Bei aller Dankbarkeit für die geleistete sicherlich notwendige und äußerst lehrreiche Arbeit ist hier vielleicht doch Maxim viel zu viel Ehre erwiesen worden. Liegt es doch im Wesen solcher polemischen Schriften, lediglich für den Tagesgebrauch und den eigenen Hausbedarf, eventuell sogar nur gegen Scheingegner aufzutreten, wo ein umfassendes Widersprechen des Widerparts und eine schockierende, grobschlächtige Augenblickswirkung ungleich wichtiger erscheinen mußte als etwa die Bereitstellung eines nach allen Seiten gesicherten und auf Dauerwirkung berechneten Kompendiums oder gar der ernsthafte, ehrliche Versuch, den Gegner wirklich zu überzeugen. Bietet schon der Briefwechsel, den die Tübinger Theologen mit dem Patriarchen Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1575-1581 über die Dinge des Glaubens und der Kirche geführt haben (1), eine ganze Anzahl von Parallelen, so hat es zahlreiche apologetische und polemische Werke des Ostens und Westens gegeben, die vor und nach Maxim Grek die gleichen Wege nach ähnlichem Rezept gegangen sind! Das befreit dann aber natürlich doch nicht von der Verpflichtung, jedesmal im einzelnen dazu Stellung zu nehmen.

Ein paar Bemerkungen zu dem ersten Teil des Buches: Bei der Aufzählung der einzelnen Ausgaben von Maxim Greks Werken S. 12 f. hätte sich vielleicht auch ein Hinweis auf die Teildrucke gelohnt: M. Kovalenskij (2) bringt zum Beispiel (3) längere Auszüge, die auch textkritisch von Interesse werden könnten, während die Textprobe des auch hier behandelten ersten Werkes von Maxim gegen die Lateiner in F. Buslaev (4) direkt dürftig ausgefallen ist und die in « Regesty i nadpisi. Svod materialov dlja istorii evreev v Rossii » (5) gesammelten Auszüge höchstens wegen des Zusammenhanges mit der

(1) Vgl. *Wort und Mysterium*, Witten 1958.
(2) *Moskovskaja političeskaja literatura XVI veka*, Spb. [1914].
(3) S. 71-78.
(4) *Istoričeskaja christomatija*, Moskau 1861, Sp. 1031-1032.
(5) 1, Spb. 1899 S. 217.

Tätigkeit des Nikolaj Nemčin zu nennen wären. — Der S. 13 auf Križanič gehende Absatz scheint zwei verschiedenartige Aussagen nicht in der richtigen logischen Verbindung zu bringen. — In der Abgrenzung von Christologie und Pneumatologie wird wohl S. 63 und kurz darauf S. 64 nach verschiedenen Maßstäben vorgegangen. — Bei der Interpretation der anfallenden Bibelzitate (vgl. S. 50, 52 und öfter), bei der Behandlung von Auszügen und Belegen aus der Literatur der Kirchenväter müßte man meiner Einsicht nach durchgehend noch stärker in Erwägung ziehen, daß Maxim Grek einerseits mehr oder weniger frei aus dem Gedächtnis zitiert haben kann, andererseits eben griechische und slavische Vorlagen zur Hand hatte, die wie so häufig schon von sich aus einen etwas abweichenden Text boten: Maxim wird doch nicht immer für den jeweiligen Zweck erst eigens eine Übersetzung angefertigt haben! — Daß Maxim einen angeblichen Brief des Papstes Johannes VIII., dessen Unechtheit sich erst neuerdings herausgestellt hat (S. 76-78), in gutem Glauben mit herangezogen hat, vermag ich ihm, zumal nach dem Vorgang eines Markus von Ephesus, nicht übelzunehmen — ebenso wenig wie das Zitat aus der Mystagogie des Patriarchen Photius (S. 82 f.), dessen genaue Herkunft er zur Zeit nicht angeben könne (denn mehr will die von Schultze S. 83 vielleicht zu scharfsinnig interpretierte Stelle wohl nicht besagen). Das gleiche gilt von anderen Fällen: Zitiert Maxim einen angeblichen Chrysostomustext, den wir in Mignes Patrologie unter den Spuria wiederfinden und der nach den neuesten Untersuchungen Severian von Gabala zuzuschreiben ist (S. 110-113), so braucht man bei einer derartig verwickelten und undurchsichtigen Überlieferungsfrage nicht schon gleich deshalb Photius und Maxim wenig kritischen Sinn vorzuwerfen. Oder: Beruft sich Maxim weiter (S. 117 f.) irrtümlich auf Chrysostomus, ohne dabei zu bemerken, daß er in Wirklichkeit den Erzbischof Theophylakt von Bulgarien (ca. 1030-1108) zitiert, so bestehen doch gerade zwischen der Exegese dieser beiden Kirchengrößen — und um Exegese handelt es sich gerade hier — so nahe Verbindungen, daß sich eine Verwechselung der beiden Personen im Eifer des Gefechtes einigermaßen verstehen läßt. In der Gesamtheit sind aber die zahlreichen Quellennachweise, die eine umfangreiche und aufopferungsvolle Sucharbeit zur inneren Voraussetzung haben, recht eindrucksvoll und schon allein von sich aus dazu imstande, das Schwergewicht der Arbeit auszumachen. Es wäre bloß zu fragen, ob sich das eine oder andere bisher nicht nachweisbare Stück nicht doch noch abklären ließe, etwa als

Katenenfragment in indirekter Überlieferung, um so mehr, als Maxim sich selbst mehrfach mit griechischen Katenen abgegeben hat und man ganz offensichtlich im Osten zu verschiedenen Zeiten gern aus anonymer Tradition geschöpft zu haben scheint.

Bei der Abklärung der theologischen Spekulationen wird man vielleicht nicht immer Schultze in allen Punkten Recht geben können. Wenn Maxim z. B. in seiner Polemik über den Ausgang des Heiligen Geistes (S. 135 f.) dem Gegner vorhalten kann, er müsse dann auch weiterhin folgern, daß der Heilige Geist ebenfalls vom ältesten Märtyrer Stephanus ausginge, der nach Act 6,5; 7,55 « voll des Heiligen Geistes » genannt würde, so ist damit doch bloß ein spielerisches, eventuell in Ironie oder Hohn geäußertes Argument zur Sprache gekommen, an das weder der angegriffene Lateiner noch etwa Maxim Grek selbst im Ernst geglaubt hat und dessen Bestimmung einzig und allein gewesen sein kann, das Irreale eines solchen Standpunktes drastisch hervorzuheben. Schwingt hierbei noch etwas anderes mit, so beruht dies auf der alten Vorstellung über die Märtyrer, die schon in altchristlicher Zeit mit Christi Person in Zusammenhang gebracht wurden und als « Geistträger » verehrt wurden (1), oder etwa auf der Tatsache, daß die Heiligen trotz aller Betonung ihrer Menschlichkeit im Laufe der Zeiten ebenfalls als Wesen mit zwei Naturen angesehen wurden. Galten sie doch gemeinhin wie im einzelnen als *οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐπίγειος ἄγγελος*!

Während Maxim Grek hinsichtlich der Zusammenhänge und Gegensätze von Philosophie und Theologie (S. 152-165) prinzipiell kaum anders denkt als die griechischen Theologen seiner Zeit und der nachfolgenden Jahrhunderte, hat unser Mönch bei den Äußerungen gegen den Gebrauch geometrischer Figuren in der Theologie (S. 163-185) auf größeres Interesse zu rechnen allein schon deshalb, weil uns nicht allzuviel Vorbilder (Schultze weiß hier nur Nicetas von Maronea s. XII S. 180 zu nennen) bekannt sind (2) und Vorstellungsvermögen wie Interpretation dabei vor besondere Schwierigkeiten gestellt zu sein scheinen. Auch Schultze, der sich hier sehr hineingedacht hat, mußte in manchen Dingen unschlüssig bleiben, wahrscheinlich deshalb, weil man auch sonst die Beobachtung machen kann, daß Gegenstände

(1) Vgl. schon E. Lucius - G. Anrich, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkultes in der christlichen Kirche*, Tübingen 1904, S. 64 f., 68 f., 165.

(2) Doch vgl. etwa schon Gregor v. Nyssa, *Migne* PG 46, 33B-C!

der Mathematik unendlich schwerfällig und umständlich, unter unnötigen Wiederholungen und Pleonasmen behandelt werden (1).

Der zweite Teil des vorliegenden Buches (S. 211-310) ist den übrigen polemischen Abhandlungen Maxims gewidmet, die neben den Lateinern gegen die Neuheiden, den Islam, wider die Armenier, gegen die Astrologie, gegen die Lutheraner sowie zur Verteidigung der Gottesmutter abgefaßt sind. Auch hierzu einige Bemerkungen: Man kann trotz der plausiblen Argumentation von Schultze darüber im Zweifel bleiben, ob das S. 217 besprochene angeblich gegen die Lutheraner gerichtete Stück wirklich ursprünglich gegen diese gemeint war oder ob hier nicht die Überschrift erst von späterer Hand nachgetragen worden ist. — Der S. 270 Anm. 145 von Maxim mitgeteilte Text zu der angeblich von Lukas gemalten Ikone der Gottesmutter entspricht wörtlich der alten Tradition (2). — Wenn Maxim in zwei verschiedenen Zusammenhängen S. 280 und 288 nachdrücklich für den Gedanken eintritt, daß das Heilige Land, eine Stätte oder ein Volk niemals allein dadurch verunreinigt oder entheiligt werden könne, daß es sich im Besitze der Heiden befände, so gibt er sich hier einer Spekulation hin, die für seine Zeit, ja für sein Jahrhundert recht originell klingt. Aber hier scheint doch nicht eine besondere Vorliebe Maxims zu der Hauptstadt des Heiligen Landes, zu Jerusalem ausschlaggebend zu sein, als vielmehr der Wunsch vorzuliegen, sich nachträglich mit den enttäuschenden Ergebnissen der Kreuzzugszeit auszusöhnen und eine Rechtfertigung auf theologischer Basis für die Tatsache zu finden, daß weite Gebiete voll pulsierenden christlichen Lebens ohnmächtig dem Verfall entgegen gehen mußten. — Der S. 222 verwendete ehrenvolle Doppelname « Philosoph und Märtyrer » kann sich doch wohl (vgl. auch S. 232) nur auf Justin beziehen: Anderenfalls käme an der zunächst genannten Stelle ein Märtyrer Tertullian zu Stande!

In dem dritten Teil seines Buches (S. 311-357) bietet uns Schultze sodann eine Zusammenfassung seiner Forschungen an, deren Breite sich durchaus mit der Schwierigkeit der Einzeluntersuchungen ver-

(1) Vgl. H. Hunger - K. Vogel, *Ein Byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Wien 1963 S. 14 (Österreichische Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften Bd. 78, Abh. 2).

(2) Vgl. *Malerhandbuch des Malermönches Dionysios vom Berge Athos* (Neudruck München 1960, S. 9, 11) oder Nikodemos Hagiorites, *Συναξαρίστης*. I 3. (Athen 1868 S. 139).

teidigen läßt: Ursprünglich wohl nur « für eilige Leser » bestimmt, wird man gern die Gelegenheit wahrnehmen, noch einmal das Ganze an sich vorüberziehen zu lassen. Hier sei nur bei Maxims Anschauungen über die Kirche S. 347 eine kleine Beobachtung eingeschaltet: Es mag wirklich danach aussehen, als ob unser griechischer Mönch den christlichen Osten und lateinischen Westen kenne, an die damals neuentdeckten Länder mit ihren zahlreichen Völkern dagegen nicht denke. Das ist jedoch wohl ungenau: Soweit mir aus der Lektüre der Werke erinnerlich ist, erwähnt Maxim Grek ganz beiläufig an einer Stelle, die ich allerdings nach Verlust meiner Aufzeichnungen und meiner Ausgabe der Werke nicht näher anzugeben vermag, das neuentdeckte Amerika als künftiges dankbares Missionsfeld und — als Lieferant köstlicher Gewürze!

Trotz der großen Sorgfalt, die man ganz offensichtlich auf die Drucklegung des Buches verwendet hat, sind einige, zum Teil störende Fehler stehen geblieben: In der Anwendung der Umlaute (Oe, ö; Ue, ü) ist ebenso wie bei dem Gebrauch der Vornamen eine konsequente Haltung nicht erreicht worden. — Gelegentlich sind im Druck einzelne Buchstaben ausgefallen. — S. 12 Anm. 1 ist zu lesen: Lateiner. — Auf S. 39 Anm. 90 fehlt der Titel der auch später mehrfach zitierten modern-russischen Übersetzung [1]. — S. 131 muß es « Worte des Damaszeners », in der Gegenüberstellung der Texte S. 150 « dialektische Kunst » heißen. — Man verbessere S. 275 Anm. 169 den Titel in « ad Corinthios », S. 283 in « des Ranges ». — S. 312 muß es « manchmal », S. 327 « Maksim », S. 336 « antilateinischen », S. 341 « Parallelismus » heißen. — S. 356, Anm. 116 sollte man lesen: « Mangel an tiefergehender christlicher Bildung, *der* sich hinter dem Ritualismus verbarg ». — In dem Namen- und Sachverzeichnis S. 368 ist bei Theodoret eine der Fundstellen 218 in 318 zu verbessern.

Das mit tiefer Sachkenntnis und recht objektiv geschriebene Buch von B. Schultze bedeutet einen großen Fortschritt in der Spezialforschung um Maxim, weil der Verfasser das theologische Weltbild dieses griechischen Mönches in seiner Größe und Grenze erstmalig voll umrissen und damit unberechtigten Phantasiebildern den Nährboden entzogen hat. Hatte ich noch in meiner Dissertation « Maxim Grek

(1) MOISEJ (Poslušnik), *Sočinenija prepodobnago Maksima Greka v russkom perevode* 1-3, Svjato-Troickaja Sergieva Lavra, 1910 f.

in der Legende » (S. 179 Anm. 56) den persönlichen Eindruck dahingehend formuliert: « Was er an spezifisch Theologischem geschrieben hat, zeigt eigentlich nur seinen Eifer um die Sache. Einen Eigenwert haben z.B. die endlosen Auseinandersetzungen in dogmatischen Fragen kaum », so freue ich mich jetzt, dieses damalige Urteil durch einen berufenen Theologen und Dogmatiker auf Grund eines anderen Arbeitsganges, mit einem weitaus stärkeren Schwergewicht mehr oder weniger bestätigt zu sehen.

R. A. Klostermann

Göteborg

RECENSIONES

Patristica et Theologica

Ernest G. CLARKE, *The selected Questions of Ishō bar Nūn on the Pentateuch.* Edited and translated from Ms Cambridge Add 2017 with a Study of the Relationship of Ishō'dādh of Merv, Theodore bar Kōnī and Ishō bar Nūn on Genesis (= *Studia Post-Biblica*), vol. 5, Leiden, 1962, 187 pp. + reproduction phototypique des 26 fol r° v° du ms., 22 Fl.

Voici enfin éditées et traduites les «Questions choisies» d'Ishō bar Nūn sur le Pentateuque. L'existence d'un manuscrit unique, l'Add. 2017 de Cambridge, a facilité grandement le travail de l'éditeur et des imprimeurs, en les déchargeant de la tâche d'établir un apparat critique et de composer le texte syriaque en caractères d'imprimerie. Ceux des lecteurs qui se réjouissent d'être mis directement en contact avec les mss. seront satisfaits: ils auront sous les yeux une bonne reproduction phototypique; ils y gagneront aussi d'avoir un texte accentué et ponctué. D'autres regretteront peut-être que ce texte, empâté par l'étalement des caractères à la photographie, soit privé de l'élégance et de la clarté des caractères imprimés qui font l'honneur du Corpus de Louvain. Enfin les demi-crochets, ajoutés par l'éditeur pour noter à même la photo du ms. les mots jugés erronés, auraient gagné à être marqués en traits moins épais: car, tels qu'ils se présentent étalés aux aussi per la reproduction photographique, ils semblent appartenir au manuscrit et ne se distinguent pas dès le premier coup d'oeil jeté sur la page.

Une brève introduction fait le point sur la vie et les œuvres d'Ishō bar Nūn. Elle précise à la suite de Bardy le genre littéraire auquel appartiennent les questions et réponses sur la Genèse. Surtout E. G. Clarke y présente son intention de préciser la situation d'Ishō bar Nūn par rapport à ses contemporains Théodore bar Kōnī et Ishō' dādh de Merv. Ensuite vient la traduction des 56 questions (pp. 19-43): sans faire aucun effort de commentaire, l'éditeur se contente de signaler les citations bibliques. Quant à l'étude assez longue qui suit, elle n'est pas consacrée à discuter le texte et sa signification biblique ou théologique — ce que l'on regrettera — mais, selon le propos déjà signalé, de préciser les relations d'Ishō bar Nūn avec ses contemporains et de comparer leur « méthode d'édition »: il soumet à ce

travail comparatif les 34 premières questions consacrées à la Genèse. Il conclut enfin que les trois commentateurs dépendent de la même source, utilisée pourtant par eux différemment, et il achève en déterminant l'originalité d'Ishō bar Nūn.

Signalons deux appendices dans le style de ce travail: le premier propose 23 suggestions pour améliorer le texte syriaque d'Ishō'dādh de Merv édité par C. Van den Eynde et 18 autres pour discuter quelques points de sa traduction; le second précise l'apport d'Ishō bar Nūn au problème critique des Scholies de Théodore bar Kōnī.

On regretta peut-être aussi que ce travail, dont la table des matières est sommaire, soit dépourvu d'index. N'est-ce point par là en effet qu'il aurait aidé ceux qui le consulteront et qu'il aurait rendu à ceux dont il dépend lui-même un hommage plus sensible encore que dans la bibliographie, selon le proverbe qu'il aime à citer: כבוד איש כבוד אביו?

L. Ligier, S. J.

Dorothée de Gaza, *Oeuvres spirituelles*, Introduction, texte grec, traduction et notes par Dom. L. Regnault et Dom. J. de Préville. (= *Sources Chrétiennes*, 92). Les éditions du Cerf, Paris 1963, pp. 576.

Il nuovo volume delle *Sources Chrétiennes* si presenta già a priori in una luce favorevole. Non è il caso nel quale l'editore dovrebbe prima far conoscere l'opera e poi suscitare l'interesse. È piuttosto un desiderio comune, espresso da parecchi anni, che finalmente è stato soddisfatto per il lavoro meritevole dei due padri benedettini di Solesmes. Questi per la loro impresa si hanno acquistato una simpatia per cui hanno preso parte nella collaborazione anche quelli che in precedenza avevano preparato il terreno favorevole: P. M. Brun, J. Wijnen, I. Hausherr. Questa collaborazione ha dato un'risultato veramente soddisfacente, come si sperava.

La dottrina spirituale di Doroteo cerca, nella sua ampiezza, un interprete moderno. Ma con l'edizione presente sarà facilitato questo lavoro. L'introduzione offre un sicuro orientamento dottrinale, i pregievoli indici delle citazioni, dei nomi e dei vocaboli greci risparmieranno le faticose ricerche. Basta guardare in calce alle pagine alcune note per convincersi con quale criterio e comprensione siano fatte le riferenze alla spiritualità orientale. Il caldo interesse per il contenuto dimostrato dagli autori fa sorpassare l'unico svantaggio dell'edizione presente: infatti l'apparato critico del testo è ridotto al minimo. Questo laconismo si vuole scusare con lo stile delle *Sources*. Si dice inoltre che l'edizione non è definitiva; ma quando se ne potrà sperare un altra?

T. Špidlík, S. J.

A.-J. Festugière, O. P., *Les moines d'Orient*, III, 1-3, *Les moines de Palestine*. Cyrille de Scythopolis: *Vie de Saint Euthyme*, *Vie de S. Sabas*, *Vies des Saints Jean l'Hésychaste, Kyriakos, Théodose, Théognios, Abraamios*. Théodore de Pétra: *Vie de Saint Théodosios*. Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1962-1963, in-8°, pp. 158, 154, 164.

I tre presenti fascicoli della collezione del P. Festugière non hanno bisogno di raccomandazioni, dato che i due primi volumi sono stati generalmente ben accetti alla critica competente. La traduzione è tanto più pregevole in questo caso, in quanto Cirillo di Scitopoli è senza dubbio uno dei migliori agiografi del sec. 5 e 6. Ed. Schwarz, non ostante l'enorme lavoro sui concilii, ha voluto, a suo tempo, preparare per l'edizione il testo greco della *Vita di S. Saba*, sapendo che costituisce un documento importante per la storia del secolo 6. In quanto alla spiritualità, lo stesso scritto ci introduce nel cuore stesso del monachesimo palestinese. Lo stile facile della *Vita* attirerà anche il pubblico alla figura di S. Saba, perchè molti pellegrini in Terra Santa vengono a conoscere il suo monastero.

Con il terzo fascicolo del volume III si conclude la parte concernente i monaci della Palestina. In esso vi troviamo altri scritti di Cirillo di Scitopoli, cioè le biografie dei santi Giovanni l'Esicasta, Ciriaco, Teodosio, Teognio, Abraamio. Il desiderio di essere completo ha indotto l'autore di aggiungervi la *Vita di S. Teodosio*, scritta da un autore poco conosciuto, Teodoro di Petra, « cet insipide morceau de rhétorique », che però contiene parecchi dati importanti per la storia.

T. Špidlík, S. J.

Saint Éphrem, *Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant* (= *Chester Beatty Monographs*, 8). Texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709) édité et traduit par Dom L. Leloir, O.S.B., Dublin 1963, 4°, pp. xiv-262.

Dopo alcuni anni di trepida attesa ecco finalmente nelle nostre mani l'edizione dell'importantissimo testo siriaco di una grande parte del Commentario di Efrem al Diatessaron. Ne ha curato l'edizione e ne ha fatto la versione latina il P. Leloir molto noto per i suoi studi intorno ad Efrem e per aver preparato l'edizione della versione antica armena della stessa opera. In una breve prefazione in lingua francese egli espone le caratteristiche del manoscritto recentemente acquistato dalla Chester Beatty e le norme delle sua edizione. Il libro si chiude con un indice biblico. La stampa è magnifica come anche la carta. Lo studio di questo nuovo testo siriaco promette eccellenti frutti tanto per approfondire il pensiero teologico di S. Efrem che per ri-

costruire il Diatessaron siriaco di cui il presente libro ci fornisce circa 400 citazioni.

È doverosa la nostra sincera riconoscenza alla Chester Beatty e all'illustre editore.

I. Ortiz de Urbina, S. J.

Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, herausg. von Th. Klauser. Lieferungen 36-40: « Entwicklung (Forts.) – Erfinder ». Stuttgart 1961-62. In 4°, col. 481-1286.

Il noto lessico prosegue con diligente ritmo il suo utile lavoro. Nei fascicoli ultimi troviamo importanti « voci » trattate da illustri specialisti: «Ephraem» dal P. Edm. Beck O.S.B., «Epiktet» da M. Spanneut, « Epiphanius von Salamis » da W. Schneemelcher, « Epikur » da W. Schmid. Nel caso di Efrem v'è da ammirare la copiosa erudizione dell'autore che ha illustrato gli scarsissimi contatti del dottore siro col mondo ellenistico. Non viene messa invece nel sufficiente rilievo la dipendenza di Efrem dalle concezioni giudaiche che recentissimi studi del Teixidor, di R. Murray e miei hanno fatto conoscere. Del resto il *Reallexikon* non omette di studiare le derivazioni vecchiotestamentarie e giudaiche trattandosi di altre « voci ».

Particolarmente interessanti sono certi argomenti che c'entrano in pieno negli scopi del *Reallexikon* appunto perchè in essi si riscontrano notevoli influssi dell'antichità ellenica anche quando la cosa è stata assimilata dal pensiero cristiano. Segnalo a questo riguardo le voci « Epiklesis », « Epilepsie », « Epiphanie », « Erdbeben », « Erde ».

Nonostante la densità anche tipografica del lessico esso è facilmente leggibile. La lettura viene agevolata dai belli tipi e dalla chiara disposizione delle colonne. Ne va dato merito all'editore A. Hirsemann.

I. Ortiz de Urbina, S. J.

Vom Reichtum des Schweigens, Ein Zeugnis der Ostkirche, Geistliche Antwortbriefe der Schweigemönche Barsanuph und seines Schülers Johannes (6. Jahrh.). Ausgewählt und zum ersten Male ins Deutsche übersetzt von Matthias Dietz, Thomas-Verlag Zürich, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh München, Paderborn, Wien 1963. 8°, 132 Seiten.

Der Übersetzer teilt im Vorwort mit, daß er ins Deutsche aus der kirchenslawischen Ausgabe des Abtes Paisij von 1795 übersetzt hat. Es handelt sich also um eine Übersetzung einer Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen. Herausgegeben wurde der griechische Text von Nicodemus Hagiorita, Venedig 1816 (es existiert noch eine Neuausgabe von 1960). Bruchstücke des griechischen Textes finden sich bei Migne PG 86, 892-901 und PG 88, 1812-1821. Man achte darauf, daß

die Numerierung der Antworten des griechischen Textes zum Teil von denen des slawischen Textes abweicht.

Dieser deutsche Text, in schlichter und ansprechender Form vorgelegt, dürfte aber, aufs Ganze gesehen, auch den ursprünglichen Gedanken der Schweigemönche getreu wiedergeben. Gleichwohl haben wir bei Stichproben eines Vergleiches von griechischem Urtext und deutscher Übersetzung auch beträchtliche Abweichungen festgestellt (z.B. in Num. 277, S. 70-71). Außerdem hat diese deutsche Ausgabe auch ihren wissenschaftlichen Wert, weil am Schluß ein ganz ausführliches Inhaltsverzeichnis sachlicher Art beigegeben ist, das den Leser in Stand setzt, sich eine Vorstellung über den vielfältigen Inhalt der Fragen und Antworten zu bilden. Da ist die Rede von der Tugend der Liebe, vom Gebet, von der Beherrschung des Körpers. Ein anderer Titel lautet: « An Bischöfe ». Es ist die Rede von den Amtstugenden des Abtes. Vielgestaltig sind die Untertitel des Stichwortes « Praktische Tugendschule ». Besonders wird gehandelt vom Teufel. Die beiden letzten Titel lauten: « Antwortbriefe zur Vertiefung der religiösen Erkenntnis » und « Einzelfragen zur christlichen Lebensgestaltung ».

Es ist erstaunlich zu sehen, mit welcher Klarheit und Besonnenheit, mit welcher Vernünftigkeit und zugleich tiefen christlichen Glaubensüberzeugung diese Schweigemönche ihre Antworten erteilten und aus ihrer Absonderung gerade ins Leben hinaus apostolisch gewirkt haben. Hier und da muß der Leser allerdings auf der Hut sein, um hinter einer überspitzten Formulierung den nüchternen Wahrheitsgehalt zu erkennen. Aber aufs Ganze gesehen ist die Aszese des Barsanuphius und Johannes kerngesund und auch heute noch zeitgemäß, ja modern.

BERNHARD SCHULTZE, S. J.

Keetje ROZEMOND, *Notes marginales de Cyrille Lucar dans un exemplaire du grand Catéchisme de Bellarmin* (= *Kerkhistoriche Studien*, XI. *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*). 'S-Gravenhage (La Haye) 1963, in 8º, pp. x-75 más un facsímil fotográfico fuera de texto.

No es la primera vez que la Revista del Pontificio Instituto Oriental de Roma hace con honor la reseña de alguna obra de la profesora Catalina Rozemond, religiosa del cenobio calvinista de Grandchamp en Suiza (vid. *OrChrPer* 26 [1960] 150-153). La que ahora presentamos a nuestros lectores recibirá sin duda los plácemes de todo estudioso bizantinista, como recibe los nuestros.

La enigmática figura de Cirilo Lúcaris — a pesar de la inmensa bibliografía, aun reciente, sobre su persona — queda en mayor y mejor luz con el ponderado estudio de R., y más en vías de poder ser enjuiciada de una vez — si es que es posible del todo — la trayectoria nada fácil de su ideología y del problema psicológico, tan intrincado,

como ofrecen los escritos del patriarca Lúcaris, sobre todo en su período Constantinopolitano, desde 1620 a 1638, año de su muerte, triste y misteriosa.

Pero la obra suya, que nos presenta ahora R., es anterior a este período. Pertenece a los años de su primer patriarcado, en Alejandría (1602-1620) — parece casi cierto que al de 1618/19 —, y quizás tiene por eso la ventaja, en apreciación de R., de hacernos ver, mejor aún que la célebre « Confessio Christianae fidei » suya de 1629, el pensamiento teológico de su autor, más aislado como entonces se hallaba del influjo occidental de protestantes y católicos, tan fuertemente marcado en los años subsiguientes. Yo diría, sin embargo, que en esto sólo en parte es atendible la observación de la ilustre escritora. Basta dar una ojeada a la copiosa correspondencia lucariana del período alejandrino (vid. LEGRAND, IV — s. XVI-XVII —, 292 ss.), para convencerse uno de que la lucha interna de su espíritu venía ya inquietando a Lúcaris desde sus primeros encuentros con Cornelio von Haga, a su vuelta de Polonia a Alejandría (1601), y para ver, además, que en esta ciudad están fechadas no pocas cartas a muchos amigos suyos protestantes. De todas maneras, yo también me inclino a pensar con R. que el nuevo escrito de Lúcaris, editado ahora, servirá para fijar mejor no pocos puntos de la evolución doctrinal del discutido patriarca.

Ese escrito son las notas autógrafas que Lúcaris fue dejando en el margen, segun iba leyendo la versión en griego vulgar de la *Dichiaratione più copiosa della Dottrina Christiana* (Roma 1603) de San Roberto Belarmino, debida a Leonardo Filaras, del Colegio Griego de Roma (Roma 1616). El libro de Belarmino-Filaras llegó pronto a manos de Cirilo Lúcaris, quien lo fue anotando y lo envió luego a su joven amigo David de Wilhem, calvinista. Por fortuna este precioso documento, después de pasar por varias manos, fue a parar a la Biblioteca Universitaria de Leyde, en Holanda, donde aún se conserva (signatura 754. H. 8), y es el que la edición y estudio de R. reproduce con muy esmerada presentación.

Lo hace en cuatro columnas, dos por cada página, par e impar, para que se aprecie todo de conjunto. La primera columna da el texto original italiano de Belarmino; la segunda, el de la versión griega de Filaras; la tercera, las notas marginales de Lúcaris; la cuarta, en fin, no pocas observaciones personales, casi siempre acertadas, imparciales siempre, de la escritora.

Campea por doquier una extremada fidelidad, no solamente en la transcripción de los textos y de las anotaciones lucarianas, sino también en dar el modo con que se hallan en los respectivos originales (subrayados, signos convencionales, etc.). Digno de todo encomio — y utilísimo para ulteriores estudios de bizantinistas — considero el trabajo personal de R. en la cuarta columna. En ella podrá ver el estudioso los puntos en que Cirilo Lúcaris coincide con la enseñanza tradicional de la Ortodoxia, o de ella se aparta, lo mismo que del

sentir de la Iglesia Católica, o también de la Iglesia Protestante, luterana o reformada que sea.

Si hubiera de manifestar algunos « desiderata », me fijaría en dos solamente. En primer lugar, ¿por qué no dar en resumen el contenido de aquellas páginas de Belarmino, donde Lúcaris no puso ninguna anotación? Algún paso señala expresamente R. y advierte en la columna tercera: « pas de remarques ». Si lo hubiera hecho así todas las otras veces, tal vez se pudiera tener conocimiento más completo, por ejemplo, sobre la doctrina que tenía entonces Lúcaris de la justificación por sola la fe — insinuado ya aquí en las páginas 9/11. — En este punto sigo creyendo que Lúcaris avanzó más resueltamente en la « Confessio » de 1629 (vid. M. Candal, S. J., *La « Confesión de fe » calvinista de Cirilo Lúcaris.* « Miscelánea Comillas » 34/35 [1960] 239-272). La segunda observación es de menor monta. Me parece que no se explica en ninguna parte el valor que hay que dar al asterisco (*), antepuesto, a veces, a las notas marginales lucarianas, en correspondencia con el que se ve también en la versión griega de Filaras. No creo que en ambos sitios se deban ni a éste ni a Lúcaris, sino a la editora. ¿Por qué razón?

Pero una vez más me complazco en expresar el deseo de que este estudio de R. ayude eficazmente a conocer a fondo el problema ciriliano, tan grave, de su lucha interna por la fe.

Manuel Candal, S. J.

Peter Hauptmann, *Altrussischer Glaube, Der Kampf des Protopopen Avvakum gegen die Kirchenreformen des 17. Jahrhunderts.* Mit einem Anhang: *Das russische Altgläubigentum der Gegenwart.* (= *Kirche im Osten,* Studien zur osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenkunde. In Verbindung mit dem Ostkircheninstitut herausgegeben von Robert Stupperich. Monographienreihe Band 4). Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht in Göttingen 1963, 8°, 152 Seiten.

Der Verfasser der vorliegenden Monographie, der sich seit mehr als zehn Jahren mit dem Studium des altrussischen Glaubens beschäftigt, versucht durch Verständnis Avvakums und seines Anliegens auch einen Zugang zum inneren Wesen des Altgläubigentums überhaupt zu verschaffen (S. 12).

Zur Einführung zeigt er Avvakums Widerstand gegen die Kultusreformen als Problem und gibt einen Überblick über Avvakum und seine Schriften in der bisherigen Forschung. In sieben Kapiteln ist dann die Rede von Avvakums Werdegang und Eintritt in den « Kreis der Eiferer » um Stefan Vonifat'ev; von Ivan Neronov, dem Vorbild Avvakums und seiner Freunde; von Avvakums Kampf für die Ziele des « Kreises der Eiferer »; von der Beseitigung des « Kreises der Eiferer » durch den Patriarchen Nikon; von Avvakums Kampfesweise gegen die Kultusreformen; vom « Fünffingerkreuz » im theologischen

Denken Avvakums; und von Avvakums Stellung innerhalb des Altgläubigentums (dies letzte Kapitel enthält großenteils eine Apologie Avvakums). Ein Anhang über das russische Altgläubigentum der Gegenwart schließt die Untersuchung ab. Außerdem sind ein ausführlicher Literaturnachweis und ein Register beigegeben.

Der Verfasser bekundet eine große Einfühlungsgabe in die Mentalität der russischen Altgläubigen. Er zeichnet sich aus durch maßvolles Urteil über wunderbare Begebenheiten (z.B. S. 40 f.; 108 ff.), über anormal anmutende Züge bei Avvakum (S. 57; 70) oder Widersprüchliches (S. 79; 116). Er sucht beiden Seiten gerecht zu werden, nicht nur den Altgläubigen, sondern auch ihrem großen Gegner Nikon (z.B. S. 60; 73). Er verbindet mit Genauigkeit der wissenschaftlichen Methode eine angenehme, fesselnde Darlegung des Gegenstandes.

Selbstverständlich lassen sich auch ein paar kritische Bemerkungen vorbringen:

Man vermißt ein Register der gebrauchten Abkürzungen; mühsam muß man bei der Lesung suchen, wo die einzelnen Sigel zum ersten Male erklärt wurden. — Anerkennenswert ist, daß im Buch fast kein einziger Druckfehler stehen geblieben ist. Doch muß es gewiß auf S. 94 statt « au*f*gegangen von der Jungfrau » « au*s*gegangen » heißen. — Auf S. 78 wird festgestellt, daß Avvakum auf dem Konzil von 1667 der vom Konzil hervorgekehrten Ökumenizität im territorialen Sinne die Ökumenizität im Sinne der Traditionskette betont und daß für Avvakum ein Glied dieser Kette durch Maksim Grek gebildet wird. Nun betont aber Maksim seinerseits mehr als einmal mit Nachdruck auch die territoriale Ökumenizität. — S. 79 Anm. 4 wird zwar der slavische Titel einer Schrift des Maksim Grek über das Kreuzzeichen angegeben, aber — gegen die Gewohnheit des Verfassers — kein Hinweis auf die Quellen angeführt (vgl. dazu P. Joh. Chrysostomus, *Die « Pomorskie Otvety »*, Rom, 1957, S. 185-186 und E. E. Golubinskij, *K našej polemikě s staroobrjadcami*, Moskau 1905, S. 170-171). — S. 93 (vgl. auch S. 100 mit Anm. 3) wird « sostav i obraz » übersetzt mit « Beschaffenheit und Art und Weise ». « Sostav » ist doch vielmehr « Bestand » (eigentlich « Zusammensetzung »), « obraz » aber « Gestalt », « Form », was nicht nur den vom Verfasser auf S. 92 aufgezählten griechischen Wörtern mehr entspricht, sondern auch seiner eigenen Übersetzung auf S. 87 unten bis S. 98 Anm. 5 und 6. Aus S. 100 mit Anm. 7 ist nicht ersichtlich, ob « Beschaffenheit » die Übersetzung von « sostav » sein soll. — Zu S. 102 mit Anm. 6 taucht die Frage auf, ob die Hinzufügung der Worte « mja grěšnago » im Jesusgebet auf Avvakum zurückzuführen ist oder schon vor ihm bestand. — S. 125 erscheint die Konvention von Belaja Krinica (mit Hierarchie) als die « wohl größte altgläubige Denomination » ; S. 134 aber wird behauptet, das priesterlose Altgläubigentum sei immer stärker gewesen als das priesterliche. Für den Leser wird nicht klar, wie das zusammen stimmt. — Bemerken wir noch, daß (S. 101 f.) mit Recht sowohl die Abhängigkeit Avvakums vom theologischen Palamismus hervorgehoben wird wie auch der Unterschied, der zwischen Avvakums theologischen Aussagen und denen der palamitischen Theologie besteht.

Ohne Zweifel liegt eine Antwort auf die Frage, worin das innerste Wesen des Altgläubigentums bestehe, schon darin, daß Avvakums Leben und Werk unvoreingenommen und mit großer Sympathie dargestellt werden. Man erhält von der Person, der Sprache und dem Charakter Avvakums einen lebendigen, nachhaltigen Eindruck. Doch

bleibt natürlich im Grunde das Rätsel und Geheimnis der Persönlichkeit Avvakums und seines Werkes bestehen. Dies wird auch gerade an manchen Punkten der vorliegenden Untersuchung deutlich. So wird z.B. (S. 117) von Avvakum behauptet, er sei sich des selbstmörderischen Verhaltens (der Selbstverbrennungen) nicht bewußt geworden, und andererseits wird ihm eine durch und durch echte und gesunde Religiosität zugesprochen. Das objektiv theologische Urteil über Avvakum wird selbstverständlich je nach dem Standpunkt eines Orthodoxen, eines Altgläubigen, Katholiken oder Protestanten verschieden ausfallen. Interessant ist hier der Versuch des Verfassers, Avvakums Sätze in die Sprache der Lutherbibel umzugießen, « um so dem deutschen Leser das zugleich Kraftvolle wie Kirchengebundene und damit etwas Archaische fühlbar zu machen, das ihnen für das Empfinden des heutigen Russen anhaftet » (S. 12-13). Dabei ist er sich gewiß dessen bewußt, daß dies nur « in mancher Hinsicht » (vgl. S. 114) gilt. Aber etwas ist unseres Erachtens sehr richtig damit ausgedrückt worden. Man vergleiche die Auffassung N. Berdjaevs, demzufolge Altgläubige wie Slavophile nationales Brauchtum in den Bereich der Kirche eingeführt haben, und demzufolge Chomjakovs Psychologie dem Katholizismus gegenüber sich mit der Psychologie der Altgläubigen gegenüber der offiziellen Kirche vergleichen läßt (*A. S. Chomjakov,* Moskau 1912, S. 104 ff. — Anders urteilt der Moskauer Metropolit Ioannikij: siehe P. Pascal, *Avvakum et les débuts du raskol,* Paris 1938, S. 573).

Bernhard Schultze, S. J.

Adalbert de Vogüé, *La communauté et l'abbé dans la Règle de saint Benoît.* Préface du R. P. Louis Bouyer, Desclée de Brouwer, Bruges 1961, in 12° pp. 560.

Studiando la dottrina dei primi monaci si scoprono facilmente molte rassomiglianze con l'insegnamento degli antichi filosofi. Dopo tante indagini a questo proposito oggi siamo piuttosto cauti nelle conseguenze finali. Il messaggio di Cristo, sia che venga abbellito con l'eloquenza di Platone, sia che venga riassunto come una massima stoica, esso non può nascondere la sua originalità, la sua novità e la sua unicità.

Le scoperte del Mar Morto e gli studi sull'ambiente culturale del periodo ellenistico hanno fatto sì da risvegliare la volontà di paragonare le organizzazioni monastiche con quelle non cristiane o profane. L'opera del P. De Vogüé, inserendosi in questa problematica, anche se si limita soltanto allo studio delle fonti benedettine, presenta un interesse più vasto e appare utile per tutti coloro che studiano il monachesimo antico. La sua conclusione forse non accontenterà tutti, ma mi sembra che sia ben fondata: il cenobio è una realtà *sui generis.* Infatti se si vuole cercare una realtà parallela, bisogna prima di tutto

trovarla nella Chiesa e non in altre società profane. Il monastero benedettino, come quello pacomiano, e specialmente quello basiliano, non tende a unire le persone secondo i principi profani, ma soltanto secondo lo spirito della Scrittura.

Comparando la *Regula Magistri* e la *Regola di S. Benedetto*, l'autore si è limitato all'analisi conscienziosa solamente di una ventina di capitoli, concentrando la sua attenzione a un particolare problema, cioè alla relazione della comunità con il suo capo, l'abbate. Anche questo problema dell'ubbidienza religiosa entra a far parte dell'interesse generale, perchè la stessa questione è stata già sollevata a proposito di S. Basilio (Dom Gribomont), di S. Pacomio (P. Bacht) ed in rapporto alla direzione spirituale in genere (P. Hausherr).

Lo stesso autore è pienamente conscio che il suo studio non è completamente terminato, ma il suo libro costituisce un aiuto notevole per ulteriori ricerche.

T. Špidlík S. J.

Dictionnaire de spiritualité, Fascicules XXXV-XXXVI, Paris, Beauchesne 1963, col. 609-1120 (*Esprit de foi – François-Sébastien d'Altdorf*).

Dato che il valore del pregiato dizionario è ormai conosciuto e apprezzato ovunque, nella nostra recensione degli ultimi fascicoli ci soffermiamo ad annotare due piccoli appunti.

L'articolo *Foi et confiance* è stato concepito come un complemento di una voce già sviluppata prima: *Confiance*. Esso difatti si occupa esclusivamente del concetto di fiducia. Certamente, come tale, è molto positivo, ma in questa serie degli articoli sulla fede, si attenderebbe un altro aspetto, cioè l'analisi dei testi della Sacra Scrittura che parlano della fede nel senso di *fiducia*. Non è forse questa la perenne difficoltà dei protestanti contro il concetto cattolico di fede che sembra loro troppo « oggettivo »? Si sente spesso dire dai calvinisti: Abramo è diventato il « padre di tutti i credenti » non perchè credeva « qualche cosa » speciale, ma perchè aveva una fiducia illimitata in Jahwe! — Non sarebbe quindi opportuno di fare un'analisi più profonda sui testi scritturistici usati dai protestanti per provare l'identità del concetto *fede-fiducia*?

Similmente avrebbero più valore i due articoli sul *Fond de l'âme* (negli scritti di Eckhart e di Suor Maria dell'Incarnazione), se vi fosse maggiormente sviluppata la relazione tra questo « fondo dell'anima » e il problema già apparso nell'età patristica sul « punto » (diciamolo così) nel quale la grazia di Dio tocca la persona umana. Concepiti sotto questo aspetto, i due articoli sono un complemento molto utile a quello che fu detto nel secondo volume del *Dictionnaire* sul « *Cor et cordis affectus* ».

T. Špidlík, S. J.

Liturgica et Canonica

Henrica FOLLIERI, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vol. II (= *Studi e Testi* 212), Città del Vaticano 1961. In-8°, pp. XXII-570.

Avec la publication de ces volumes, M.lle Follieri a mis à disposition des byzantinistes un instrument de travail dont l'utilité ne peut pas être exagérée.

L'ouvrage contient, en ordre alphabétique, les incipits de tous les tropaires contenus dans les livres grecs imprimés. L'autrice a exploré non seulement les livres liturgiques en usage aujourd'hui et les anciennes éditions, mais de même les éditions d'anciens mélodes ou hymnographes dont les compositions ne sont souvent plus en usage. Elle signale aussi les cas où le texte d'un tropaire présente des variantes dans les différentes éditions.

Les sigles utilisés sont clairs et l'impression est excellente. Nous félicitons M.lle F. de son accomplissement et la remercions d'avoir grandement facilité l'étude de la Liturgie byzantine.

J. MATEOS, S. J.

Prof. Émile EID, *La Figure Juridique du Patriarche*. Étude historico-juridique, Deuxième édition. Rome 1962, 8°, pp. XV-196.

Libentissime opus a Rev.mo D. Eid exaratum nostris lectoribus praesentamus. In optatis enim omnium erat, ut institutum tanti momenti ut est Patriarcha orientalis plene tıactaretur. Id tandem A. nobis praebet, qui in hoc suo opere, post praemissam partem historicam Patriarchatus Orientalis, in altera parte conatus est figuram iuridicam Patriarchae sub luce praesertim Motuproprio Pii XII « Cleri sanctitati » (2 iulii 1957) definire. Quare Auctori primas partes in hac tam nobili provincia praedicti Mp. declaranda libenter tribuimus.

In Introductione praebetur ab A. brevis, ideoque necessario non semper quoad omnia completa, historica notitia « sur l'institution patriarchale », in qua A. multa et optima collegit, ubi lector conspectum totius evolutionis historicae huius patriarchalis instituti una cum abundanti bibliographia, inveniet. Dubitamus tamen num periti omnibus quae in textu asseruntur modo absoluto acquiescant. Bonum quoque fuisset si in hac tractatione relationes inter Patriarcham et Synodum fusius declaratae fuissent.

Ampliori tractatione A. de potestatis patriarchalis natura agit et peculiari modo quaestionem de personalitate et territorialitate huius potestatis agitat. In sequentibus, multiformi patriarchali potestate (legifera, iudiciaria, exsecutiva, coercitiva, magisterii, etc.) declarata, relationes quoque Patriarchae ad clerum, ad Metropolitas, ad Epi-

scopos et Exarchos patriarchales definiuntur. Haec omnia iuxta praescripta novi iuris canonici orientalis considerantur.

Ipsa argumenti amplitudo, ut id accuratius sub omni respectu tractaretur, maiorem molem postulasset; quo satis explicatur, si argumenti expositio qua par fuisset profunditate non semper fortasse polleat.

Opus tamen valde laudandum iudicamus, atque utile magnopere cuicumque voluerit notitiam de Instituto Patriarchali sibi comparare. Nostro quidem tempore, quando desiderium Ecclesiam Orientalem cognoscendi ubique in dies accrescit, opus Rev.mi Eid. valde opportunum dici debet; in eo namque id quod maximum est ornamentum Ecclesiae Orientalis exhibetur.

C. Pujol, S. J.

Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Instituto San Raimundo de Peñafort, Salamanca). I. – *La potestad de la Iglesia* (Análisis de su aspecto jurídico). Trabajos de la VII Semana de Derecho Canónico. Barcelona 1960, 8°, pp. XVI-526. — II. – *Teoría general de la adaptación del Código de Derecho Canónico.* Trabajos de la VIII Semana de Derecho Canónico. Bilbao 1961, 8°, pp. 421.

Notum est Salmanticensem Facultatem Iuris Canonici inde a pluribus annis promovere *Semanas* (Hebdomadas), seu Conventus periodicos in quibus peritiores, sive hispani sive esteri, inter iuris canonici cultores studio determinati argumenti vacant. Dissertationes habentur, discussioni publicae propositae, quae postea in uno volumine collectae publici iuris fiunt. Octo volumina hucusque prodierunt, in quibus magna copia exstat studiorum, quae non solum professoribus iuris canonici, sed etiam cuilibet huius iuris cultori, maximae utilitati esse possunt.

I. – In hoc I volumine (quod septimum occupat locum in collectione) collectae inveniuntur Dissertationes propositae in « Hebdomada » seu Conventu diebus 15-22 mensis Septembris anni 1958 Granatae coadunato, et quorum generale argumentum fuit « *La potestad de la Iglesia* ». Hoc generale argumentum sub diversis eius aspectibus consideratum fuit. Praemissa dissertatione « *La Iglesia de la caridad y la Iglesia del derecho* (Análisis teológico de la potestad entregada por Cristo a la Iglesia) » a R. P. de la Huerga, O. P., plura alia studia particularia circa hanc potestatem Ecclesiae exhibentur: v. gr. circa potestatem dominativam, paroccialem, relationes inter potestatem socialem et forum internum, titulos legales ad exercitium potestatis iurisdictionis, etc. Intime cum argumento connectitur peculiare studium circa « *La misión canónica y el apostolado de los seglares* », quod hodiernus Episcopus Gerundensis, N. Jubany, solide ac perspicue evolvit. In his omnibus studiis id assecutum est quod L. de Echeverria in praefatione merito animadvertit: « ... se unieron

en la Semana problemas de altura científica y carácter predominantemente teórico, con otros muchos de inmediata proyección práctica. De la conjunción entre tradición y actualidad brotó una característica de solidez doctrinal que honra a todos los ponentes y da particular interés a las conclusiones que de las páginas de este volumen se desprenden ».

II. – Omnibus constat Ioannem XXIII anno 1959 palam fecisse Suam voluntatem procedendi ad necessariam Codicis Iuris Canonici renovationem seu adaptationem pro nostri temporis exigentiis. Universitas vero Pontificia Salmanticensis utile iudicavit « Semana » (Hebdomadam) indicere, Conventum sc. studiorum anno 1960 habendum, ut argumentum magni momenti a peritis in iure canonico accurato examini subiiceretur. Revera Conventus habitus est in aedibus Universitatis Deustensis (Bilbao) diebus 19/25 mensis Septembris anni 1960, eiusque generale argumentum fuit « *La teoría general de la adaptación del Código de Derecho Canónico* ». Post nonnulla praeliminaria studia, v. gr. *Lecciones de las codificaciones civiles*, *Balance de la codificación*, alia proposita fuerunt studia circa peculiares aspectus futurae adaptationis Codicis iuris canonici: v. gr. circa modum loquendi in futuro Codice adhibendum, circa ordinem in eo servandum, circa adaptationem eius in iis quae ad bona temporalia, aut etiam ad ordinem sociologicum pertinent, aut ad exigentias pastorales et liturgicas spectant. Nec defuerunt considerationes quae ambitum stricte latinum praetergressae sunt, sed quae in proxima Codicis iuris canonici latini minime sunt praetermittendae: ideo praeter dissertationem circa ea quae ex Codificatione orientali in adaptando Codice latino prae oculis habeantur oportet, optima fuit relatio nostris temporibus apprime respondens, scilicet, « *La problemática de la adaptación del Derecho Canónico en perspectiva ecumenista* ». Omnia studia in hoc Conventu anni 1960 peritorum considerationi submissa in hoc volumine continentur, quae maximae utilitati esse poterunt iis quibus tantum opus adaptationis Codicis iuris canonici committetur.

Optandum sane est, ut Pontificia Universitas Salmanticensis in huiusmodi Conventibus studiorum fovendis perseveret: sicut enim experientia iam constat ex huiusmodi Conventibus inter iuris canonici peritos optimos fructus esse perceptos, sic etiam spes optima affulget abundantiores adhuc in posterum fore percipiendos.

CLEMENS PUJOL, S. J.

Historica

H. GROTZ S. J., *Die Hauptkirchen des Ostens, von den Anfängen bis zum Konzil von Nikaia* (325) (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 169). Rom 1964, 8°, pp. XII-259.

Unter « Hauptkirchen des Ostens » versteht der V. die drei in den Kanones von Nicäa (6 und 7) ausdrücklich genannten Kirchen

von Alexandrien, Antiochien und Jerusalem. Diese Kanones sind der Ausgangspunkt und die Voraussetzung der ganzen Darstellung. In ihnen sieht Gr. klar eine Vorrangstellung dieser drei Städte ausgedrückt. Er will nun nachprüfen, welche geschichtliche Entwicklung der in Nicäa anerkannten Situation vorangegangen ist und zu ihr geführt hat. Gr. will also nicht einfach eine Geschichte der drei Hauptkirchen bieten, sondern will nachweisen, dass schon in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten Jerusalem, Antiochien und Alexandrien eine Sonderstellung unter den übrigen Kirchen des Ostens einnahmen, und er will diesen Vorrang im einzelnen darlegen. Dabei wird die Frage des Verhältnisses dieser drei Hauptkirchen zu Rom bewusst beiseite gelassen, weil sie eine eigene ausführliche Darstellung verlangen würde.

Der V. geht im 1. Kapitel den verschiedenen Ursachen nach, die zu einer Vorrangstellung dieser Hauptkirchen hätten führen können. Er prüft im einzelnen folgende mögliche Ursachen: den apostolischen Ursprung, die missionarische Tätigkeit, die persönlichen Qualitäten der Bischöfe, die politischen Verhältnisse und die geographische Lage. Keine dieser Ursachen — so der V. — erklärt für sich allein das Werden der Hauptkirchen. Dass der apostolische Ursprung allein nicht genügt, wird überzeugend gezeigt am Beispiel von Ephesus, das obwohl apostolische Gründung doch nicht zur Hauptkirche wurde (S. 34). Anderseits ergibt sich die Bedeutung der Apostolizität aus der Geschichte Jerusalems, das trotz seiner politischen Bedeutungslosigeit sich schliesslich doch — wenn auch recht spät — zum Patriarchat entwickelte (S. 74). Was Alexandrien angeht, scheint uns der Verfasser die Wichtigkeit der doch recht problematischen Gründung durch den Petrusschüler Marcus zu überschätzen. Er kann in der Tat nicht ein einziges Zeugnis anführen, aus dem hervorginge, dass dieser Ursprung zur Vorrangstellung Alexandriens, die in Ägypten schon im 3. Jahrhundert unumstritten war, tatsächlich beigetragen hat. Alexandrien ist ein klassisches Beispiel für die Wichtigkeit der geographischen und völkischen Lage, die Alexandrien politische Hauptstadt werden liess und ebenso Hauptkirche, ohne dass deshalb das politische Moment als solches ausschlaggebend war. Dieser Grund ist u. E. für die Entwicklung Alexandriens zur Hauptkirche allein schon ausreichend. Gr. hebt sehr gut hervor, dass bei der politischen *und* der kirchlichen Organisation dieselben geographischen und völkischen Verhältnisse wirksam waren, die zu einer parallelen Entwicklung der beiden Organisationen führten, ohne dass eine bewusste Anlehnung der kirchlichen Einteilung an die staatliche vorlag.

Gr. urteilt abschliessend über die Gründe der Entwicklung zum Vorrang der Hauptkirchen: «Alle die oben untersuchten Gründe und Umstände haben sicher einen grossen Einfluss auf die Entwicklung ausgeübt. Doch keiner von ihnen hat für sich allein genommen diese Entwicklung bestimmt. Erst das Zusammenwirken aller hat die Überordnung der Hauptkirchen in ihrer konkreten Ausgestaltung geschaffen...» (S. 83). Die letzte und tiefste Ursache für das Werden

der Hauptkirchen sieht V. im Wesen der Gesamtkirche, das einerseits eine hierarchische Gliederung und monarchische Leitung verlangte, anderseits aber Berücksichtigung der Verschiedenheit und Eigenart der Völker und Länder forderte. Eine Zentralisierung auf regionaler Ebene war deshalb das Naturgegebene. Man könnte wünschen, dass in diesem Zusammenhang auch etwas über die vom Stifter der Kirche grundgelegte Kollegialität des Episkopats gesagt würde, die gewiss, wie es vor allem die Geschichte der frühen Synoden zeigt, in der ganzen Entwicklung auch eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hat.

Im 2. und 3. Kapitel lehnt der V. mit vollem Recht die Ansicht Lübecks über den Ursprung des Metropolitansystems aus der Angleichung an den organisierten Kaiserkult ab und weist überzeugend nach, dass die Angleichung der kirchlichen Organisation an die staatliche sich erst zu Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts herausgebildet hat. In diesem Zusammenhang wäre die Arbeit von Karl von Schwartz, *Die Entstehung der Synoden in der alten Kirche*, Leipzig 1898, zu berücksichtigen gewesen, der schon vor Lübeck sich mit denselben Problemen, und zwar ganz im Sinne von Gr. auseinandersetzte. Gerade hier bringt der V. entscheidend Neues und räumt mit alten unbewiesenen Anschauungen auf.

Im 4. und 5. Kapitel stellt Gr. dann im einzelnen die Einflussgebiete der Hauptkirchen und die Vorrechte und Pflichten der Hauptbischöfe dar. Der V. hat durch sein Buch auf einem Gebiet, das wirklich weitgehend Neuland ist, gute und entscheidende Pionierarbeit geleistet und er hat ein sehr weitschichtiges Material mit grossem Scharfsinn und durchweg auch recht behutsam zur Lösung der nicht leichten Aufgabe ausgewertet.

Es ist jedoch bei einem so schwierigen Unterfangen nicht zu verwundern, dass noch manche Fragen bleiben und dass nicht jeder mit allen Lösungen des V. einverstanden sein wird. Der Haupteinwand, den wir gegen seine Darstellung zu erheben haben, ist dieser: Er scheint Alexandrien, Antiochien und Jerusalem all zu leichthin auf eine Stufe zu stellen und scheint für Jerusalem das, was eigentlich zu beweisen wäre, auf Grund von Kanon 7 des Nicänums einfach vorauszusetzen, nämlich dass dieser Stadt ein wirklich juridischer Vorrang zukam. Kanon 7 spricht von einem reinen Ehrenprimat, und es ist u. E. nicht zu sehen, mit welchem Recht Gr. daraus einen effektiven Vorrang über die Provinzen Palästina und Phönizien macht (S. 196). Wir finden in den Ausführungen des V. keinen Beweis für eine Ausübung jurisdiktioneller Rechte durch die Kirche von Jerusalem nach der Zerstörung und dem Wiederaufbau dieser Stadt und vor Nicäa. Das Zeugnis des Hieronymus, das Gr. (S. 46) zitiert, besagt vielmehr ausdrücklich, das Jerusalem Cäsarea als seiner Metropole unterstand. Der V. weist allerdings manchmal auf die Unterschiede zwischen Alexandrien, Antiochien und Jerusalem hin, zum erstenmal auf S. 163, nachher wieder auf S. 201. Diese Feststellung hätte an den Anfang der ganzen Darstellung gehört. Gr. vergisst aber gelegentlich wieder diese seine Feststellung und argumentiert aus einer vorausgesetzten

wesentlichen Gleichheit zwischen den drei Hauptkirchen, so wenn er (S. 212) schreibt: « Was für Alexandreia und Antiocheia gilt, *muss* ebenso für Jerusalem gegolten haben ». Hier geht es um das Recht, Bischöfe im Einflussgebiet zu weihen. Gr. kann keinen Fall aufweisen, dass der Bischof von Jerusalem vor Nicäa irgendeinen Bischof geweiht habe.

Auch der wesentliche Unterschied zwischen Alexandrien und Antiochen wird nicht genügend hervorgehoben. Gr. unterscheidet sehr mit Recht zwischen « Kirchengebiet » und « Einflussgebiet » (S. 163), sucht aber doch nachher auch für Antiochien tatsächlich ein « Kirchengebiet » nachzuweisen, und zwar aus Indizien, die uns manchmal doch recht schwach vorkommen wollen. Er spricht (S. 183) von der « *Lostrennung* des Pontos, Thrakias und Asias von Antiocheia », als ob diese politischen Diösezen doch einmal zum « Kirchengebiet » von Antiochien gehört hätten. Das hat doch nur Sinn, wenn der Bischof von Antiochien dort wirklich Rechte ausübte, was sich schwerlich beweisen lässt. Aus der Tatsache, dass Serapion, Bischof von Antiochien, von Apollinarios von Hierapolis in Asien einen Brief erhalten hat, schliesst Gr. doch etwas kühn: « Der Brief des Apollinarios war *offenbar* ein Bericht über die Zustände in Asia an den Bischof der Hauptkirche von Antiocheia » (S. 173/74), also an seinen kirchlichen Obern. Aus der Anwesenheit eines Bischofs aus Thrazien in Antiochien wird sofort der Schluss gezogen, dass er zur Berichterstattung über seine Kirche nach Antiochien gegangen sei — wohl zu einer Art von Besuch ad limina —, dass also Thrazien zum Gebiet von Antiochien gehörte (S. 174). Gr. muss zugestehen, dass der Bischof von Antiochien noch im 3. Jahrhundert auf keiner einzigen Synode in Kleinasien den Vorsitz führte (S. 220) und dass es eine blosse Vermutung ist, ihm den Vorsitz auf der Synode von Ankyra (314) zuzuschreiben (S. 159). Für die Synode von Neocäsarea (zwischen 314 und 325) behauptet Gr. die Leitung durch den Bischof von Antiochien als sicher (S. 159), während Hefele die Bischofsliste dieser Synode, an deren Spitze Vitalis von Antiochien figuriert, als sehr zweifelhaft bezeichnet (HEFELE-LECLERC I, 1 S. 326). Gerade diese Geschichte der frühen Synoden in Kleinasien, die Gr. sehr gut im Hinblick auf die kirchliche Organisation behandelt (S. 133 ff.), beweist u. E., dass es im 3. Jahrhundert für Kleinasien noch keine Hauptkirche gab und eben deshalb auch keinen Bischof, dem der Vorsitz auf den Synoden automatisch zugefallen wäre, wie dies damals schon in Ägypten, Afrika und Italien der Fall war. Wie schwach die Stellung des Bischofs von Antiochien selbst im 4. Jahrhundert noch war, ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, dass er erst im Jahre 341 zum erstenmal einer Synode in seiner eigenen Bischofstadt präsidierte. (Vgl. G. BARDY, *La Théologie de l'Eglise de saint Irénée au concile de Nicée*, Paris 1947 S. 312; zur ganzen Frage vgl. W. DE VRIES, *Der Episkopat auf den Synoden vor Nicäa*, in: « Theol.-prakt. Quartalschrift » 1963, S. 267 ff.) R. Devreesse, den Gr. übrigens nicht zitiert, urteilt über die Einflusszone von Antiochien sehr viel vorsichtiger.

Er spricht — für die Zeit von Nicäa — von « dem Gebiet, das *bald* das Patriarchat von Antiochien sein wird ». Hierzu gehören die Provinzen: Palästina, Phönizien, Cölesyrien, Arabien, Mesopotamien, Cilicien und Isaurien. (R. Devreesse *Le Patriarchat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Eglise jusqu'à la conquête arabe,* Paris 1945, S. 3).

Der Beweis, dass der Bischof von Antiochien vor dem Konzil von Nicäa in ganz Kleinasien oder gar in Thrazien irgendwelche konkreten Rechte ausübte, ist u. E. durch Gr. nicht erbracht worden, und er dürfte sich auch nicht erbringen lassen. Man kann deshalb auch nicht von einer späteren « Lostrennung » dieser Gebiete von Antiochien reden. Das ganze spätere Gebiet von Konstantinopel wäre ja so durch Beschneidung des Gebietes von Antiochien entstanden. Die angegebenen bürgerlichen Diözesen haben höchstens recht vage zu einem Strahlungsfeld von Antiochien gehört, ohne dass der Bischof dieser Stadt dort eigentliche Rechte ausübte. Man hat ihm also folglich diese Rechte auch nicht genommen.

Aber über all diese Fragen lässt sich natürlich diskutieren und man kann darüber verschiedener Meinung sein. Gr. hat das Verdienst, diese Probleme mutig aufgegriffen zu haben und er hat zu ihrer Lösung einen ganz wesentlichen Beitrag geleistet.

Wilhelm de Vries, S. J.

José O'Callaghan, S. J., *Cartas cristianas griegas del siglo V* (= *Biblioteca Histórica de la Biblioteca Balmes,* XXV). Balmesiana. Barcelona 1963, en 8º, pp. 251.

Para más de un Centro científico, a donde puede llegar nuestra Revista *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* será una novedad saber que existe en la Facultad Teológica de San Cugat del Vallés (Barcelona) un « Seminario de Papirología ».

Pero que tiene vida pujante, lo viene a demostrar el presente volumen de uno de sus profesores; hermoso trabajo de investigador, un alarde — diríamos — de lo que puede dar de sí el estudio a fondo de un sector de documentos de asunto muy vario, en que pocos se fijan, y que a más de uno pudieran parecer algo baladí, como pertenecientes que son a la vida familiar y cotidiana, producidos en medios sociales con frecuencia humildes y sencillos. Con todo, la lectura de este libro pondrá de manifiesto la importancia que encierran.

Modestamente dice el autor que su obra quiere ser como la continuación de la del profesor italiano G. Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane dai papiri greci del III e IV secolo.* Milán 1923), a cuyo método se atiene. Según eso, hubiera yo preferido dar ya a conocer en el título del libro el carácter general de la obra; así por ejemplo: *Cartas cristianas griegas en papiros del siglo V.* Mas sea como fuere, O'Callaghan ha hecho un trabajo de primera mano muy perfecto. Ha ido seleccionando para su colección, de entre las numerosas y ricas publicaciones papirológicas

que tiene a su alcance, nada menos que 63 preciosos *Documentos* (pp. 31-213). De cada uno de ellos, a más de una breve presentación introductoria, consigna los elementos cristianos que en él se contienen; da a continuación el texto, enumeradas las líneas y seguido de una especie de aparato crítico con la corrección de las lecturas equivocadas, ya del texto mismo, ya de la edición principe de él; añade la versión castellana, muy castiza; y termina siempre con una serie de notas, con referencia a las líneas del texto, de carácter filológico e histórico, las cuales, ya de por sí solas, descubren la vasta erudición de quien ha tenido paciencia y acierto en apropiarse datos tan variados y heterogéneos, como ha tenido que ir espigando por la riquísima biblioteca de autores de consulta, que presenta al principio del libro (pp. 13-20).

No es menester que nos detengamos en ponderar la dificultad intrínseca de tal trabajo, si tenemos en cuenta — como advierte el autor en la *Introducción* (pp. 23-28) — que, aparte la selección misma de los documentos, no siempre fácil, acrecía la tarea penosa, para la recta interpretación de ellos, el lenguaje familiar e incorrecto de no pocos, escritos en dialecto con frecuencia. A esto se añade el hecho de haber llegado hasta nosotros esas Cartas, unas veces fragmentariamente, otras, corregidas. Tener que descifrar el documento en tales condiciones es siempre fatigoso. Sin embargo — y de ahí, a mi juicio, el mérito singular de este estudio —, todo parece llano en la lectura de las Cartas presentadas, en las que podemos « sorprender psicologías y situaciones » muy diversas, sumamente interesantes.

Las *Conclusiones* (pp. 217-228) a que el autor mismo llega como resultado de su trabajo, en parte son técnicas, por decirlo así, para indicar la contextura del documento papirológico; pero, en parte también, históricas, más directamente apropriadas para la generalidad de los lectores de nuestra Revista, y por eso me fijo más en ellas. Sobre todo es de especial interés para cualquier estudioso del mundo cristiano Oriental el saber que « las fórmulas religiosas [de esta colección de Cartas] se emplean como: 1) aseveración de la verdad; 2) testimonio de la ayuda divina; 3) expresión de esperanza; 4) recurso a las oraciones; 5) fechas liturgicas; 6) citas bíblicas; 7) locuciones de especial expresión cristiana » (p. 227).

Cierran el volumen 17 páginas de *Indices* (231-247), a dos columnas — demasiado apretadas quizás —, con los siguientes apartados: 1. Meses; 2. Poblados y gentes; 3. Nombres divinos; 4. Nombres personales; 5. Numerales (adjetivos, adverbios); 6. Símbolos; 7. Lista general de palabras.

Magnífica es, además, la presentación de la obra y perfecta la disposición tipográfica, muy bella, tanto en los tipos griegos como en los castellanos, uniformemente empleada su diversidad en las varias secciones de cada documento.

No dudamos, por todo esto, valorar el libro de O'Callaghan como modelo de « ecdótica » documentaria.

Manuel Candal, S. J.

Henryk PASZKIEWICZ, *The Making of the Russian Nation.* Darton, Longman and Todd LTD, London 1963, 8°, 509 pages + two maps.

This book is an extraordinary heuristic achievement and betrays an immense erudition. Almost five hundred periodicals and series are quoted and the elenchus of bibliography and source material, comprising 70 pages, is in itself of great value to any scholar interested in this period of Russian history.

In five chapters professor Paszkiewicz inquires into the formation of the "Russian nation", limiting his investigation to the period from the ninth to the fourteenth century. He begins with the linguistic analysis of some terms occurring in the documents. He then passes to a detailed examination of all available sources, domestic and foreign, written and archeological, without exaggerating the importance of the last group to the prejudice of the first (chapter I).

Does the current image of one, almost homogeneous and consolidated Kievan Rus', that is said to have been finally disrupted by the Mongol invasion into three branches — Great Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian, correspond to historical reality? To answer this question the author carries out a thorough semantic analysis of some key Slavic terms — *yazyk* (corresponding to the Greek *ethnos*), *zemlya* and *strana.* He shows that these terms, besides having their ordinary meaning of tongue, nation, land, sometimes have a religious-ecclesiastical connotation. Thus *Ruskyi yazyk* may designate the Rus'ian ecclesiastical province and all the people living under the spiritual control of the Metropolitan of Kiev (chapter II).

The author reexamines the long standing controversy: Is the Kievan Rus' of Slavic or Norse origin? He peruses all sources, Greek, Arabic, Western and Slavic, and decides definitevely for the Normanist thesis. The main argument of the Anti-Normanists has been the text of Nestor (Likhačev I, 23): *A Slovenskyi yazyk i ruskyi odno est'* — "The Slavonic yazyk and that of Rus' are one", thus apparently asserting the identity of the Slavonic and Rusian nation. But Nestor's statement admits another interpretation: the Slavonic ecclesiastical province and the Kievan ecclesiastical province are the same. Hence, in the opinion of our scholar, the metropolitan see of Kiev was considered by contemporaries as a continuation of the Slavonic metropolitan see of Methodius. The conclusion is inevitable: The Slavonic Christianity as developed among the Polyanians of Kiev was at this stage of development connected with the activity of the Apostles of the Slavs and with Rome (chapter III).

There was no such thing as a compact old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation, a common stem of the future three branches. Whenever the term *Rus'* occurs in Nestor's Chronicle, it stands mainly for the Varangian state — at least for the earlier times. Later, it signified primarily the community of the faithful (with no regard to

their ethnic origin) which adopted the Rus'ian faith and lived under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Kiev. When the Varangian Rus' disintegrated, the Church became common denominator of the disparate ethnic elements of Kievan Rus'. Ut to 1054 approximately, the year of the death of Yaroslav the Wise, the state element predominated; then it gave place to the religious consideration. This interpretation demythologizes early Rus'ian history. Neither Vladimir, nor Yaroslav, nor the masses of the people were moved by patriotic considerations (chapter IV).

Chapter V includes a discussion on the origin of the Russian nation of the upper Volga and Oka. There are no proofs that a mass Slavic migration from Kiev, Smolensk, and Novgorod to the northern mesopotamia took place. These territories were called Russian because they were evangelized by and stood under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Kiev. The Merya and other native tribes adopted together with the Christian faith the Slavic language, the language of the Church. But this was imposed on them artificially, partly by the missionary zeal of the clergy and partly by administrative measures of the Rurikides. " The Great-Rus' were Finns subjugated by the Rus'ian princes and converted by the Rus'ian Church " (p. 282). These regions remained for a long time bilingual. Though the Muscovites spoke Slavonic, the Slavs were not the most important ethnical element.

Not all the conclusions the book contains have matured as yet to the status of unchallengeable theses. Some *obiter dicta*, e. g. « Isidor, born in Salonika, was a Greek or a Hellenized Slav » (p. 56) need an explanation. Some other items (e. g. Hilarion as a Varangian, or the Kievan metropolitan see as a continuation of the see of St. Methodius, or the origin of Greet Russians) will require further study.

Professor Paszkiewicz, having made the full use of all the available source material in its multiple semantic meanings, had the courage to diverge from well-trodden paths and to open up avenues until now unexplored. His approach to the making of the Russian nation is a departure from old ways of thinking. It is not by chance that the ideas of the present book have aroused more attention in America than in the old country where any disengagement from long established patterns is more slow. No one studying the origins of Kievan Rus' and related problems can afford to neglect this epoch-making study.

J. Krajcar, S. J.

P. Duthilleul, *L'évangelisation des Slaves. Cyrille et Méthode* (= Bibiothèque de théologie, Série IV: Histoire de la théologie, Vol. 5). Desclée et C.ie éditeurs. Tournai 1963, 8°, pp. 201.

Il titolo principale del libro corrisponde solo al cap. V, che tratta degli inizi del cristianesimo presso gli Slavi dell'Europa meridionale e

centrale, eccetto i Polacchi e gli Slavi dell'Europa orientale. Il resto corrisponde al sottotitolo in quanto ci presenta tutta la storia dei Ss. Cirillo e Metodio. All'inizio abbiamo un capitolo sulle fonti cirillometodiane, mentre l'ultimo capitolo tratta della sorte subìta dalla liturgia slava dopo la morte di S. Metodio.

Il carattere generale del libro fa pensare a quello di F. Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance.* Il libro del nostro autore potrebbe essere intitolato *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues dell'Occident.* Ma vi è una differenza essenziale. Mentre le ricerche di Dvorník comprovano la veridicità ed il valore storico delle suddette « *Leggende* », cioè delle « *Vite paleoslave* », l'atteggiamento del nostro autore è diffidente, respingendo parecchie affermazioni di tali « *Vite* » nel regno della fantasia o delle invenzioni agiografiche. Per es.: « Peu de document véritables nous sont parvenus. La vie de Cyrille et de Méthode ne nous est connue que par des légendes hagiographiques » (p. 1). « Ce sont ces légendes qui nous donnent le schéma général de la vie de Constantin et de Méthode. Aussi, voudrait-on pouvoir se flatter de posséder là une biographie précise et sure; ce serait trop attendre de ces légendes » (p. 14). « Ce que la V[ita] C[onstantini] ajoute sur une rencontre avec Kocel et la mise en liberté de prisonniers comme à la fin de la mission chez les Khazars, paraît relever de la phantaisie habituelle de l'hagiographe» (p. 115). Un tale atteggiamento ci pare troppo negativo, dopo gli studi di Dvorník, Grivec, Devos, e di tanti altri autori i quali sono stati presi solo scarsamente in considerazione, o addirittura non si trovano citati, come per es. Grivec, se non nella bibliografia. Il valore storico delle « *Vite* » paleoslave oggi è generalmente riconosciuto, ed anche per il nostro autore, nonostante il suo atteggiamento generale, esse sono la fonte principale, per la sua opera. Anzi qualche volta vi si appoggia fortemente: «Quoi qu'il en soit de ces tentatives, le témoignage de l'hagiographe s'impose a nous: Constantin a composé un alphabet slave et l'a utilisé pour transcrire l'Evangile, en vue de sa mission en Moravie » (p. 106).

Entrando nei dettagli, vogliamo rilevare, che l'autore spesse volte cerca di dare una sua interpretazione alle fonti; e ciò qualche volta merita attenzione. Ma ci sembra, che in ciò non è stato sempre felice. Ecco qualche esempio: Quando parla dei Bulgari, non si sa, se intende i proto-Bulgari, o la nuova nazione già sorta per l'assimilazione di questi colle tribù slave: « Par ailleur, le commerce des Bulgares avec Salonique empruntait surtout les voies d'eau, de la Bystritsa au Vardar... Bulgares, Stroumiens, Drougouvitches et Sagoudates se rencontraient donc constamment dans les rues et sur les marchés de Salonique » (p. 105). Secondo l'autore, nel sec. IX la questione del rito non aveva grande importanza, e perciò non tratta dell'origine del rito romano-slavo o glagolitico, ma a un certo punto si sente necessitato di supporre, che Metodio aveva adottato questo rito: « Une fois de plus nous remarquons qu'aux IXe et Xe siècles on n'attachait pas d'importance au rite... et nous voici obligés de supposer

que Méthode pendant son séjour a Rome, s'est initié au rite romain » (p. 133). Per quanto riguarda le ordinazioni sacre dei due Fratelli, l'autore non trova nelle fonti nessuna indicazione secondo cui Cirillo sarebbe già stato sacerdote quando venne in Moravia: « ... car on peut se demander, qui célébrait la liturgie slave ... d'autre part il n'a jamais été question d'une ordination de Constantin; nous sommes bien obligés cependant de la supposer, puisque Constantin était chef de mission... » (p. 115). A questo proposito vedasi l'informazione fornitaci dalla « Vita Italica » nel cap. I: « honorem quoque sacerdotii ibidem (= Constantinopoli) est adeptus ». Per quanto riguarda l'ordinazione episcopale a Roma, egli esclude non solo quella di Cirillo, ma anche quella di Metodio: « quant a celle de Méthode, mentionée dans la translatio, elle est invraisamblable » (p. 126, nota 2). Ma più avanti egli stesso cita i passi delle lettere di Giovanni VIII dove se ne parla espressamente (cfr. p. 137). Anche la questione del titolo arcivescovile di Metodio non mi sembra ben chiarita: « Il ne semble pas, que Méthode ait jamais été archevêque de Syrmium » (p. 134). A proposito del primo viaggio dei Ss. Fratelli a Roma, l'autore dice: « A s'en tenir a ces textes, nous comprenons que Constantin et Méthode rentrent a Constantinople... » (p. 115). Ma i discepoli di Costantino, che vi presero parte ci informano, che all'inizio l'intenzione di Costantino era di recarsi a Roma. Di ciò cfr. M. Lacko, *Prvá cesta sv. Cyrila e Metoda do Ríma*: Studi in onore di E. Lo Gatto e G. Maver, Roma 1962, pp. 375-380.

Rileviamo ancora qualche altra inesattezza: Devín è identificato con Carnuntum (p. 108). Ora Carnuntum è l'attuale Petronell in Austria. Al posto di « *Morava bulgare* » (p. 108) sarebbe meglio dire *Morava serba*. A pag. 133 non si capisce l'espressione « C'est dans cette ville (Petovio) que Méthode changea de route et abandona la direction de la Morava par Savaria » (p. 133). Di quale Morava si tratta? Alla stessa pagina si dice, che il luogo della residenza di Kocel era Salapiungin. Ora in diverse fonti contemporanee abbiamo conservato il nome Moospurc, o in slavo Blatensk Kostel. Alla pag. 66 i figli del principe sloveno Borut si chiamano Cacatius e Cheitmar. Dato che l'autore generalmente rende bene i nomi slavi, poteva anche qui dare i loro nomi slavi: Gorazd e Chotimir. Alla p. 116 l'autore interpreta i nomi delle nazioni, che Costantino citò a Venezia come aventi la propria liturgia. Fra di esse si trovano anche i Sugdi. Il nostro autore dice di loro: « ... les Sougdes supposés être les habitants de Sougdaia (Sudak) sur la côte de Crimée ». Vediamo però che cosa dice dei Sugdi la Real-Encyclopädie di Pauly-Wissowa: « Sogdiana, die nördlichste Landschaft des Perserreiches, zur 16 Satrapie gehörig, ihre Bewohner die Sogdianoi oder Sogdoi. Die Grenzen des Landes sind im Süden der Oxus, im Norden der obere Iaxartes ». Dunque si tratta della regione a sud-est del lago Aral. I recenti studi poi provano che, i Sugdi di fatti avevano la liturgia caldea nella propria lingua. Su questo argomento è stata fatta una relazione

interessante al Congresso su « *L'Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà* », promosso dall'Accademia dei Lincei a Roma nel 1963.

Non ostante questi e simili difetti il lettore troverà nel libro pagine molto interessanti, che contribuiranno a meglio conoscere l'opera dei Ss. Cirillo e Metodio.

M. LACKO, S. J.

Elementa ad fontium editiones. Edidit Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae.

Historiae Poloniae studiosi extra Poloniam degentes in hac serie illa documenta ad historiam Poloniae spectantia edunt, quae in tabulariis exteris inveniuntur. Inscriptam voluerunt hanc seriem « Elementa ad fontium editiones ». Hac ratione significarunt se non velle procedere, uti generatim mos est, colligendo per diversa archiva documenta ad aliquam personam, vel eventum, vel periodum historicam pertinentia, sed simpliciter edendo fundos Polonicos singulorum archivorum. Praeterea omittuntur notae explicativae vel illustrativae, restringendo apparatum criticum textus ad essentialia. Hunc procedendi modum editores elegerunt propter rationes circumstantiis hodiernis inhaerentes, quae in introductione primi voluminis diserte explicantur. Ex eadem introductione discimus editores intendere documenta ante finem saeculi XVI data integre reproducere; quae data sunt autem postea, per Regesta studiosis significare. En tibi quae hucusque prodierunt octo volumina:

I. *Polonica ex Libris « Obligationum et Solutionum » Camerae Apostolicae ab a. 1373*. Collegit Joannes LISOWSKI. Romae 1960, 8°, pp. XV-292.

II. « *Liber disparata antiqua continens* » *Alexandro Masoviensi episcopo Tridentino dicatus*. Praesentavit Edmundus WINKLER. Romae 1960, 8°, pp. XVII-187. tab. 19.

III. *Repertorium rerum Polonicarum ex archivo Orsini in archivo Capitolino Romae*. Pars I. Collegit Wanda WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS. Romae 1961, 8°, pp. XVII-160, tab. 28.

IV. *Res Polonicae Elisabetha I Angliae regnante conscriptae ex archivis publicis Londoniarum*. Edidit Carolus H. TALBOT. Romae 1961, 8°, pp. XIV-311.

V. *Repertorium rerum Polonicarum in archivo Dragonetti de Torres in civitate Aquilana*. Edidit Paulus COLLURA. Romae 1962, 8°, pp. XI-83, tab. 3.

VI. *Res Polonicae Iacobo I Angliae regnante conscriptae ex archivis publicis Londoniarum*. Edidit Carolus H. TALBOT. Romae 1962, 8°, pp. XI-396.

VII. *Repertorium rerum Polonicarum ex archivo Orsini in archivo Capitolino Romae*. Pars II. Collegit Wanda WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS. Romae 1962, 8°, pp. XIII-248, tab. 11.

VIII. *Documenta Polonica ex archivo generali Hispaniae in Simancas*. Pars I. Collegit Valerianus Meysztowicz. Romae 1963, 8°, pp. IX-210, tab. 7.

M. Lacko, S. J.

Myron Stasiw, *Metropolia Haliciensis*, (Eius historia et iuridica forma). Ed. 2. (= *Analecta OSBM*, Ser. II, Sect. I, vol. XII). Roma 1960, 8°, pp. XVIII-239.

L'A. divide la sua opera in due parti. Nella prima tratta le vicende storiche della metropolia di Halič; nella seconda la sua figura giuridica.

Nel primo capitolo della prima parte l'A. espone la fondazione della metropolia di Halič. Raccoglie, cioè e commenta le poche e non sempre certe e chiare menzioni dei documenti sulle origini e sulle sorti della metropolia di Halič nel secolo XIV. Questa metropolia non ebbe vita tranquilla. I territori di essa furono spesso contesi fra diversi sovrani, i quali, secondo i propri interessi politici, facevano pressione sui patriarchi costantinopolitani, ora per la sua erezione, ora per la sua soppressione, ora per il suo ristabilimento. All'inizio del secolo XV la metropolia di Halič cessò di esistere per il disinteresse dei sovrani e per la conseguente mancata nomina di metropoliti. Così i metropoliti di Kiev aggiunsero al proprio titolo anche quello di Halič; mentre il territorio della diocesi di Halič passò alla diocesi di Leopoli, eretta nel 1539 dal re di Polonia Sigismondo I.

Nel capitolo secondo l'A. riassume la storia della diocesi di Leopoli dalle sue origini fino alla prima divisione della Polonia nel 1772. Le divisioni della Polonia (1772-1795) portarono le diocesi unite di Leopoli, Peremyšl e Cholm sotto il dominio degli Asburgo austriaci. I metropoliti uniti di Kiev si trovarono sotto il dominio russo, e perciò il Governo di Vienna iniziò trattative con la S. Sede per erigere in separata metropolia le diocesi annesse all'Austria. Le trattative furono lunghe e laboriose, e solo nel maggio del 1808 fu spedita a Vienna la Bolla dell'erezione della metropolia di Halič con sede a Leopoli.

La parte seconda (pp. 169-239) è dedicata all'esame della figura giuridica del metropolita della ristabilita metropolia di Halič. L'A., dopo aver esposto e commentato i diritti attribuitigli dalla Bolla di erezione conclude la seconda parte con la affermazione che al metropolita di Halič spettano il titolo e i diritti dello « Archiepiscopus Maior » nel senso dei principi e della prassi del diritto canonico orientale. La recente dichiarazione della S. Sede, che riconosce questo titolo all'attuale metropolia di Halič Mons. Giuseppe Slipyj, è la migliore conferma della fondatezza di tale conclusione.

Lascio al giudizio competente dei giuristi un'analisi più approfondita dei concetti e degli argomenti giuridici esposti dall'A. nella seconda parte. Quanto alla parte storica si può sottolineare il valore

dell'ampia e documentata esposizione delle trattative per il ristabilimento della metropolia di Halič, intercorse tra Roma e Vienna. Invece meno riuscito è il secondo capitolo della prima parte sulla diocesi di Leopoli. L'A. vi espone non solo la storia della fondazione della diocesi di Leopoli, ma vi narra anche le vicende di essa fino alla prima divisione della Polonia. Tutto questo non era necessario né veramente utile per il fine principale dell'opera: l'illustrazione della posizione giuridica della ristabilita metropolia di Halič. Questo lungo capitolo — più di cinquanta pagine — rende pesante la prima parte e la fa sproporzionatamente lunga di fronte alla parte seconda, che costituisce l'argomento principale di tutta l'opera.

L'A. preferisce usare il termine « ucrainus » in luogo di quello « ruthenus » generalmente usato nei documenti del tempo, specialmente quelli latini. Siccome l'A. tratta sopratutto dei territori della metropolia di Halič, abitati effettivamente dagli Ucraini, questo uso non crea generalmente equivoci. Ma quelle volte che l'A. lo adopera anche per designare l'intera metropolia di Kiev col suo clero e popolo, l'uso esclusivo del termine «ucrainus» è inesatto. La metropolia di Kiev era una istituzione soprannazionale e abbracciava oltre gli Ucraini anche i Bielorussi, che venivano insieme compresi nel senso soprannazionale del termine « ruthenus ». In tali casi, specialmente nelle opere scientifiche scritte in latino, sarebbe meglio lasciare il termine « ruthenus », come si trova nei documenti del tempo.

Sarebbe stato assai utile di allegare all'opera il testo intero della Bolla di ristabilimento della metropolia di Halič, perchè esso riveste un'importanza fondamentale per tutta la seconda parte.

GIUSEPPE OLŠR, S. J.

Joannes BILANYCH, *Synodus Zamostiana an. 1720*, (Eius celebratio, approbatio et momentum). Ed. 2. (= *Analecta OSBM*, Ser. II, Sect. I, vol. XI). Roma 1960, 8°, pp. XVI-127.

L'Autore tratta l'argomento in quattro capitoli. Nel primo e nel secondo spiega l'occasione e le cause della convocazione del Sinodo e le fasi della sua celebrazione. L'A. ha tratto ricco materiale dagli archivi romani, specialmente dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano e da quello della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide. La corrispondenza del Nunzio in Polonia e dei vescovi con Roma, scambiata prima della celebrazione del Sinodo, ci fa comprendere meglio le cause, che hanno determinato gli argomenti trattati nel Sinodo e le decisioni ivi prese. Il lettore-storico desidererebbe che in questi due capitoli fosse stato usato più ampiamente il materiale citato dall'A. Tanto più che gli Atti del Sinodo non ci dicono praticamente nulla sul modo in cui furono discusse le questioni trattate in esso, quali ragioni abbiano indotto i vescovi a prendere quelle decisioni piuttosto

che altre, come si sia arrivati alla formulazione dei decreti approvati dal Sinodo.

Nel capitolo terzo l'A., seguendo l'ordine degli Atti del Sinodo stesso, riassume le singole disposizioni e ne commenta il significato, la portata e il valore giuridico. Nel quarto capitolo espone le complicate discussioni e trattative che precedettero l'approvazione dei decreti del Sinodo da parte della S. Sede. Poi tratta la discussa questione, se la S. Sede abbia approvato i decreti del Sinodo in forma comune o in forma specifica. L'A. sostiene l'approvazione specifica. Il valore degli argomenti portati dall'A. per provare questa opinione lo lasciamo al giudizio dei giuristi.

In genere, l'opera è scritta con chiarezza e concisione e costituisce nel suo insieme un buon contributo alla storia della metropolia di Kiev. Solamente la «Nota ad lectorem» (pp. XV-XVI) non è troppo felice. L'A. vi spiega le ragioni per cui usa nella dissertazione i termini «Ecclesia Ucrainica», «populus Ucrainicus» etc., benchè nelle fonti si presentino solamente le espressioni «Ecclesia Ruthena», «populus Ruthenus» etc. Non intendiamo in linea di massima contestare all'A. il diritto di sostituire l'espressione «ruthenus» delle fonti con quella «ucrainicus», se ciò gli piace. Però l'uso indiscriminato della espressione «ucrainicus», fatto dall'A., non sempre corrisponde alla realtà storica. La metropolia di Kiev comprendeva, come osserva lo stesso A. nell'introduzione (p. I), oltre gli Ucraini, anche i Bielorussi; peccato che poi egli non tiri tutte le conseguenze di questa osservazione. La metropolia di Kiev era un'istituzione soprannazionale, e le fonti di allora, per indicare essa con la totalità del suo clero e popolo, usarono generalmente il termine «ruthenus». Perciò, quando l'espressione «ruthenus» nelle fonti si riferisce a tutta la metropolia con il suo clero e popolo, non è lecito sostituirla col termine «ucrainicus», perchè si falsa il valore storico dei documenti. In tali casi l'A., se proprio vuole ad ogni costo evitare il termine soprannazionale «ruthenus», deve logicamente sempre dire «ecclesia, metropolia, hierarchia etc. ucrainica *et* Alboruthena», «clerus, populus etc. ucrainicus *et* alboruthenus». E questo è il caso del nostro Sinodo, che era il sinodo di tutta la metropolia di Kiev. L'uso del solo «ucrainicus» invece di «ruthenus» è lecito soltanto nei casi particolari, quando i documenti storici si riferiscono solo a quella parte della metropolia costituita dagli Ucraini.

La metropolia di Kiev costituisce una realtà storica soprannazionale «sui generis» e certamente non è facile trovare, parlando di essa, un termine esatto, che sostituisca pienamente quello di «ruthenus», usato nei documenti storici. Credo che, usando nelle opere storiche all'occorrenza anche il termine «ruthenus» nel suo significato soprannazionale, come lo usavano gli stessi vescovi, il clero e il popolo della metropolia di Kiev, non si reca alcun pregiudizio né agli Ucraini né ai Biancorussi, che in fraterna unione hanno vissuto insieme le vicende gloriose e dolorose della loro antica e comune

metropolia soprannazionale. Ancor più conveniente sarebbe, secondo noi, conservare il termine «ruthenus» dei documenti storici, quando si scrive in latino, come avviene nell'opera recensita.

GIUSEPPE OLŠR, S. J.

Athanasius G. WELYKYJ OSBM, *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes*, (1621-1628) (= *Analecta OSBM*, Ser. II, Sect. III, vol. IV). Roma 1960, 8°, pp. x-358, tav. 6.

IDEM, *Supplicationes Ecclesiae Unitae Ucrainae et Bielarusjae* (1600-1699) (= *Analecta OSBM*, Ser. II, Sect. III, vol. I). Romae 1960, 8°, pp. x-363.

Questi due volumi, i quali «collegit, adnotavit, paravit editionemque curavit» il Rev.mo P. Welykyj, vengono ad accrescere la già considerevole serie di documenti raccolti dallo stesso A. nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano e in quello della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide durante tanti anni di lavoro paziente e diligente. Ormai tutti gli studiosi della storia della metropolia unita di Kiev conoscono ed apprezzano queste pubblicazioni.

Il volume «Litterae» abbraccia il periodo difficile per la metropolia unita di Kiev, nel quale la gerarchia dissidente, ristabilita nel 1620, si appoggia alla potenza militare e politica dei cosacchi e lotta per essere riconosciuta come legittima accanto a quella unita. Questo spiega, perchè nelle lettere dei Nunzii così frequentemente si parla dei cosacchi. Nel volume troviamo anche molte notizie, spesso frammentarie o generiche, sui cosacchi al servizio dell'Imperatore, del loro arrivo o passaggio in Moravia, Boemia, Slesia, ecc., e perfino di qualche singolo cosacco impiegato come corriere. Queste notizie sono estratte non solo dalle lettere dei Nunzii in Polonia, ma anche da quelle dei Nunzii di Vienna e di Venezia. Facilmente sorge il dubbio se tutti questi frammenti di lettere che menzionano i cosacchi siano veramente tanto utili da meritare di essere inseriti fra gli altri documenti importanti. Tanto più che spesso si tratta dei cosacchi, i quali, come nota l'A. stesso (p. 8), non avevano niente di comune con i cosacchi ucraini.

Il volume «Supplicationes» inizia una nuova serie di documenti — le petizioni indirizzate alle Sacre Congregazioni Romane a nome dei metropoliti, dei vescovi e dei Superiori dei Basiliani, ma per lo più preparate e scritte a Roma dai procuratori generali della metropolia unita di Kiev o dai procuratori generali dell'Ordine dei Basiliani. Queste «Supplicationes» spesso completano o spiegano i motivi e le circostanze dei ricorsi e delle lettere dei vescovi e metropoliti, che non sempre sono poi tutte riferite nelle decisioni e risposte delle SS. Congregazioni. Questo volume, oltre che del solito indice «nominum et rerum», è corredato anche di tabelle cronologiche dei papi, patriarchi,

metropoliti, vescovi ecc. contemporanei alle « Supplicationes ». Però tra gli elenchi dei vescovi delle diocesi latine che si trovavano nell'ambito della metropolia di Kiev, manca quello dei vescovi latini di Kiev.

GIUSEPPE OLŠR S.J.

Donald M. NICOL, *Meteora. The rock monasteries of Thessaly*. Chapman and Hall, London 1963, 12°, pp. x-210, tav. 15.

L'opera di Donald M. Nicol è una sintesi accurata di quanto risulta dalle fonti finora pubblicate intorno alle origini ed alla storia dei meteori, quei pittoreschi monasteri della Tessaglia costruiti sulla sommità di rocce inaccessibili. Per quanto le loro biblioteche fossero ricche di manoscritti — nel 1910 N. Bees ne aveva inventariati 1124 — e intorno ad essi si fosse costituito, dopo l'Athos, il complesso più notevole di vita monastica bizantina, non si disponeva finora di alcun studio d'insieme sui Meteori.

I tre primi capitoli dell'opera del Nicol costituiscono una introduzione generale e saranno particolarmente utili al lettore non iniziato al mondo bizantino. Vi si tratta del paesaggio e dei luoghi, della vita monastica bizantina, delle condizioni politiche della Tessaglia nel Medio Evo. Si passa quindi all'opera dei primi fondatori, Athanasios e Joasaph (nome monastico di Giovanni Uroš), e al sorgere dei vari monasteri. La storia di questi nei secoli successivi, specialmente per quanto riguarda la loro vita interna presenta molte lacune. Ciò è dovuto in parte all'impossibilità attuale di accedere ai manoscritti superstiti delle biblioteche dei varii monasteri, la cui sorte è circondata da fitto mistero. Quel che avremmo desiderato trovare nell'opera del Nicol è una più ampia valutazione delle opere d'arte, degli affreschi sopratutto, che si trovano ai Meteori, di cui alcuni, come per esempio la communione degli Apostoli nel Katholicon di Varlaam, sono dei veri capolavori, destinati purtroppo a perire se non si provvede quanto prima al loro restauro ed alla loro conservazione.

Il visitatore dei Meteori non meno che lo studioso leggeranno con profitto e con pari diletto l'opera di D. M. Nicol.

PELOPIDAS STEPHANOU, S. J.

Silvano BORSARI, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (= Università di Napoli. *Seminario di Storia Medievale e Moderna*, 1). Napoli 1963, 12°, pag. 171.

In quattro capitoli densi di documentazione S. Borsari ci offre una visione d'insieme dello stabilirsi del dominio veneto a Creta. Dopo aver esposto i precedenti della conquista inquadrando così il soggetto, l'Autore narra gli inizii e i criterii seguiti nella colonizzazione, le rivolte capeggiate dai signori locali e i tentativi di Giovanni

Vatatzes e di Michele VIII per la riconquista dell'isola. Di vivo interesse e ben documentato il capitolo consacrato alla vita economica e sociale mentre quello che riguarda la vita religiosa risulta piuttosto povero, sostanzialmente limitato alle liti riguardanti proprietà ecclesiastiche.

Particolarmente utili allo studioso saranno i quattro appendici che chiudono il libro: 1) Duchi e rettori di Creta dal 1208 al 1310; 2) La gerarchia episcopale cretese nel duecento; 3) Documenti riguardanti la vita ecclesiastica e civile dell'isola nel detto periodo; 4) Contrasti tra la nobiltà indigena cretese. Accuratamente l'Autore indica le fonti o le collezioni di cui si serve sobriamente illustrandole con apposite note.

L'opera condotta con diligente accuratezza risente però della base ristretta delle fonti, prevalentemente occidentali e di carattere catastale o economico. Tuttavia per la ricca documentazione e la chiarezza dell'esposizione essa costituisce un contributo positivo alla storia di quest'isola la cui posizione geografica è stata sempre, fino ad epoca recente, causa di vita travagliata.

PELOPIDAS STEPHANOU, S. J.

Robert ÉTIENNE, *Bordeaux Antique* (= *Histoire de Bordeaux*, I) avec la collaboration de P. BARRÈRE. Bordeaux 1962. In-8°, 388 pages, 24 planches, 24 cartes.

Il faut être reconnaissant à Monsieur Charles Higounet, professeur à l'Université de Bordeaux, d'avoir sous les auspices de la municipalité de cette importante cité, et de son distingué maire, Monsieur Chaban-Delmas, conçu et réalisé le projet d'une collection consacrée à l'Histoire de Bordeaux.

Les noms des collaborateurs, MM. R. Étienne, Y. Renouard, R. Boutriche, F. G. Pariset, L. Desgraves, J. Lajugie, qu'il a su grouper pour cette entreprise difficile, sont une garantie du succès.

Du 1er volume de cette collection « *Bordeaux antique* », dû à la plume de Robert Étienne, professeur d'histoire romaine à l'Université de Bordeaux, nous ne voulons retenir que ce qui concerne les « Origines chrétiennes de Bordeaux » et les rapports avec l'Orient.

Il faut reconnaître que l'Auteur a su brosser du Bordeaux chrétien du IVe et du Ve siècle un tableau brillant et nuancé, éclairé par l'utilisation intelligente des écrits d'Ausone, de Saint Paulin de Nole, de Sulpice Sévère.

Les pages consacrées (pp. 234-293) à ces trois illustrations bordelaises sont parmi les meilleures du livre. On aurait aimé un développement plus abondant sur le fameux « Itinerarium Burdigalense ». « A Burdigala Hierusalem usque ». L'Auteur se borne à le mentionner (p. 268) en renvoyant à l'excellent volume de D. GORCE sur « *Les voyages, l'hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde chrétien des IVe et Ve siècles* ».

Peut-être l'Auteur, dont l'érudition personnelle est très étendue, et généralement très sûre, adopte-t-il trop facilement les hypothèses, suggérées par la Marquise de Maillé. Comme nous avons eu l'occasion de le noter (*OrChrPer* 28, [1962] 195-198), en faisant la recension de son important ouvrage « Les Origines Chrétiennes de Bordeaux » qui obtint le grand prix Gobert, le mérite archéologique incontestable de cette remarquable synthèse ne doit pas faire oublier les lacunes de sa science hagiographique.

M. R. Étienne expose (p. 272) les théories, assez confuses du reste, de la marquise de Maillé sur la non existence de Saint Sernin. Grégoire de Tours, et Venance Fortinas auraient été des guides plus sûrs.

PAUL GOUBERT, S. J.

Charles HIGOUNET, *Bordeaux pendant le Haut Moyen Age,* avec la collaboration de J. GARDELLES et J. LAFAURIE (= *Histoire de Bordeaux,* II). In-8°, 342 pages, 20 planches, 27 cartes.

L'histoire de Bordeaux du Ve siècle, (c'est-à-dire depuis l'installation des Wisigoths en Aquitaine) jusqu'au XIIe siècle (c'est-à-dire l'union personnelle du duché aquitain à la couronne d'Angleterre par Henri Plantagenet en 1154) a été étudiée par Mr. Ch. Higounet d'une façon remarquablement originale et intelligente, la seule que permettait d'ailleurs la rareté des sources. Il a organisé très sagement ses recherches autour de quelques grands thèmes: «conditions et cadres politiques de la vie urbaine, implantation et essor de l'Église; cheminements artistiques; peuplements, fonctions de la ville, oscillation et réveil de sa vitalité », etc. (p. 5).

C'est entrer pleinement dans le « plan » des « *Settimane di Studi del Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* », de Spolète, qui en 1959 étudia le problème de « la Città nell'Alto Medioevo ». A Spolète justement, Monsieur Jean Hubert n'hésita pas à appeler Bordeaux une « ville sainte de l'époque mérovingienne » (p. 529 sq). Au VIIe siècle elle comptait 9 ou 12 églises (p. 86). C'est peu, comparativement aux 40 églises de Metz, aux 26 de Paris, aux 22 de Trèves, etc., mais elle était surtout célèbre dès le VIe siècle par les miracles de Saint Seurin.

En ce qui concerne la question aujourd'hui si controversée de Saint Seurin, remarquons que Ch. Higounet se montre avec raison moins affirmatif que R. Étienne, qui s'en remettait trop docilement au jugement, ou plutôt aux hypothèses échafaudées avec talent mais si peu de preuves par la Marquise de Maillé dans ses « Recherches sur les origines chrétiennes de Bordeaux », Paris 1954.

Modestement l'Auteur se borne à reconnaître en Bertechramnus « l'évêque propagateur, sinon créateur, du culte de Saint Seurin ». Il reconnaît que le plateau Saint Seurin « contenait » le sépulcre du Saint, autour duquel se pressaient ceux de grands personnages — sans doute des évêques —. « Rien ne subsiste des structures qui ont

pu s'élever à l'air libre et compléter cette « confession », ni des « parvis » où selon Grégoire de Tours se groupaient les adorateurs du Saint » (p. 149).

Si le mot ' adorateurs ' est assez mal choisi, le texte laisse supposer qu'à la fin du VIe siècle, Saint Seurin était depuis longtemps très vénéré, et que par conséquent, contrairement aux insinuations de la Marquise de Maillé, l'évêque Bertechramnus ne créa pas un culte centenaire, mais le restaura ou l'organisa. Grégoire de Tours qui atteste les miracles de Saint Seurin et, dont l'Auteur cite loyalement un texte important (pp. 81 et 207) n'aurait certainement pas accepté une invention de ce culte par l'évêque Bertechramnus, que du reste, il n'aimait pas. Aussi regrettons nous qu'oubliant les restrictions précédentes, l'Auteur (pp. 218-220), en rappelant que Saint Seurin est le patron de 16 paroisses du diocèse, se croit obligé de citer la Marquise de Maillé (pp. 60-61 n. 5, Recherches), en rappelant que son «culte a été fondé par Bertechramnus à la fin du VIe siècle» (p. 220).

L'Auteur mentionne rapidement les rapports (pp. 203-204) entre Bordeaux et l'Orient. Il n'a garde d'oublier l'aventure de Gondovald, à laquelle nous avons consacré tout un chapitre de « Byzance et les Francs » (pp. 29-68). Il aurait pu « per transennam » signaler que l'implantation des Juifs et des Syriens à Bordeaux à la fin du VIe siècle n'était pas un fait exceptionnel, puisqu'à la même époque Grégoire de Tours signale une importante colonie orientale à Orléans, à Tours, à Paris, où un Syrien parvient même à l'épiscopat.

La conclusion rejoint les travaux de J. et H. Pirenne. « La coupure entre l'Antiquité et le Moyen Age a vraiment été pour Bordeaux le VIIIe siècle. Musulmans et Carolingiens, bien tôt dépassés par les Normands, ont anéanti les efforts accumulés des siècles précédents, étouffé l'économie, et ramené plus que jamais la ville au repli dans ses murs » (p. 289).

Deux appendices méritent une étude attentive. Le premier (pp. 291-294) propose une « chronologie des comtes de Bordeaux, ducs de Gascogne et d'Aquitaine ». Le deuxième (pp. 295-325) dû à M. J. Lafaurie, directeur d'études à l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Études, résume l'état des connaissances actuelles sur « la monnaie bordelaise du Haut Moyen Age » en soulignant « l'éclipse du monnayage bordelais au VIIIe siècle » (p. 301) conséquence des invasions islamiques.

Peut-on regretter la brièveté des « Références Bibliographiques » (pp. 327-328), mais l'Auteur nous prévient que « la description détaillée des sources et la bibliographie complète de « l'Histoire de Bordeaux» seront données ainsi que les «Indices» dans le tome VIII de la série (p. 327).

Tel quel, cet ouvrage érudit, sobrement illustré, se lit facilement et apporte sur une des époques les plus obscures de l'Histoire de Bordeaux un faisceau de clartés.

PAUL GOUBERT, S. J.

Archaeologica

Philip SHERRARD, *Konstantinopel. Bild einer heiligen Stadt.* Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Titus BURCKHARDT. (= *Stätten des Geistes*). Urs Graf-Verlag, Olten Lausanne and Freiburg in Br. 1963, 140 pages, 53 illustrations.

La collection « *Stätten des Geistes* » qui nous avait présenté un volume sur « *Sienna, Stadt der Jungfrau* » et sur « *Fes, Stadt des Islam* » par Titus Burckhardt, et un volume sur « *Athos, Berg des Schweigens* », par le même Philip SHERRARD, nous offre aujourd'hui, traduit de l'anglais en allemand un ouvrage sur « Konstantinopel, Bild einer heiligen Stadt ».

Les sous-titres et le genre de la collection nous renseignent sur l'importance à attacher à ce volume: un travail de vulgarisation, enrichi de belles images, et cherchant à évoquer la physionomie spirituelle de la « Nouvelle Rome » (pp. 37-78), de la « Nouvelle Jérusalem » (pp. 79-100).

Les illustrations sont choisies avec soin. Leur variété plaira. Nous y trouvons, à côté d'une dizaine de photographies en couleur, de nombreuses photographies en noir et blanc, et surtout des reproductions de gravures du XVI[e] ou du XVIII[e] siècle.

L'ensemble donne une idée partielle, et assez partiale, de Constantinople. La sobriété des images n'effacera pas le souvenir du somptueux volume d'André Grabar sur la « Peinture byzantine », collection Skyra.

Le texte, qui ne s'appuie que sur de rares références, bien choisies d'ailleurs, et placées en marge des pages, ne provoque guère de réflexions, sinon qu'à vouloir trop synthétiser l'histoire de Constantinople on risque de la transformer ou de la déformer.

Constantinople n'était pas seulement la « seconde Rome » ou la «seconde Jérusalem», mais une ville très «incarnée», très commerçante, le ' Paris ' ou le ' Londres ' du Moyen Age. A vouloir trop spiritualiser son visage, on risque de fausser les perspectives.

Ces réserves faites, il convient de conclure que ce livre intelligent, mais peut-être trop dense, et quoiqu'il semble, pas assez illustré, fera connaître et apprécier Byzance et sa spiritualité dans un large public.

P. GOUBERT, S. J.

Romeo DE MAIO, *Il libro del Vangelo nei Concili Ecumenici*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Città del Vaticano 1963. In fol., pp. 89 (47-89 non num.).

C'est une louable initiative de la Bibliothèque Vaticane d'avoir voulu, à l'occasion du II[e] Concile du Vatican publier avec une perfection et une somptuosité, qui font honneur à l'imprimerie Valdonega

de Vérone, et aux photographes Conzett et Hubert de Zürich, un ouvrage en italien, français, anglais, espagnol et allemand, qui sera un précieux souvenir du Concile Oecuménique.

Dans sa préface (p. 7) l'Auteur remercie avec raison le Docteur Luigi Michelini Tocci, à qui l'on doit l'histoire et la description de « l'Urbinate latin 10 », ainsi que le R. P. A. Raes, préfet de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, qui a permis d'éclaicir plusieurs problèmes de liturgie orientale.

Le volume, remarquablement édité sur papier Favini de Rossano Veneto, est divisé en deux parties. Les 46 premières pages sont consacrées à l'étude des «Évangiles intronisés», dans les Conciles d'Orient (pp. 9-14), dans les Conciles d'Occident (pp. 14-15) aux Conciles du Vatican I et II (pp. 15-19).

Ce premier chapitre est illustré surtout par des aquarelles originales de Mgr. J. Wilpert sur l'arc triomphal de Ste-Marie-Majeure, et sur la coupole du Baptistère des Orthodoxes et des Ariens de Ravenne. Ces aquarelles sont excellentes, mais on dispose actuellement de meilleures photographies de ces monuments.

Le deuxième chapitre expose avec clarté (pp. 20-22), la signification de l'intronisation de l'Évangile. Le troisième chapitre étudie (pp. 25-36) les « Codices » intronisés, en particulier l'« histoire », le « contenu », l'« écriture » et la « décoration », du manuscrit urbinate latin 10, qui fut choisi pour le IIe Concile du Vatican.

Le choix était heureux. Ce codex est « un des plus insignes pour sa beauté », composé entre 1474 et 1482, pour le duc Frédéric de Montefeltre, (dont on lit un bel éloge, pp. 26-27); il resta à Urbino jusqu'en 1657, date de son acquisition par la Bibliothèque Vaticane (pp. 28-31).

La conclusion de cette première partie (p. 37) insiste sur la signification œcuménique de la Présidence du Concile par l'Evangile qui représente éminemment la Parole et la Présence du Christ.

Les notes peu nombreuses (pp. 39-46), mais suffisantes, renvoient aux principaux ouvrages sur les Conciles, ou l'iconographie de l'Évangile.

La deuxième partie, qui n'est pas paginée, explique 10 tables en couleur d'une éxécution remarquable qui présentent le trône dessiné par Virginio Vespignani (planche I), l'Évangile lui-même ouvert au Prologue de St-Jean (planche 2), le 3e canon évangélique d'Eusèbe de Césarée (pl. 3), le Prologue de St-Jérôme (pl. 4), où l'on voit St-Jérôme à barbe blanche, en robe bleue et calotte rouge, assis devant son écritoire, l'Incipit de l'Évangile de St. Jean (pl. 5), l'Évangéliste St-Matthieu, méditatif, relativement jeune, assis par terre dans un décor rocheux avec dans le fond les remparts d'un palais de rêve où l'on peut voir l'influence de Mantegna. A côté de lui son symbole, un ange nimbé d'or lui indique le Ciel. A ses pieds un encrier, et une sorte de « plumier » contenant les instruments pour écrire.

L'Evangéliste St-Marc (pl. 7) est plus classique; un Saint Marc très âgé, à moitié chauve, avec une courte barbe blanche, assis entre

deux pins tandis que son symbole, un vieux lion nimbé d'or, a l'air de réfléchir profondément.

L'Evangéliste St-Luc (pl. 8) est plus jeune, dans un décor plus riant, traversé par un fleuve. Il est vêtu d'une tunique rouge brodée d'or et porte un manteau jaune doublé de violet. Sur la tête, un béret rouge, brodé d'or. A côté de lui, son symbole, un jeune bœuf nimbé d'or.

La page qui représente l'Évangéliste St-Jean est peut-être la plus riche comme la plus belle du « *Codex* » (pl. IX). St-Jean apparaît comme un vieillard, à barbe blanche, assis contre un rocher, qui est dominé par un château féérique et une jolie petite église surmontée d'une grande croix. Ce rocher doit évoquer l'île de Pathmos, car à droite s'étend la mer traversée par des voiliers, et dans le ciel on aperçoit les sept candélabres d'or. L'aigle, symbole de l'Évangéliste, regarde curieusement l'Apôtre qui écrit.

La planche 10, montre une page du Codex (Marc, ch. VII,17-20) avec en marge les concordances de St-Matthieu; « l'écriture minuscule humanistique, ronde, dérive de la caroline des Xe et XIe siècle ».

Elle a reçu de la main de Matthieu de Contigi « une élégance claire et reposée » (p. 27). On notera l'architecture harmonieuse de la page, l'équilibre savant des espaces et des volumes, des pleins et des vides, la patiente recherche de la symétrie (pl. X).

Un index des Conciles œcuméniques, avec l'indication des références, qui s'y rapportent, termine ce volume, où l'on admire autant l'écrivain et le délicat miniaturiste du XVe siècle, que la science et le goût littéraire de ceux qui l'ont publié si opportunément.

PAUL GOUBERT, S. J.

Varia

Rudolf KRISS, Hubert KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam.* Bd. 1. *Wallfahrtswesen und Heiligenverehrung.* Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden 1960. xxiv+359 S., 182 Abb., 8 Skizzen.

Die vorliegende, umfangreiche Veröffentlichung ist eine gross angelegte Materialsammlung zu Wallfahrtswesen und Heiligenverehrung im islamischen Raum. Sie ist im Verlauf von 5 Jahren zustande gekommen, die teils den Reisen, teils der literarischen Vorbereitung gewidmet wurden. Die zweite dieser Aufgaben, sowie die endgültige Abfassung des Textes und die Festlegung des Reiseplanes oblagen der Hauptsache nach Rudolf Kriss. Die Herstellung des reichen und überraschend neuen Bildteiles, der dankenswerten 8 Skizzen und die Befragung der einheimischen Bevölkerung — die Vf. sind Nichtphilologen — übernahm Hubert Kriss. Vorbereitend und anregend ging der Arbeit das Studium und eine Veröffentlichung über das neugriechische Wallfahrtswesen voraus. Ein zweiter Teil dieses dem isla-

mischen Bereich gewidmeten Buches mit dem Titel « Amulette, Zauberformeln und Beschwörungen » ist in Vorbereitung.

Die Aufgliederung des Werkes selbst erfolgte nach geographischen Gesichtspunkten. Auf einen grundlegenden Teil (S. 3-52) folgt die Darstellung Ägyptens mit der Sinaihalbinsel und dem Sudan (S. 53-136), es folgen Jordanien (137-188), das südliche Syrien, Drusengebiet (188-238), Libanon (238-273), das nördl. Syrien (273-291), Türkei (292-331), Südslawien (331-340). Die arabisch sprechenden Länder rings um das östliche Mittelmeer traten damit als die, wie es heisst, ergiebigeren in den Vordergrund. Dem nordafrikanischen Raum (Maghreb) seien schon viele Veröffentlichungen gewidmet. Die Darstellung gestaltet sich naturgemäss immer dort am anziehendsten, wo die Vf. Selbsterlebtes und Beobachtetes vorführen. Die Informationen stammen allerdings aus den einfachsten Kreisen der Bevölkerung, die sich über ihre Heiligtümer, Zeremonien, Bräuche gewiss auch ihre Gedanken machen. Doch keine Religionsäusserung erschöpft sich im Primitivismus. Schon zur Vervollständigung ihrer Angaben haben daher die Vf. auf den gesamten Ertrag der bisherigen gelehrten Forschung zurückgegriffen, ihre Beobachtungen in das bisherige Wissen eingeordnet und sie auch von dorther beleuchtet. Dabei konnten sie ihre Quellen natürlich nicht erneut aufarbeiten, aber sie haben sich z.B. bemüht, die Orthographie zu vereinheitlichen, was immer gute Sachvertrautheit voraussetzt. (Zur Warnung mag jedoch darauf hingewiesen werden, dass der Mumiensarg Josefs Ex. 13,19 nicht vorkommt, ebensowenig Ex. 10-16 die Lade (S. 30). Ist Num. 10,35 f; Ex 25,10-16 gemeint? — Wie kommt abü Zhūr zur Bedeutung « Pater aeterni saeculi » (S. 28)? Bereits C. Brockelmann [bei O. Eissfeldt, ZAW 58/1941, 195] hat darauf hingewiesen, dass man *abū dhūr al-markab* für die erwähnte von A. Musil [siehe z.B. Gressmann, Mose (Göttingen 1913) 449] öfter vorgebrachte Auffassung benötigt, nicht *zhūr*, *ẓhūr*, *d̲hūr*. Mit Halbkreis unter *z* pflegte Musil arab. d̲ zu transkribieren. *abū dhūr* also, das seinen Namen habe, « weil es von Generation zu Generationsich forterbt », kann man gewiss mit hebr. *ăbî ʻad* vergleichen [Is. 9,5], aber nur seiner Bildung nach. Eine gute Übersetzung für dieses Letzte gibt das Targum mit *qaiyām lĕʻālmaiyâ* « der immer bleibt ». Pater aeterni saeculi ist unverständlich. Der alte G. W. Freytag registriert im Lexikon (S. 8a) ein *abu d–dahr* « aquila ». Vielleicht meint das den Phönix als den, « der die wechselnde Zeit [überdauert] ». — Warum soll *sarīr* « Wiege » heissen und nicht einfach « Bahre » (S. 190)? — Was soll man bei dem « Dorf aus dem nördlichen Yemen, Hağar, westlich von Baṣra » denken (S. 195.189)? Verbirgt sich hinter *šḥan* (S. 201) vielleicht lautlich ein *šʻal* « entzünde dich »?)

Was die Geistigkeit der Vf. angeht, so sind sie, wie die Einleitung « Wesen des Volksglaubens » (S. 1-3) zeigt, noch stark der älteren Religionswissenschaft verhaftet, die keine Metaphysik hat, der ein rechtes Verständnis dafür abgeht, wie sich das Heilige, die Ehrfurcht usw. im Leben der Völker realisiert, obschon z.B. J. Chelhod (RHR 148/1955, 68-88), bei dem sich Ansätze in der genannten Rich-

tung finden, benutzt ist. Die Hochreligion wird grundsätzlich als Vergewaltigung oder Verarmung der Volksreligion gewertet, statt als Versuch ihrer Aufgipfelung. Die « magischen Automatismen » bleiben als in sich geschlossene Gebilde stehen, und der Pluralismus der Phänomene findet nicht zur Einheit. Eine Anleitung, Glauben von Aberglauben, Heiligkeit von Scharlatanentum zu scheiden, bleibt auf dieser Ebene unerreichbar; Bildung und Erziehung in und zum Religiösen sind nicht zu ermöglichen.

Sieht man aber davon einmal ab, so ist ein reiches, in angestrengter Arbeit gewonnenes Material mit aller wissenschaftlichen Sorgfalt vor uns ausgebreitet. Das Literaturverzeichnis wird man sehr schätzen. Die Indizes helfen das Gesicherte wiederfinden. Hocherfreulich ist vor allem die Mannigfalt, Güte und Instruktivität der Photos und Zeichnungen. Für all diese wird man den Vf. wie dem Verlag aufrichtig dankbar sein.

R. Köbert, S. J.

Louis Costaz, S. J., *Dictionnaire syriaque-français. Syriac-English Dictionary.* قاموس سرياني عربي xxiii-423 p. 24,4×17,8. Beyrouth 1963. Imprimerie catholique.

In dem weiten Raum des nahen und ferneren Ostens, in dem das Syrische einst die Sprache der alten Bildung, der Liturgie, der Theologen und Gelehrten war, ist das Lateinische nie wie im Abendlande als Sprache der gelehrten Welt verbreitet gewesen. Die Joseph Assemani waren selten. Galt das schon ehedem, so gilt es heute erst recht. Anderseits liegen aber unsere philologisch und sprachwissenschaftlich besten syrischen Wörterbücher, die im Westen erarbeitet, auch dem Osten zugänglich sein und zu ihm zurückkehren sollten, lateinisch vor. So hat der Vf. den mit reichem Beifall aufgenommenen Entschluss gefasst, den Brockelmann, wenn man einmal grob und kurz so sagen darf, in die bekannteren Sprachen, Französisch, Englisch, Arabisch zu übertragen. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass er dabei auch die übrige lexikalische Arbeit herangezogen und sich um ein selbständiges Urteil bemüht hat, mag er sich auch in der Hauptsache B. verpflichtet wissen (S. v.).

Der Hauptteil des Dictionnaire nimmt die S. 1-399 in Anspruch. Ihm folgt S. 401-420 ein vokalisiertes Verzeichnis der Eigennamen. Die Frage nach den Quellen der Vokale wurde zwar nicht angeschnitten; aber auch so wird der Benutzer das Gebotene willkommen finden. Im Folgenden ein paar Bemerkungen, die hoffentlich dienlich sind. S. IV: Es will uns nicht recht zweckmässig erscheinen, dass man die schematischen Bildungstypen der syrischen Nomina, wie *qaṭṭūl*, *qaṭṭīl* usw., die gemeinsemitisch sind, in der Artikelform des st. emph. — der Vf. sagt S. xviii durchaus zutreffend *ḥāl ta'rīf* — und mit spezifisch westsyrischer Vokalisation anführt, zumal sie auch im ara-

bischen Kontext mit lateinischen Lettern geschrieben werden. — S. 3: *Ādām* ist im Syr. (und Arab.) nicht Hauptwort, das « Mensch, Menschen » bedeutet, wie im Hebr.; sondern ausschliesslich Eigenname des ersten Menschen, auch ES 3,470 C heisst *bĕnai Ādām* « filii Adae »; die andere Angabe bei Payne-Smith 580: *bar Ādām* « filius Adae » = aliquis ist Fehlzitat, und aliquis dürfte nicht als Übersetzung beurteilt werden. Demnach entfallen die Angaben « homme, quelqu'un ». — S. 8: *ît*, das nach dem syr. Auslautgesetz (Brockelm., Gramm. [6] § 75, [5] § 34) für das gemeinaramäische *îtay* steht, hat die syntaktische Verwendung eines aktiven Partizips im st. abs. (Nöldeke, Gramm. § 305) und heisst darum zunächst, d. i. im unabhängigen Aussagesatz, « ist, wird sein ». Sein normal gebildeter st. emph. lautet *îtyâ* und bedeutet ein « Seiendes », ein « Wesen », ens, nicht essentia, « Wesenheit ». Die drei Belege bei Brockelmann (Lex.[2] S. 16 b) sind unrichtig. ER 60,23 = ES Ref 1,3,36, wäre zu übersetzen: « Wie kann von jenem einen Wesen, da es eines ist, [kommen,] dass es baut und gebaut wird? »; weitere Belege ER 60,12.14; 61,1.11 = ES Ref 1,3,4.12; 4,1.31. — JS in MS 2,76,5: « Seiender (ὁ Ὤν), der allein weiss, wie er ist ». — am 1,82,13: « Wir glauben an einen wahren Gott, das verborgene, durch sich selbst seiende Wesen » (*îtyâ dĕnafšeh*), scholastisch « ens a se »; weitere Belege für dieses Letzte bei Afrahaṭ-Parisot 2,100,18; 117,11: EC th V,3,15. *Îtya* wird auch ohne nähere Bestimmung für « Gott » gebraucht; z.B. CSCO syr. 71, R.M. Tonneau übersetzt dann frei « ens a se ». Dieser Gebrauch dürfte sich an das einst verbreitete ὁ Ὤν von Ex. 3,14 in Graeca, das Philo bereits vorfand (z.B.: Det. 160; Mut. 11; Somn. 1,231), anschliessen. *îtyā'ît* folgt streng ὄντως und heisst wie dieses zunächst « in Wahrheit » usw., dann wohl auch « wesentlich ». Das wiederum regelgemäss gebildete abstractum e concreto (Nöldeke, Gramm. § 138 B. I.), das « Wesenheit » bedeutet, ist *îtûtâ*, z.B. ER 61,13 = ES Ref 1,4,35: Es gibt auf unserer Erde Einzelnaturen und Einzelwesen (*kĕyānê wîtyê*, ER 61,1 = ES Ref 1,4,1), aber nicht eine sich selbst gleiche Wesenheit [darin] (*lau ḥĕdâ hy îtûtâ damyat lĕnafšeh*). — S. 21: Zu *attî*, *attîyâ* hätte *attî'în* hinzugefügt werden können. Nach Ausweis der Belegstellen (Mc. 8,3; Ioh. 6,17; 11,19) werden die Formen syntaktisch wie Partcipia activa im st. abs. konstruiert; sie sind denn auch qatîl-« Partizipien » zu *'ty* mit sekundärer Reduplikation, beim schwachen Verbum seltenere Bildungen, zu denen Nöldeke (Gramm. § 41 G) *nĕbîyâ* stellte; sie haben ungewöhnliche Orthographie, sind aber zunächst ebenfalls durch finite Verbformen zu übersetzen: « er, sie kommt, wird kommen; sie kommen, werden kommen ». Das Pael zu *'ty* der älteren Wörterbücher hat der Vf. mit Recht aufgegeben. — S. 103: Bei *maḥḥĕyānâ* vermisst man die Bedeutung Sauveur, Saviour, ܡܚܝܢܐ (Lc. 1,47) als Äquivalente von Σωτήρ, Salutaris, Salvator. Zu den beiden letzten Termini vgl. man Lactantius (Migne PL 6,479).

Dieses und anderes mag der Lehrer dem Lernenden mündlich auseinandersetzten und ergänzen. Der Vf., L.C., ist uns von seiner

Grammatik her bereits als ein gewissenhafter uns sorgfältiger Arbeiter bekannt. Auch dieses sein neues, vom Verlag schön ausgestattete Buch wird vielen gute Dienste tun.

R. Köbert, S. J.

Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters. Völlig neu bearbeitet von Wolfgang Buchwald, Thesaurus linguae Latinae, München, Armin Hohlweg, Institut für Byzantinistik der Universität München, Otto Prinz, Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch, München, Heimeran Verlag München 1963, 16°, xvi-544 Seiten.

In einem kurzen Vorwort hat der Verlag die Entstehungsgeschichte des in neuer Auflage erscheinenden Lexikons dargelegt und seine Anlage und Richtlinien erläutert. Das Lexikon will ein Führer zu den wichtigsten antiken, mittellateinischen und byzantinischen Autoren sein, in knapper Form deren Werdegang und literarische Bedeutung beleuchten und ihre wichtigsten Werke nennen, so daß der Nachschlagende eine erste Orientierung findet, die ihn zuverlässig unterrichtet und ihm weiterhilft. Die Stichworte sind nach Autoren geordnet. Gleichfalls berichtet der Verlag im Vorwort über die getroffene Auswahl. Es folgen ein Verzeichnis der führenden Nachschlagewerke und der verwendeten Abkürzungen.

Wir haben hier in der Tat ein sehr gediegenes und nützliches Nachschlagewerk vor uns. Heben wir vom Standpunkt der ostkirchlichen Studien hervor, daß gerade aus dem Gebiet der Patristik und der byzantinischen, großenteils theologischen Literatur viel in die neue Ausgabe hineingearbeitet worden ist. Bei einem derartigen Werke ist natürlich an erster Stelle die große geleistete Arbeit anzuerkennen, obschon auch auf solches hingewiesen werden kann, was entweder nicht berücksichtigt werden konnte oder nicht berücksichtigt wurde.

Um nur ein paar Beispiele zu nennen: Für eine kritische Ausgabe von Bessarion und Johannes von Turrecremata wäre es nützlich, auf das monumentale Werk *Concilium Florentinum, Documenta et Scriptores* hinzuweisen. — Zu Eustatios, Metropolit von Nikaia wird in Anm. 3 verwiesen auf *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 47 (1954), 365 [muß heißen 358] - 368; es fehlt aber der Hinweis auf die ebenda folgenden Seiten 369-78, wo P. Joannou vom gleichen Autor handelt. — Betreffs Palamas ist zu bemerken, daß gerade unter dem Datum 1962 der erste Band einer neuen Gesamtausgabe, Hauptherausgeber P. K. Chrestos, Thessaloniki, erschienen ist. — Dionysios Areiopagites wird genannt « Verfasser der einzigen aus der Ostkirche hervorgegangenen Dogmatik »; von Origenes aber wird behauptet, seine Schrift « Über die Hauptlehren » sei « das erste Handbuch der christlichen Dogmatik ». Es war natürlich nicht möglich das Lexikon in allem « gleichzuschalten ».

Bernhard Schultze, S. J.

Joseph NASRALLAH, *Catalogue des Manuscrits du Liban, III*. Ouvrage publié avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique de Paris. Beyrouth 1961, 8°, pp. VIII-344.

Dieser 3. Band des Katalogs der Handschriften des Libanon bietet die Beschreibung von 479 Codices und mehr als 1000 Archivstücken, die sich in den Bibliotheken der melkitischen Erzbischöfe von Ba'albeck, Beyrouth, Tyrus und Sidon, ferner in den Klöstern Mar-Elias Šuwaïya und Šuwair, im Kolleg der drei Hierarchen in Beyrouth und in verschiedenen Privatbibliotheken finden.

Der V. gibt zunächst eine materielle Beschreibung des Codex und stellt dann seinen Inhalt dar. Leider ist die Beschreibung manchmal aus Mangel an Zeit weggefallen und die Inhaltsangabe ist öfters recht summarisch.

Die Handschriften betreffen die verschiedensten Sachgebiete, so Hl. Schrift, Patristik, Kirchenrechtsquellen, insbesondere die Konzilien und Synoden, Theologie, Philosophie, Kirchengeschichte, Aszetik, Hagiographie usw. Es sind auch nicht wenige liturgische Bücher darunter.

Die Archivstücke sind für die Geschichte der katholischen melkitischen Kirche von nicht geringer Bedeutung. Es finden sich hier zahlreiche Anordnungen von Patriarchen und Bischöfen, auch nicht wenige Originalbriefe Römischer Kongregationen, insbesondere der Propaganda, der ja damals die katholische Ostkirche unterstand. Zahlreiche Dokumente betreffen das für die neuere Geschichte der Melkiten hochbedeutsame Patriarchat des Maximos Mazloum (1833-1855). Im Erzbischöflichen Palais von Beyrouth findet sich der ausführlichste Dossier über die Affaire der Einführung des Gregorianischen Kalenders durch den Patriarchen Clemens Baḥḥūṯ. Es wird hier deutlich, wie unklug eine solche mehr oder weniger zwangsweise Angleichung an lateinische Gebräuche doch war. Diese Massnahme des Patriarchen vom Jahre 1857 führte zu einem Schisma innerhalb der katholischen melkitischen Kirche. Rom wünschte zwar die Annahme, hatte aber gewiss solche Folgen nicht vorhergesehen. Allzu grosse Willfährigkeit ohne die rechte Diskretion ist eben nicht das Richtige.

Man muss dem Verfasser dankbar sein, dass er durch seinen Katalog diese bisher verborgenen Schätze der Wissenschaft zugänglich gemacht hat. Die Beschreibung der Archivstücke bietet oft schon recht ausführlich den wesentlichen Inhalt, sodass man sich schon ein Bild machen kann von ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte der melkitischen Kirche. So ist durch den Katalog schon eine Bereicherung unserer Kenntnis auf diesem Gebiet gegeben und es ist der weiteren Forschung der Weg geebnet.

Der V. hat mit seinem Katalog — das war auch seine ausgesprochene Absicht — einen Beitrag zum Aufweis der Bedeutung der Christen für die arabische Literatur geleistet und zum Beweis ihrer

grossen Verdienste für die arabische Sprache und Kultur. Das ist zu einer Zeit, da manche arabische Staaten die Christen nicht als Araber anerkennen wollen, von grosser Wichtigkeit.

WILHELM DE VRIES, S. J.

Opera a nostris professoribus edita

IVAN ŽUŽEK S. J., *Kormčaja kniga. Studies on the Chief Code of Russian Canon Law* (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 168). Roma 1964. In-8°, pp. XII-328, 4000 Lire.

Nella prima parte del libro l'autore presenta una nuova trattazione sulle origini e la storia delle varie redazioni manoscritte del *Nomocanone* (*Kormčaja kniga*) slavo e dà una dettagliata descrizione della sua edizione tipografica (la prima edizione è del 1653). Qui vengono riassunti in più di cento pagine e completati in quanto possibile i lavori precedenti degli autori russi, che presentano però una bibliografia in massima parte appartenente ancora al secolo scorso e troppo dispersa per essere di facile accesso a chiunque ne abbisogna per approfondire gli studi sull'antico diritto canonico della Chiesa Russa. L'autore esamina anche gli studi più recenti riguardanti questo campo, pubblicati fino all'inizio del 1963.

La seconda parte tratta della applicazione pratica delle varie redazioni (oggi si conservano sei diverse famiglie di manoscritti) dei *Nomocanoni* slavi nei primi sette secoli di storia della Chiesa Russa. L'autore cerca di determinare l'interdipendenza dei *Nomocanoni* e delle altre collezioni canoniche russe, come gli *Statuti* di S. Vladimiro, i manuali in uso nei tribunali ecclesiastici, le *Istruzioni* dei vescovi russi, ed i decreti dei principali sinodi russi. Da questa analisi scaturisce l'importante conclusione sulla unità e compattezza della legislazione canonica dell'antica Russia, insospettata nell'Occidente, e sulla conservazione in essa della primitiva disciplina, dovuta appunto all'aderenza, spesso troppo letterale, dell'episcopato alle prescrizioni contenute nelle diverse redazioni della *Kormčaja kniga*.

Nella terza parte l'autore cerca di stabilire il valore giuridico dell'edizione tipografica della *Kormčaja kniga*; questione divenuta poco chiara dopo la riforma ecclesiastica di Pietro il Grande. In primo luogo sono indicati gli scostamenti della legislazione di Pietro il Grande dalle norme tradizionali dei *Nomocanoni* slavi. In secondo luogo, in altro capitolo, viene presentata la giurisprudenza del Santo Sinodo Russo, in quanto è basata sulla *Kormčaja kniga*, per determinare il valore giuridico e l'uso pratico dopo la riforma di Pietro il Grande e prima della edizione della *Kniga pravil*, cioè il *Libro dei canoni* dei concili e dei Padri, pubblicato nel 1839. Questo capitolo può presentare un particolare interesse per chi si occupa del diritto canonico russo del 18° secolo oppure dello «antigiuridismo» della Chiesa

Russa. Infine, in un nuovo capitolo, l'autore mostra come, dopo il 1839, la *Kormčaja kniga* gradatamente perdette il suo valore pratico e passò alla fine del secolo tra le fonti sussidiarie del diritto canonico della Chiesa Russa.

Le ultime 38 pagine contengono un'ampia *Bibliografia* delle opere citate nel libro e un *Indice* generale assai dettagliato degli autori e delle materie.

Carmelo Capizzi, S. J., *ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ* (*Saggio d'esegesi letterario-iconografica*) (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 170). Roma 1964, in 8°, pp. XI-369, tav. 21 f. t., Lit. 5800, Doll. 9,85.

A parte gli accenni contenuti in vari lessici, in alcune opere teologiche e in qualche enciclopedia, finora sul termine *παντοκράτωρ* si avevano due studi soltanto: l'indagine di carattere semantico-filologico limitata all'area classico-patristica, dovuta ad H. Hommel, *Schöpfer und Erhalter*, Berlin 1956, e una ricerca sull'uso di *παντοκράτωρ* nei papiri greci d'Egitto, dovuta ad O. Montevecchi, *Pantokrator*, in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, II. Milano 1957, pp. 401-432. Sull'immagine del Pantocrator, salvo qualche pagina più o meno generica contenuta nella storiografia dell'arte bizantina e salvo un articolo di Dom Edmund M. Jones, *The Pantocrator, a study of Iconography* in « Eastern Churches Quaterly » 9 (1951-52) 266-272, non si aveva nulla o quasi.

Questa lacuna e la convinzione dell'importanza capitale dell'idea espressa dai Bizantini sia col termine *παντοκράτωρ* che con l'immagine del Pantocrator, hanno spinto l'autore a tentare di porre, se non di risolvere, i problemi seguenti: qual'è il contenuto concettuale del termine *παντοκράτωρ* nel ciclo della civiltà bizantina? Qual'è inoltre la concezione teologica espressa nello stesso ciclo culturale dall'immagine del Pantocrator? Esiste un rapporto tra quel contenuto e questa concezione? Se esso esiste, si tratta di un rapporto di identità o di diversità, di convergenza o di divergenza? Tra le numerose immagini del Pantocrator ancora superstiti, qual'è quella che esprime più compiutamente l'idea dei Bizantini?

La trattazione di questi e di altri problemi in essi impliciti ha richiesto una ricerca doppia e parallela: letterario-filologica (Parte I: *παντοκράτωρ nella tradizione letteraria*, pp. 1-74) e storico-iconografica (Parte II: *Il Pantocrator nella tradizione iconografica*, pp. 175-359).

Nella prima ricerca, mediante la raccolta e l'analisi di moltissimi testi con *παντοκράτωρ*, desunti dalla « cultura giudaica e pagana » (c. I), dal Nuovo Testamento (c. II), dalla Patristica (c. III), dalla liturgia bizantina (c. IV) e dell'Occidente medievale (c. V), l'autore crede di poter provare che il termine *παντοκράτωρ* non è monovalente, come potrebbe far pensare la traduzione usuale latina con *omnipotens* (cfr. l'Excursus di pp. 155-174), ma polivalente: *omni-*

dominans, omnitenens, omnicontinens, omnia amplectens, omnia implens ... (cfr. cc. VI-VIII).

Nella seconda, premessa una chiarificazione della finalità e del metodo propostosi (c. I), fatti alcuni cenni generici sull'iconografia del Cristo nell'arte paleocristiana e bizantina (c. II), l'autore affronta un tema centrale: la genesi storica e i caratteri specifici dell'iconografia del Pantocrator. Cioè: quali sono gli elementi mediante cui possiamo distinguere il tipo (o i tipi) del Pantocrator dagli altri tipi dell'iconografia cristologica? Supposta la possibilità di determinare tali elementi tipologici, in quale epoca il tipo (o i tipi) del Pantrocrator si affermò nel corso storico dell'arte cristiana?

La risposta data dall'autore a questi due quesiti, nonostante le varie vie tentate e la quantità enorme del materiale esaminato (pp. 189-308), è un reciso « nescimus » (cfr. sopratutto pp. 201-203). Positiva è invece la risposta che egli pensa di poter dare alla questione della identità o differenza del contenuto concettuale di *παντοκράτωρ* e della concezione teologica raffigurata dal Pantocrator: l'immagine assume ed esprime simbolicamente tutti i significati di quel termine e ne aggiunge altri due, *omnijudicans* e *φιλάνθρωπος* (p. 324).

Dedicate poi alcune pagine alla diffusione dell'immagine del Pantocrator in Chiese erette in territori di civiltà specificamente bizantina o parzialmente soggetti all'influsso diretto di essa (c. IV), indagata inoltre tale diffusione specialmente in Sicilia (c. V), l'autore consacra alcune considerazioni storiche, ascetiche, formali, ecc. all'espressione del concetto completo del Pantocrator nell'iconografia (c. VI) per gettar buone basi alla trattazione dell'ultimo problema: qual'è, fra le immagini superstiti, quella che esprime meglio la ricchezza concettuale intesa dai Bizantini?

La risposta a questo quesito di carattere non estetico, ma contenutistico, viene elaborata attraverso un'analisi comparativa di vari monumenti utilizzando le acquisizioni filologiche ed iconografiche fatte nei capitoli anteriori. Secondo l'autore, l'immagine cercata sarebbe quella del Pantocrator dell'abside del duomo di Monreale.

Il volume è completato da un indice biblico, da un indice degli Autori citati e da una raccolta di riproduzioni fotografiche di 21 immagini del Pantocrator; scopo di tale appendice iconografica è fornire qualche esempio illustrativo nel corso di alcune analisi fatte nella II Parte.

Cirillo e Metodio, i Santi Apostoli degli Slavi. Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Roma 1964, 12°, pp. 194.

Il volume contiene le conferenze tenute nel Pontificio Istituto Orientale nei giorni 9-11 maggio 1963 per commemorare l'undecimo Centenario della Missione dei SS. Fratelli nella Grande Moravia. Ecco i titoli e gli autori delle sei conferenze: Giuseppe OLŠR S. J., *La vita e l'opera dei SS. Cirillo e Metodio.* — Michele LACKO S. J., *Il metodo*

missionario dei SS. Cirillo e Metodio; la liturgia slava. — Stefano SAKAČ S. J., *I Santi Cirillo e Metodio a Roma.* — Giovanni VODOPIVEC, *La teologia e la spiritualità dei SS. Cirillo e Metodio.* — Giorgio ELDAROV OFM Conv., *L'opera dei SS. Cirillo e Metodio presso i loro discepoli.* — Leonard BOYLE O. P., *The Fate of the Remains of St. Cyril.*

Di queste conferenze senza dubbio la più importante è quella del P. Leonard Boyle O. P., sulla sorte delle reliquie di San Cirillo. L'autore, il quale ha avuto recentemente la fortuna di ritrovare almeno una piccola parte di quelle reliquie, segue attraverso i secoli tutte le testimonianze sulla presenza di tali reliquie nella basilica di S. Clemente a Roma, e poi sulla loro sorte dal 1798 fino ai nostri giorni.

Le altre conferenze, benchè si appoggiano sulle fonti conosciute, danno un buon ragguaglio su alcuni aspetti dell'opera cirillometodiana.

Le conferenze sono precedute dai due più importanti documenti pontifici pubblicati nell'anno 1963 in occasione del giubileo cirillometodiano, e cioè: L'epistola apostolica «Magnifici eventus» del papa Giovanni XXIII, e l'allocuzione del papa Paolo VI tenuta nella basilica di S. Clemente il 17 novembre 1963.

Il volume, presentato in una bella veste tipografica, è il contributo del Pontificio Istituto Orientale alle celebrazioni dell'XI centenario dall'inizio della missione slava dei SS. Cirillo e Metodio.

ALIA SCRIPTA AD NOS MISSA

Les écrits des Pères Apostoliques. Annotés par F. LOUVEL: préface de L. BOUYER, introduction de C. MONDÉSERT (= *Chrétiens de tous les temps*, 1). Les Éditions du Cerf. Paris 1963, 16°, pp. 494.

Parvum hoc volumen « christianis omnium temporum » scripta praebent Patrum Apostolicorum in versione gallica. Breves introductiones et adnotationes communi lectori iuvant. Nec desunt appendices de vocabulario primitivo christiano, de diffusione Evangelii in Asia Minore et de primis elementis pro « Credo ». Plures auctores versiones fecerunt, quae sat fideles et clarae sunt.

I. O. U.

MÉTHODE D'OLYMPE, *Le Banquet*. Introduction et texte critique par H. MUSURILLO. Traduction et notes par V. H. DEBIDOUR (= *Sources Chrétiennes*, 95). Paris 1963, 12°, pp. 338.

P. Musurillo anno 1958 editionem huius pulchri scripti simul cum versione anglica in collectione « Ancient Christian Writers » comparaverat. Hic vero eadem editio cum versione gallica et cum adnotationibus magis sobriis lectoribus proponitur. Idem P. Musurillo novam nunc introductionem praemittit. Iuvat commendare hanc hucusque optimam editionem. Quam enim G. N. Bonwetsch prius in « Corpore Berolinensi » concinnaverat duo antiquissima operis manuscripta praetermiserat, nempe Ottobonianum graecum 59 et Patmiacum graecum 202.

I. O. U.

Gertrud KRALLERT-SATTLER [Redaktion], *Südosteuropa-Bibliographie*, Band II (1951-1955). 1. Teil: Südosteuropa und grössere Teilräume, Jugoslawien, Ungarn; 2. Teil: Albanien, Bulgarien, Rumanien, Slowakei. Herausgegeben von Südost-Institut München. München, 1. Teil 1960, 8°, pp. 1-360; 2. Teil 1962, 8°, pp. 361-705.

Con l'aiuto di specialisti per i suindicati paesi, l'Istituto per l'Europa sud-orientale pubblica questa utilissima bibliografia. In essa sono comprese solo le materia riguardanti direttamente i singoli

paesi, come geografia, storia, etnografia ecc. (ciò che si chiama in tedesco Heimatkunde, o in slovacco Vlastiveda), ne sono escluse invece le opere di carattere generale, per es. filosofia, teologia, letteratura, medicina ecc. I titoli in lingua ungherese, romena, albanese e nelle lingue slave, sono tradotti dal tedesco. Solo raramente, se è necessario per capire il titolo, sono aggiunte brevissime spiegazioni.

M. L.

S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris Vita prior. Edidit, praefatione notisque instruxit Hedvigis KARWASIŃSKA (= *Monumenta Poloniae Historica,* Series nova — Tomus IV, fasc. 1). Ed. Institutum historicum Academiae scientiarum Polonicae. Warszawa 1962, 8°, pp. LVIII-106.

Fasciculus continet novam editionem criticam sic dictae *prioris Vitae S. Adalberti,* postquam his ultimis deceniis numerus codicum manuscriptorum ad 29 creverat. Cl.ma auctrix in docta introductione, polonice et latine redacta, exquirit sive historiam codicum eorumque interdependentiam et editiones, sive res in eis contentas, stilum, linguam, etc. Sequitur critica editio triplex, secundum triplicem redactionem, critica textuali et notis illustrativis ornata. Additi sunt duo locupletissimi indices: personarum locorumque, et rerum.

M. L.

Stjepan ANTOLJAK, *Izvori za istorijata na narodite na FNRJ* [= *Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija*] *za sreden vek.* Izdanie na Univerzitetot vo Skopje. Skopje 1962, 8°, pp. 128 multicopiate.

È un manuale per gli studenti universitari, sulle fonti della storia medievale delle nazioni della Jugoslavia. Comincia coll'immigrazioni degli Slavi meridionali nella loro attuale patria ed arriva fino al sec. XVI. La maniera di presentare non è quella delle bibliografie, ma una esposizione ragionata, dando brevi ragguagli sull'autore, manoscritti, edizioni e sul valore storico delle fonti. Ci si permetta un'unica osservazione: a proposito della « *Legenda Italica* » dei Ss. Cirillo e Metodio, l'autore indica come manoscritto meglio conservato quello di Parigi (Pariski). Invece deve essere Praga (Praški); cfr. p. 25. Un indice degli autori e delle cose, sarebbe stato molto utile.

M. L.

Donald ATTWATER, *Saints of the East,* Harvill Press, London 1963, 8°, pp. 190.

Il libro, senza pretese scientifiche, vuole far conoscere al lettore occidentale alcuni santi orientali più caratteristici. È un merito non indifferente che l'autore non si sia limitato alle grandi figure dell'antichità

ma che abbia messo la sua attenzione anche sui recenti eroi delle chiese orientali unite con Roma, spesso ingiustamente dimenticati in simili opere. Vengono qui recensiti il venerabile Mechitar del monastero di S. Croce presso Sivas, fondatore dei Mechitaristi armeni (isola di S. Lazzaro di Venezia), il beato Gabra Michael, martire di Etiopia, beatificato a Roma nel 1926, Mar Matteo Gregorio Nakar, « Saulo siriano », prima persecutore degli uniati, poi lui stesso perseguitato a causa della sua adesione alla Chiesa cattolica, ed in fine tre religiosi maroniti, Namatallah al-Hardini, Sciarbel Makhluf e la suora Rafqa (Rebecca) ar-Rais.

T. Š.

BUČINA, Ferdinand, *A Book of Madonnas*. Text by Ladislav STEHLÍK. Translated by Iris URWIN. Artia, Prague (s. a.), in fol., pp. [14], 33 tav.

JAVIERRE, Antonio, *El tema literario de la sucesión en el judaismo, helenismo y cristianismo primitivo*. Pas Verlag, Zürig 1963, 8°, pp. XII-594.

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NORDBERG, Henric, *Athanasiana*: *Five Homilies, Expositio Fidei, Sermo maior*, Part I: The Text (= *Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum*, XXX/2). Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Helsinki 1962, 8°, pp. 37 + 101.

PATRINELIS, Ch. G., *Διονύσιος Ἰβηρίτης*. (Ex «*E.E.B.Σ.*» 32 [1963] 4 pag.).

PATRINELIS, Ch. G., *Μάρκου Μουσούρου ἀνέκδοτος ἐπιστολή*. (Ex «*Ὁ Βιβλιόφιλος*» 16 [1963] 6 pag.).

PETROTTA, Rosolino, *Incontri con gli «Arvanti» della Grecia*. (Ex «Shêjzat» 7 [1963] 11 pag.).

PHILARETOS, S. D., *The idea of the Being. An exposition of its Incarnation and Revelation and the Primary Law of the Spirit*. Translated from the Greek original by D. CUMMINGS. The Orthodox Christian Educational Society. Chicago 1963, 8°, pp. 287.

Re-Discovering Eastern Christendom. Essays in commemoration of Dom Bede Winslow. Edited by A. H. ARMSTRONG and E. J. B. FRY. Longmann and Todd, London 1963, 8°, pp. XVI-166.

Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, VII. Warszawa 1963, 8°, pp. 260.

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The Rock and the House on the Rock

A chapter in the ecclesiological symbolism of Aphraates and Ephrem [1]

Whoever wishes to study the doctrine of the early Syriac Fathers will look in vain for formal treatments in clear propositions. All is symbolic and figurative; this is not to say that distinctively Christian doctrines were not firmly held, but that the forms in which these were expressed were rather those inherited from the primitive Judaeo-Christian Church with its midrashic traditions, than those which prevailed in the Church of Greco-Roman culture. This is true above all of Aphraates (fl. 336-345) and Ephrem (c. 307-373). Much of what we can call their Ecclesiology comes in almost casually in the course of exegetical, hortatory or lyrical passages, through the use of

(1) In this article *Aphraates* is cited from PS I-II, by number of Demonstration, column of Syriac and line. The volume of PS is not referred to, as only *Dem* XXIII is in vol. II. *Ephrem* is cited according to the abbreviated titles used by Dom E. Beck in all his editions in the CSCO. Reference to the latter collection is by volume and page of the Syriac text, except for *EC Arm* (*Comm. in Evangelium Concordans*, Armenian version) which is cited in the Latin version of Dom Leloir. *EC Syr* (the Chester Beatty ms) is cited, by kind permission of Dom Leloir and the Chester Beatty Library, in the writer's own English version. Other works extant only in Armenian are cited in the standard Latin versions; *H Arm* refers to *Hymni Beati Ephrem LI*, MARIÈS-MERCIER, in PO XXX. The *Acts of Judas Thomas* (abbreviated *AJT*) are cited by the chapters of the new edition by A. F. J. KLIJN (Leiden 1962) and the pages of the translation in WRIGHT's original edition. Reference has always been made, however, to the Syriac text, and in the case of references to the Catena of Severus from ?Ephrem, the Editio Romana (*ER*) has never been cited without checking the reading in Cod. Vat. Syr. 103. All versions in English in this article, except from the *AJT*, are by the writer.

typological comparisons, catenae of testimonia and series, almost like litanies, of symbolic titles applied now to Christ, now to the Apostles and to bishops, now to both Christ and them. This latter common application, begun already in the New Testament, is developed further in the heirs of the primitive Aramaic-speaking Church. Among many examples which verify this pattern and express in manifold ways the belief that the bishops, following the Apostles, exercise a true share in those functions of Christ which were communicable, perhaps the most striking is the theme of the present article, which forms part of a larger work, not yet published, on the doctrine of the Church in the Syriac Fathers before the fifth century.

The title of Rock (*kêphâ*) is a special case, and the most interesting one, of the application of common titles to Christ and the Apostles. The word is particularly striking in the Syriac field both because it is the word which Christ made a proper name (Peter), and because in the Peshitta the word *kêphâ* plays a much more dominant part than any one word for rock or stone in either the Hebrew, the LXX or the Greek New Testament. It is used very generally to render both *'eben*/ *λίθος* (stone, small or great, ordinary or precious) and *sela'* and *ṣûr*, both represented by *πέτρα* (rock, crag), though in the Peshitta New Testament *πέτρα* is often rendered by *šaw'â* (1). In fact, in all the O. T. passages which were combined to form the primitive N.T. testimonia on *Christ the Stone*, and in others, we find the word *kêphâ* in the Syriac (2). The testimony-texts in the N.T. are: Is 8,14;

(1) The roughness of this summary may be excused in view of the careful study by A.J.F. Klijn, *Die Wörter 'Stein' und 'Felsen' in der syrischen Übersetzung des N.T.*, in ZNW 50 (1959) 99-105. This article intends to correct Cullmann's articles *Petra* and *Petros* in TWNT VI, 94-112 (1959) as regards N.T. Aramaic, but I do not think Klijn makes a substantial point against Cullmann's general position.

(2) These *testimonia* were first studied by R. Harris in *Testimonies*, Cambs 1916 and 1920, I, 18-20, 26, 32; II, 60-61. His theory has undergone much correction but his work remains fundamental, especially on the patristic quotations. On the N.T. use of proof-texts, see C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, London 1952; (on the Stone, pp. 21,41-43 etc.). On the O.T. texts themselves, followed through into the N.T., see E. F. Siegmann, *The Stone hewn from the Mountain*, CBQ 18 (1956), 364-379. Cullmann's exegesis of the name *Kêphâ* is well taken up by J. Betz in *Christus – Petra – Petrus*, in *Kirche und Überlieferung* (Fest-

Is 28,16; Ps 118,22; an implicit allusion to the 'Stone from the mountain' in Dn 2 (Lk 20,18), and one type, the rock in the desert, on which St Paul follows the Jewish legend that it travelled, together with the rabbinic tradition which already saw this rock as a messianic symbol. We shall find all these in our authors; indeed, in their search for types of Christ they use other *kêphâ*-texts also and sometimes relate them to the Church. It is against this background that we must consider what Mt 16,18 meant to the Syrians (1).

The meaning can be summed up by saying that *kêphâ* (Peter) is a functional title given by Christ to Simon. As Christ the Chief Shepherd made Simon the chief shepherd in his place, so Christ the *Kêphâ*, foretold by prophecy and type, made Simon the *Kêphâ* in his place, and said that on that *kêphâ* he would build his Church, and the 'bars of Sheol' would be powerless against it (2).

In following this theme in our authors we shall first review their presentation of Christ as the *Kêphâ*, by O.T. quotations and types: then how Christ made Simon the *Kêphâ*; then the building on the Rock, and then the "bars of Sheol".

Aphraates

(i) *Christ the Rock.*

Aphraates' first *Demonstration* is about faith, and immediately he proposes his theme under the figure of a 'house built on the crag of the firm rock' which is Christ (3). To what extent

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schrift J. R. Geiselmann), Freiburg 1960, 1-21. Also very valuable, giving a study of a striking parallel to Mt 16 in the Qumran *Hodayoth*, is O. Betz, *Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde*, in ZNW 48 (1957), 44-77.

(1) The question of the original Aramaic behind Mt 16,18 lies beyond the scope of this work. Klijn (ZNW 50, 1959, 105) is sceptical about the possibility of arguing from Syriac, because the words in question developed new senses in the latter. Perhaps, but the Edessene dialect did not evolve new *words* for stone and rock, and the sense given by a play on *kêphâ* in the passage, in the way that Aphraates understood it (and as Cullmann in TWNT, VI, 98 ff), gives the satisfaction of complete rightness.

(2) Here we meet the Diatessaron reading at Mt 16:18, of which we shall see more. Now that the word *kêphâ* is sufficiently introduced, in some translations I propose to leave it as it stands, to avoid having to choose between 'stone' and 'rock' when it means both.

(3) I, 5.16-8.18. 'The crag ...' is *šaw'â d–kêphâ šarrîrtâ*; *šaw'â* comes from Mt 7,24-5.

the Church is implicit in this 'house' will be discussed below. Aphraates promises (8.17-18) to prove that the Prophets called Christ the *Kêphâ*; accordingly in 16.1-21.9 he proposes a classic little testimony-series from both Testaments:

1. (16.4 ff) Ps 118,22, in the usual Peshitta text:
'The *kêphâ* which the builders rejected
has become the head of the building'
(rêšeh d-benyänâ).

The rejection is illustrated in N.T. texts; the builders were the Jews, but actually they destroyed the Lord's wall, Ez 13,10 and 22,30).

2. (17.1 ff) Is 28,16:
'Behold, I am laying in Sion a tested *kêphâ*, in the corner of honour,
the head of the wall of the foundation (sic),
and none who has faith in it will fear' (1).

3. (Following on immediately without acknowledgement) Lk 20, 18, which is actually dependent on Is 8,14 and Dn 2,44:
'And whoever falls on that *kêphâ* shall be broken,
and all on whom it falls, it shall shatter'.

4. (17.9-10) Dn 2,34-44 is now quoted, first by allusion to the stone falling on the image, then explicitly (17,26-20.2):
'For a *kêphâ* was cut from a mountain without hands,
and it smote the image, and the whole earth was
filled by it' (2).

Aphraates relates this to Christ filling the whole world by his Gospel, applying Ps 19,4: 'Into all the world has gone forth the Word of the Gospel of Christ' (3), and Mt 28,19.

5. (10.12-14) Zach 4,7: 'I saw a principal stone (4) of fairness and mercy'. The citation has no context; it is actually to do with the rebuilding of the temple.

(1) "Laying": *sā'ēm*, Peš *matqēn*. The third member is also different from the Peš.

(2) The quotation summarises and differs slightly from the Peš.

(3) For the Peš *sbarthôn*, 'their message', Aphraates has *ba(r)t qālâ da-sbartēh da-Mšîhâ*.

(4) *Kêphâ rêšaytâ*: or, precious stone, or head-stone. 'I saw': Peš 'and he shall bring forth'. ?Ephrem (ER Syr II. 289 D: Lamy in RB 6 (1897), 389), has no comment, but on 4,9 he compares the temple to the Church founded on Christ.

6. Then, after some texts on charity, comes (20.24-25) Zach 3,9: ' On this *kêphâ* I will open seven eyes ', which, says Aphraates, are the sevenfold Spirit of God, referred to also by Zach 4,10 (1).

Here, then, we have another ' Name of Jesus ', again a New Testament one, and again one that is shared. Christ the *Kêphâ šarrîrtâ* (2) made Simon the *Kêphâ šarrîrtâ* (3), while the types are applied also to Simon and to the Church. In Appendix I it is suggested that already before Aphraates, *Kêphâ šarrîrtâ* was a recognised ' Name of Jesus ' and connected with the Greek phrase *στερεὰ πέτρα* which comes from the LXX Isaiah.

Of the texts in Aphraates' testimony-list, he uses none elsewhere except the Daniel passage, which is treated in its context during a long exposition of Daniel in *Dem* V. There the ' stone cut without hands ' is (quite rightly) the messianic kingdom which, as always in Aphraates, is purely eschatological. His faithfulness to the Jewish exegetical tradition there makes him stand back from the full Christian application, even though this passage is the most frequent ' Stone ' testimony to Christ in all the early Fathers.

(ii) *Christ the Rock made Simon the Rock.*

In a passage on how Christ rewarded faith during his life Aphraates says: ' Also Simon who was called *Kêphâ*, because of his faith was called Firm Rock, *Kêphâ šarrîrtâ* ' (I, 40.27-41.1). Likewise in XI, on *Circumcision,* in a comparison-series on Josue

(1) The Peš reads: ' Upon this stone are seven eyes: behold, I will open its doors '. (The Hebrew really means ' I will engrave an inscription on it '). See SIEGMANN, *Stone from mountain,* CBQ 18 (1956), 373. Interpretations are divided whether this is a building-stone in the temple (so JEROME) or a precious stone in the High Priest's vestments; in MARUTHA, Hom. in Dom. Nova 14, (OC 3 (1903), 412) the stones of the Ephod are types of the Twelve Apostles. ?EPHREM (ER II. 278 A: LAMY l.c. p. 388) interprets the seven eyes (1) as officers of the prince, and (2) as a type of the Church with her seven ' spiritual contemplations ' (' theoriae '); but on 4,10 (ER II. 290 B) the seven eyes are the seven operations of the Holy Spirit. The Cyprianic *Testimonia* (II, 16) is the only other early collection containing Zach 3,9 (CSEL III, 1, p. 82).

(2) I, 8.5,15-18; 13.4-5; 45.4.

(3) I, 41.1; XI, 501.24-25.

and Christ: ' Jesus bar-Nun set up stones (*kêphê*) for a testimony in Israel; and Jesus our Saviour called Simon *Kêphâ šarrîrtâ* and set him up as a faithful witness among the Nations ' (XI, 501. 22-26) [1]. Christ's appointment of Simon to take his own place is expressed also by means of the type of the rock struck by Moses in the desert (Num 20,11). In XII, *On the Pasch*, in a comparison-series on Moses and Christ, with relation especially to the former and New Passovers, Aphraates says: ' He (Moses) brought forth water from the rock (*kêphâ*): and for us our Saviour has made waters of life flow from his belly ' (XII. 524.9-11). Here Christ is not merely parallel to Moses, but is also the Rock himself, with an implicit allusion to John 7,38 [2]. Now in this figure also Simon Peter is assimilated to Christ. In XII, *On Persecutions*, in a chain of successive comparison-series which contain many points irrelevant to Aphraates ' theme, but very fruitful for the present study, Aphraates says: ' Moses brought forth water from the rock (*kêphâ*) for his people: and Jesus sent Simon Kêphâ

[1] ' Comparison-series ' is a term adopted earlier in this work to designate a literary figure found in Aphraates, not unlike the σύγκρισις of the Greek rhetoricians, whereby in a series of parallel rhythmic phrases an Old Testament person and Christ are compared. It was also decided to use the form ' Jesus bar-Nun ' for Josue in such passages in order to bring out the parallelism.

[2] M. E. BOISMARD, O. P., in *De son ventre couleront des fleuves d'eau* (*Jo.* 7,38), RB 65 (1958), 523-546, quotes this passage on p. 529. Equally striking, though he does not quote it, is MARUTHA, *Hom. in Dom. nova* 11, OC 3 (1903), 406, where after applying to the Apostles two ' river of life ' texts (Is 41,18 and Ps 46,4), he says: ' And they are the rivers which have flowed from the belly of Christ and give drink to all who thirst '. Kmosko felt that ' belly ' was strange and proposed ' throne ' (*kûrsyēh* for *karsēh*) but there is no need. These passages support the reading of Jn 7,38 with no punctuation after πινέτω, so that the rivers flow from Christ and not from the believer. Unfortunately Boismard does not tell us that Aphraates twice quotes the text explicitly in a way that does *not* support his point (IV, 149.3 and XXIII, 24.11), while XX, 916.6 looks like an allusion, fair and square, to the sense whereby the believer is the source. Boismard's appeals to Ephrem are also weak or invalid. In any case, it is not in question that Christ is the *giver* of the spiritual drink in Jn 7,38, whomever ' his belly ' refers to. Nevertheless, since the Rock in the desert remains the best candidate for the mysterious source of Jn 7,38, Boismard's general contention is convincing, and there is no doubt that both Aphraates here and Marutha use the text in Boismard's sense.

to carry his teaching among the Nations' (XII. 960.17-20). In so far as Peter is here related to the rock in the desert, we may be reminded of those early iconographic monuments on which the symbolic rock is struck by Peter, though of course then the point is slightly different (1). Aphraates does not refer to 1 Cor 10,4 and the Jewish legend of the travelling rock, and his other references to Moses' rock do not belong to our present theme.

Only two passages in Aphraates allude to Mt 16,16 ff, and there are no direct quotations. In VII, *On Penitents*, after David and Aaron, Simon Peter is proposed as a model of repentance; after he had denied his Lord he repented and wept many tears, and 'Our Lord accepted him and made him a foundation, and called him Kêphâ, the building of the Church' (336. 17-22) (2). The other is a passing reference in a passage on the Transfiguration; Christ took with him 'Simon Kêphâ, the foundation of the Church, and James and John, strong pillars of the Church' (XXIII, 36.10-12). Short as these references are, they are significant; after all Aphraates' insistence in *Dem* I that Christ is the foundation on which is raised the house of faith, he now almost carelessly, as if alluding to something taken for granted, calls Simon *Kêphâ* both the foundation and even the building of the Church.

To summarize the references to Simon Peter which are ecclesiologically significant, the general pattern is one which we shall see verified in Ephrem also. When the reference is to Peter

(1) The evidence is mainly on sarcophagi; but Peter is actually named on two gold-glasses in the Vatican, and on the Podgoritza Cup in the Hermitage, Leningrad, (where, however, it seems to be the mystic Olive that Peter strikes). This has been published with the first satisfactory photographs and a preliminary discussion by P. LEVI, S. J., in *Heythrop Journal* IV (1963), 54-60. See also G. STUHLFAUTH, *Die apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristliche Kunst* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1925), p. 50-71; P. STYGER, *Die altchristliche Grabeskunst*, (München 1927), p. 96-99 and figs. 17, 18, 30; C. CECCHELLI, *Iconografia dei Papi*, I, *San Pietro* (Roma 1937), p. 18-19, 25 and especially 31-2, n. 32; and M. SOTOMAYOR, *San Pedro en la iconografía paleocristiana*, Granada 1962, pp. 57-63 etc.

(2) It is strange for 'building' to be apparently in apposition to 'Rock'; one suspects that a 'd–' has dropped out, which would give 'called him the Rock of the building'.

merely as one of the disciples, he is called Simon (1). The same is true of two passages referring to his special authority over the flock and the keys (2). In contrast with these passages, when Aphraates uses the name *Kêphâ* it unmistakably *means* ' *Rock* ' as well as being the name which Christ in fact gave to Simon. Thus we have twice seen *Kêphâ šarrîrtâ*, a title shared with Christ; *Kêphâ* as antitype of Moses' rock, made by Christ a source of teaching, just as Christ the Rock is the source of Life; *Kêphâ* as antitype of Josue's cairn of rocks, faithful witness among the Gentiles; finally, *Kêphâ* the foundation of the Church. It is clearly not merely a name but also a functional title.

In the New Testament the Stone-theme comes not only in the ways already alluded to, applied to Christ and implicitly to Simon Peter, but also, in 1 Peter 2, 4-8, all Christians are living stones built into the spiritual house of the Church, on the foundation of Christ the Living Stone. However, 1 Peter was not in the 4th century Syriac canon, and our authors lacked this encouragement to develope *Kêphâ* as a three-level symbol. Nevertheless, Aphraates is led by typology to see the members of the Church in the stones of Jacob's cairn at Bethel:

> ' And this also our Father Jacob did as a symbolic foreshadowing when these stones received anointing; for it is the Nations who have found faith in Christ who are the anointed, as John (the Baptist) said of them: *from these stones God is able to raise up sons for Abraham* (Mt 3,9). Thus in the prayer of Jacob was prefigured the mystery of the vocation of the Nations' (IV, 145.17-25).

Ephrem knows the same tradition, as we shall see.

(iii) *The Building on the Rock: the Temple of the Holy Spirit.*

In *Dem* I the building is the structure of faith, laid on the foundation of Christ the firm Rock (I, 8.4 ff). Here not only *kêphâ* is used for " rock " but also *šawʿâ*, the word in Mt 7,24-25. In the same sense Aphraates expounds 1 Cor 3,10-11, where St Paul calls Christ the only foundation that can be laid. Thus in the building-figure in *Dem* I the primary thing is the *act* of

(1) E. g. XIV, 672.16 on the tribute money, and XVII, 812.14, Simon by the fire when he denied Christ.

(2) X, 453.7-11 and XXI, 965.14-17.

building on Christ; only secondary is the fact that a *house* is built. Certainly the figure is never applied directly to the Church as such. Yet Aphraates has indications that his thought is more complex. ' When the whole building has gone up and is finished and perfected, it becomes a house and temple for the indwelling of Christ ' (8.25-9.2). Then, after a bold adaptation of Jer 7,4-5, adding to the threefold ' temple of the Lord ', ' you are, if you reform your ways and your works ', Aphraates quotes the classical texts on the divine indwelling, 2 Cor 6,16, 1 Cor 3,16 and Jn 14,10. He then speaks of how a man must behave towards his royal guest (9.11 ff). Thus the figure has changed from a building simile to a concrete symbol, but the indwelling is considered as it is in the individual, not in the Church, which in Paul's true thought is prior.

After the testimony-series Aphraates elaborates his spiritual architecture. Christ is the foundation, but also the ' head of the wall ', and the whole building is perfected with stones (*kêphê*), but we are not told what these are. In II, *On Charity*, the figure of the building comes again, founded on charity (81.24); or again, faith is the house on the rock (*šawʿâ*) and charity is what holds the walls together (84.14 ff). A clear allusion to Mt 7,24 ff recurs in the exhortation to the *Bnay Qyāmâ* (VI, 241.5, 249.17-19). In the latter passage there is also a reference to the figure of building a tower in Lk 14,28-29 (1). The tower-figure occurs again in *Dem* XIV, in a passage full of figurative titles applied to Christ and the bishops; here the tower is Christ; ' He is the Tower on which many build; let us reckon its cost, that we may build and finish it ' (681.24-26). Comparison with Ephrem's use of this figure, to be discussed below, proves that it is a concealed allusion to the Tower of Babel as a type of the Church.

A definite apostolic title is ' Skilful Architect ' (*ardēklâ ḥakkîmâ*), which comes from 1 Cor 3,10. Quoted twice in *Dem* I, it recurs as a title of the bishops in XIV: ' You are skilful architects, digging foundations and laying bare corruption ' (680.1-2) (2).

(1) Cf. II, 92.20-93.1, where the order plays on *magdlâ*, tower, and Magdalen. (The passage is one which reflects the Diatessaron almost like an index; see F. C. BURKITT, *Evangelion da-mepharreshe*, Cambs 1904, II, p. 181-184.)

(2) Cf X, 469.15; XIV, 609.21, and see L. HAEFELI, *Stilmittel bei Afrahat*, Leipzig 1932, p. 170-171.

But immediately before, they have been called ' the Building on the Rock ' (*šaw'â*), while shortly after they are ' the Temple of the Spirit ' (680.13). This at least is singular and collective, as at I, 9.3-11, and so can be regarded as ecclesiological; but these passing references are little compared with the general trend of Aphraates ' passages on the divine indwelling. Whether its subject is Christ, as most often (e.g. IV, 157.20-161.23), or the Holy Spirit (e.g. VI, 252.9-13), it is primarily in the individual Christian; in this Aphraates is close to the *AJT* (1). The passage that most nearly hints at the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church is XII, 525.1-4: ' He called their tabernacle the "temporal tabernacle" (*maškan zabnâ*), because it served only for a limited time; but ours [he has called] the Temple of the Holy Spirit, which is for ever '. While the primary antitype of the tabernacle here is Christ's body, the context implies a communal and ecclesiological sense. It may also be significant that the following paragraph, though it proposes a new theme, immediately refers to the eating of the Passover in one house (Ex 12,46), with the comment ' The one house is the Church of God ' (525.8), following a classical patristic tradition (2).

Aphraates gives us only a mosaic of fragments and evidently does not attempt to unify them, so that inevitably this survey has gone beyond his conscious thought. Nevertheless, within a comparatively small body of writings, written in a short time, he applies the figure of Rock (*kêphâ*) as foundation to both Christ and Peter; the building on the rock is normally faith, but is also Peter and sometimes the Apostles (while James and John are pillars); the Church is the ' One House '; Christians are temples of the Spirit, usually individually but not exclusively so. How-

(1) KLIJN ch. 86, WRIGHT p. 221; K. 94, W. p. 226-7; K. 156, W. p. 289.

(2) See J. DANIÉLOU, *Mia Ekklesia chez les Pères grecs des premiers siècles*, in *L'Église et les Églises* (Chevetogne 1954), I, 129-139; *L'unique demeure*, pp. 130-4. To his examples from Nautin's *Paschal homilies* (*Hom. in tradition of Hippolytus* 41, SChr p. 163, and *Hom. in trad. of Origen* I, 11-15, in *Trois Homélies*, SChr p. 65-69) and from ORIGEN (*fragg. in Ex.*, PG 12,285 D-288 A) can be added not only the passage in Aphraates but also THEODORET, *Qq. in Ex.* 16,25 (PG 80,256 A) and ?EPHREM, *In Zach* 4,9 (ER II, 289 E-290 A), which is discussed at the end of section (iii) below.

ever, Aphraates' doctrine of the Holy Spirit is disappointing. He never really secs the Holy Spirit dwelling in the united Church, guiding her in her head and members. This is due, perhaps, to his isolated status as an ascetic, occupied in solitary prayer; but we might have hoped for it in the Synodal letter, *Dem* XIV.

Ephrem

(i) *Christ the Rock.*

Ephrem relates Jacob's stone at Bethel to both Christ and the Church in *In Gen* 26,2-3: ' By the oil which he poured on the rock (*kêphâ*) he was prefiguring the mystery of Christ which was hidden in it '. And on Jacob's vow: ' Again in the rock was symbolized the mystery of the Church, to whom the vows and offerings of all the Nations were to come ' (1).

The rock struck by Moses in the desert receives no typological application where Ephrem deals with it in *In Ex*, 17,1, but he brings it into both his treatments of the Blessings of Jacob, on Gen 49,24. Here the Peshitta has *Rā'yâ Kêphâ d'Isrā'ēl*, ' the Shepherd, the Rock of Israel ' as a title of God (2). Ephrem comments, first, ' *And because of the Name of the Shepherd,* who was to lead in the parched desert the Rock which gave life by giving drink to all Israel '; and again, ' *By the hand of the Mighty One*: that is, through the name of the Son himself, he who was called by the Apostle the Rock (*Kêphâ*) which journeyed with Israel in the desert ' (cf. 1 Cor 10,4) (3). Here Ephrem follows the Jewish tradition referred to by Paul, which is already explicit in the Targums, both Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan, and widely attested in Jewish sources, that the rock travelled with the Israelites (4). Ephrem does not refer to the rock travelling when he comments on 1 Cor 10,4 (though he brings out the significance

(1) CSCO 152, Syr 71, p. 89.

(2) Translating Hebrew *Rô'ēh 'eben Yisrā'ēl*, where *'eben* may be an insertion (see M. J. Dahood, S. J., in *Biblica* 40 (1959), 1002-7); the LXX renders differently.

(3) *In Gen* 42,13 and 43,10; CSCO 152, Syr 71, pp. 116 and 120.

(4) Cf Strack-Billerbeck III, 406-7, and Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* III, 52-53; VI, 21, note 129.

of the rock as a type of Christ) (1); but he returns to the theme in *Parad* 5,1. Here, however,

' The Rock, which with the Nation
journeyed in the midst of the desert '

is compared to the word of God, creating all from nothing, as the rock sent forth water though there was none within (2). The water from the rock is the type of the water and blood from Christ's side in the commentary on 1 Cor 10,4 — " sanguis quidem in propitiationem, et in potum omnium Gentium " — and very similarly in *Epiph* 5,12-14, though Beck is inclined to doubt the authenticity of this hymn (3).

Another Jewish tradition, somewhat interwoven with the last, with which Ephrem shows acquaintance is the legend of the twelve streams, giving drink to the twelve tribes, which was attached to the Rock already by the 2nd century B.C. (4), but which in its developed form seems to combine the well of Be'er (Num 21, 16-18), and finally makes all one with the miraculous travelling well of Miriam (5). Besides Ephrem's close familiarity with Jewish exegetical traditions, he may very well have seen at Nisibis or elsewhere a picture such as the magnificent fresco in the synagogue at Dura, where Moses stands in the midst of the camp, opening the well, which then divides into twelve streams flowing to the doors of twelve tents (6). In *Nat* 2,10 Ephrem makes this a type of Christ sending the Apostles:

' O Source untasted by Adam (7),
which gave forth twelve speaking springs
and Life filled the world! ' (8)

(1) *In Paulum*, tr. p. 66.

(2) CSCO 174, Syr 78, p. 15. For the same comparison cf *EC* 1,18 (*Syr* p. 16) (ed. L. Leloir, *Chester Beatty Monographs* 7, Dublin 1963).

(3) CSCO 186, Syr 82, p. 159; cf Beck's remarks in the next volume, intro. p. x.

(4) As in the Jewish tragedian Ezechiel, quoted by Eusebius at tedious length in *Praep. Evang.* 9, 25, 15 (GCS Eus. VIII, i, p. 537), *πηγὰς ἀφύσσων δώδεκ' ἐκ μιᾶς πέτρας.*

(5) See C. Kraeling in *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report* VIII, 1 (Yale, 1956) p. 118-125, where there is a full discussion of the texts, traditions and legends.

(6) Dura Synagogue, Panel WB 1; *Final Report*, VIII, 1, plate lix.

(7) Cf Ginzberg, *Legends* on this same theme, III, 52.

(8) CSCO 186, Syr 82, p. 16; cf. *Epiph.* 9,12, ibid p. 179. If Ephrem

The same reference is attached to the Rock in *H Arm* 42:

> ' Jesus, qui nuncupatus est Petra,
> figuratus est in typum, in medio petrae:
> scilicet, per duodecim apostolos dat bibere,
> remedium vitae toti universo ' (1).

To turn now to *testimonia*, the ' Stone hewn from the mountain ' of Dn 2 occurs in three passages which, while they cannot be called testimony-lists, yet weave together allusions to a number of ' stone ' *testimonia*. In EC 16,20, on Mt 21,42 (quoting Ps 118,22) Ephrem identifies the ' stone ' as the *Adamant* of the Peshitta and LXX at Amos 7,8 (Amos' ' plumb-line ') (2). He then quotes Lk 20,18 (which depends on both Is 8,14 and Dn 2,35) and then Dn 2,35, illustrating how Christ's teaching destroys idolatry and has filled the whole world. Here, therefore, Ephrem has three texts of those in Aphraates ' list.

In *EC* 21,21, on Christ's entombment, Christ is compared to Daniel and Lazarus. Against the door was placed ' a stone against the Stone, so that a stone might guard the Stone which the builders rejected ' (cf Ps 118,22); the Syriac here has *kêphâ* throughout (3). Then Christ is likened to the stone of Dn 2,34, and to Jacob's

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were thinking primarily only of Elim, it is hard to believe that he could have resisted seeing in the seventy palm-trees a type of the seventy ' Apostles ' whom he venerated so much, (Addai, the legendary Apostle of Edessa being one of them according to tradition,) especially as this is a type found frequently in the Fathers.

(1) PO XXX, p. 194. The simpler form of the legend, attached to the Rock alone, evidently continued side-by-side with the confused form, as it comes up again in the Koran, *Sura* 2,60: ' And remember, Moses prayed for water for his people. We said: " Strike the rock with thy staff ". There gushed forth therefrom twelve streams. Each tribe knew its place for water '.

(2) Cf *Adv. Judaeos*, ER III, 219 DE, (judged doubtful because the oldest ms is 10th c., but never really examined,) where this text comes with Is 28,16 and Ps 118,22. In ?EPHREM *In Amos*, however, (ER II, 265 B), the Adamant is not Christ but the Assyrian King, an interpretation known to Cyril of Alexandria. The commentator who comes nearest to Ephrem in *EC* here is Jerome (PL 25, 1072-1074), who alludes to Christ the *Lapis angularis* and refers to Mt 16,18 and to the wall in Ezech 13,10, which Aphraates also connects with his *Kêphâ* testimonia (I, 16.21).

(3) *EC* Syr p. 222.

stone on which he laid his head. This way of alluding implicitly to many classical texts, rather than merely giving straight testimony-lists, is typical of Ephrem. Similar is *Virg* 14,6:

> ' With stones (*kêphê*) Satan tempted
> the Stone which gave drink to the People,
> the Stone that was the Bread of Life,
> the Stone that shattered the great image ' (1).

In the next stanza Ephrem contemplates Christ on the pinnacle of the Temple:

> ' Perfect Stone, that ascended and stood
> on the rejected (stone?) that the foolish rejected ' (2).

Daniel's stone appears again in *Resurr* 20,17, at the end of the hymn on Nisan and the Bride of God:

> ' The Stone which Daniel saw,
> the whole world was filled by it ',

and likewise the cloud which Elias saw from Carmel, which grew till it filled the whole sky, are types of the Gospel filling the whole world (3).

So far, Ephrem's typology shows Christ as the Kêphâ, though we have not found *kêphâ šarrîrtâ*. Jacob's stone is also a type of anointed members of the Church, while the growth of Daniel's stone suggests the spread of the Church.

The metaphor ' hearts of stone ' comes in to express both the Jews' rejection of Christ the Kêphâ, and his transformation of those hearts which accepted him. Thus in *HdF* 48,5:

> ' The people that had a heart of stone
> He rejected through the Stone;
> for behold, even the rock (in the desert) was obedient to words ' (4).

(1) CSCO 223, Syr 94, p. 49. The Bread of Life may be an implicit comment on the Temptation; Christ was to give supernatural bread, but not by Satan's means. " De Lapide ipso locutus erat tentator, ut (Dominus) faceret panem " (*EC* 4,11; CSCO 145, Arm 2, p. 39).

(2) Ibid. ' Rejected ' is *maslaytâ*, an allusion to Ps 118, 22 but a curious one, as it makes the text refer to the temple rather than to Christ.

(3) Lamy III, 765.

(4) CSCO 154, Syr 73, p. 258. (' Stone ' and ' rock ' are both *kêphâ*).

And in Nat 24,19, alluding to Lk 19,40 (' the very stones would cry out '):

' Since the scribes were silent through envy
  and the Pharisees through jealousy,
men of stone (*kêphâ*) cried praises,
  [men] with a heart of stone.
They sang praises before the Stone,
  the Rejected, which became the head;
through the Stone, stones were softened,
  and acquired mouths that speak.
Stones cried out by means of the Stone;
  Blessed be thy birth, which made stones cry out! ' (1)

Treading warily, as we must always do in the midst of Ephrem's imagery, we may yet see a deep significance in the common application of the one term to Christ and to men in their stony nature. Christ took that nature and transformed it (cf. the prophecy of Ezechiel, 36,26) and wherever, unlike the scribes and Pharisees, men showed good will, ' stones were softened ' and he made them able to speak and preach, ' sermone ditans guttura '.

(ii) *Simon Kêphâ*

In the *EC*, as far as we can tell, being still dependent on the Armenian alone for more than a third, Peter is almost always referred to only as ' Simon '. The only expositions are 9,17, on his two names, Simon and Kêphâ, and 10,6, where with reference to Ac 1,16-10 he is uniquely called *Petrôs* (2). He is called Simon even in *EC* 14,1-3, on Mt 16,16 ff, which fortunately we now have in the Syriac, and which is here translated into English for the first time:

' But Simon the leader took the lead, saying (lit. Simon the head, *rêšâ*, spoke the beginning, *rêšîtâ*): *Thou art the Son, the Christ, the Son of the Living God.* And [then]: *Blessed art thou, Simon*; *and the bars of Sheol shall have no power against thee.* That is, that that faith shall not be destroyed; for whatever he builds, who shall destroy it? And whatever he overthrows, who shall set it up [again]?

(1) CSCO 186, Syr 82, p. 125. Cf. *EC* Syr XXI. 4, p. 210.

(2) *EC* Syr 9,17, p. 32; 10,6, p. 40. (It is not clear why Syr and Arm both read *Petros* here; the vulgate Peš has *Simon Kêphâ*). In general, the Arm follows the Syr exactly in the use of Simon, Kepha and Petros, but one ms adds *Petros* as a marginal gloss at 9,5, and there might be other divergences in passages which we have not in the Syriac.

The Assyrian wished to destroy the house which he (sc. God) had built; but he destroyed the throne of his kingdom. And likewise Nicanor. Again, Achab wished to [re-]build Jericho which had been overthrown; [but] his kingdom was destroyed.

2. And when he (Christ) had built his Church, there was built the Tower whose foundations are sufficient for all that is built on them. And whereas the one language was divided into many languages, so that men might not ascend to heaven, — that is, that they might be prevented from putting their trust in the tower rather than in righteousness: (for the abyss did not bring forth the Flood against them that they might take refuge on the heights, but sin drowned [them], while penance brought salvation, that is, righteousness brought deliverance;) — whereas the dispersal of those men brought an end to the earthly tower and the temporal establishment and the destructible place of refuge, the Lifegiver gave them from himself a Tower which leads up to the heights, and a Tree whose fruit is the Medicine of Life.

3. *Thou art Kêphâ*, that stone (*kêphâ*) which he (Christ) set up so that Satan might stumble on it. In turn Satan [wanted] to put in our Lord's way so that he might stumble on it, by that " *far be it from thee* ". For we could not have known that Satan was plotting thus; but he who knows gave us to know, by that " *get thee off, Satan, thou art a stumbling-block to me* ". But he (Christ) threw it (the stone) behind him, so that those followers (of Satan) might stumble on it, for *they drew back and fell* ' (Jn 18,6) (1).

The omissions here are very striking, and it may be that we still only possess selections, so that we cannot decide whether Ephrem had a Gospel text which jumped from " Blessed art thou, Simon " to " and the bars of Sheol shall have no power against thee " (2). The *bars* (*mûklê*) will occupy us at length later; but it must be noted immediately that Ephrem reads the text so that it is Peter, not the Church, who is to withstand the attack (3).

(1) *EC* Syr p. 114. The Syriac clears up at least three points, though the discussions of the passage by S. Euringer (*Der Locus classicus des Primates, Mt 16, 18, und der Diatessarontext des hl. Ephräm*, in *Festgabe A. Ehrhard*, pp. 141-172) and J. Jeremias (*Golgotha und der hl. Felsen*, in *ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ* 2 (1926), 74-129) remain valuable.

(2) *Sic*; but the Armenian (*drounk*, ' gates ') has been conformed to the vulgate text.

(3) It is beyond the scope of this work to judge of the value for N.T. textual criticism of the reading ' against thee ' on which Harnack placed such weight. Euringer judged that Ephrem's instances of it were adaptations; but recently G. Quispel has shown (*Der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium*, in VigChr XVI (1962), 121-151, p. 130) that the

Ephrem then refers the promise to Peter's faith; next he speaks of Christ's building his Church, as a tower; only then (14,3) comes the Kêphâ-saying, and it is connected not with the function of foundation but with the following pericope in which Christ rebukes Peter. Considering that the Commentary is far from failing to recognise Peter's primacy, (in 14,4 on the next page he is ' Simon, head of the Church ',) it is strange how sketchy the treatment of Mt 16,16-19 is. The Keys receive no comment here (though the theme is familiar to Ephrem, as we saw in the last chapter). Certainly it is noteworthy that Ephrem relates to Peter what Christ said of the Church (' the bars of Sheol shall have no power against *thee* ', instead of ' against *her* '); but since he connects this primarily with faith, it could not be argued that he is making Peter all that the Church is, though of course the faith whose victory is promised is alike Peter's and the Church's. More striking is the interpretation of ' Thou art Kêphâ ', which hints at the Stone of stumbling (Is 8,14, cf. Lk 20,18) which is Christ (1), so that Simon Kêphâ is closely associated with Christ the Kêphâ — a theme which otherwise Ephrem does not bring out so clearly as Aphraates.

In a number of other places Ephrem refers to Peter's confession and to Christ's calling him blessed, but without mention of the name Kêphâ (2). On Christ's reproof of Peter, *HdF* 82,13 echoes the passage we have just been considering:

> ' Simon Kêphâ had compassion on the Kêphâ
> (i.e. wanted him not to suffer)
> which whoever strikes, he is smitten by it ' (3).

Old Saxon *Heliand* as well as the Stuttgart Old Dutch Diatessaron have the reading. The *Heliand* passage is, of course, a poetic paraphrase, and the context includes a paraphrase of the words about the building of the Church. So does Ephrem's comment here, implicitly, and the Isaias commentary, where the reading is explicitly referred to the Church (*In Is* 54,17, LAMY II, 155, discussed in section (iv) below). Since the present work is concerned primarily with doctrine rather than textual criticism, these remarks on the reading ' against thee ' must suffice.

(1) This is proposed as being implicit in the Gospel account by C. F. D. MOULE, *Some reflections on the ' Stone ' testimonia in relation to the name Peter*, in NTS 2 (1955-6), 56-59.

(2) E. g. *Nat* 2,18; *SdF* 2, 109, 4.153, 6 129.

(3) CSCO 154, Syr 73, p. 254. An allusion, perhaps, to Lk 20,18, but not using the same words – at least, not those in VS and Peš.

The fullest meditation on Peter's confession is in *Virg* 15,6-7, which we have partially considered with reference to the Keys:

15,6. ' Blessed art thou too, Simon Kêphâ,
who holdest the keys which the Spirit forged.
Great is the word and ineffable,
that could bind and loose above and below...

15,7. Blessed art thou who wert as the head
and as the tongue of the body of thy brethren!
That body was composed of the disciples,
and the Sons of Zebedee were its eyes.
Blessed both of them, who asked their Master
for thrones, having seen his throne!
Through Simon was heard the revelation from the
Father, [through] the Rock unshakable ' (1).

In *H Arm* 5,56-60 Ephrem refers again to the conferring of the Keys on Peter as foundation of the Church, but the name *Petros* does not occur. It does, however, in *H Arm* 44, referring to Peter's humility:

' Petrus petra fugit honorem
qui erat caput apostolorum ' (2),

where *Petrus petra* (*Petros vem*) is presumably an effort to render clearly the meaning of *Kêphâ*.

In general, Ephrem shows a great reserve in the use of the name Kêphâ, and when he uses it, most often the context makes clear that there is an allusion to Mt 16. This remains true in works which are doubtfully attached to the name of Ephrem, though still closely dependent on him, such as the hymn mentioned on this page, n. 1, or (doubtfully in Beck's opinion at least) the *Sermones*

(1) CSCO 223, Syr 94, p. 53. The first verse of st. 6, and all of st. 7, occur as sts 5 and 8 in a hymn to St Peter in Lamy IV, 681-7. Lamy's sources were the Syrian Breviary for sts 1-8 and ms B. Mus. Add. 17, 144, f. 83 f, of the 8th-9th century; but this omits our stanzas. Apart from these, the only thing in the hymn which seems to rise above the commonplaces of Syriac hymnography and to look like the real Ephrem is the last stanza, quoted in section (iv) below. In all this hymn, full of warm devotion to St Peter, the name Kêphâ occurs only once; this again verifies the tendency already remarked on.

(2) PO XXX, p. 208-9.

de Heb. Sancta. In 4,1 of the latter is the strongest passage on the Petrine primacy in all the corpus of Ephrem's works:

> ' Thee, Simon, my disciple, have I set
> as the foundation of holy Church.
> I called thee Kêphâ from of old,
> that thou mightest bear all buildings.
> Thou art the Overseer (*bāḥôrâ*) of those
> who build for me the Church on earth:
> if they build anything hateful,
> thy foundation restrains them.
> Thou art the fountain-head of my teaching,
> and thou art the head of my disciples.
> By thee I will give drink to all nations;
> thou hast the sweetness of Life which I will give.
> It is thee I have chosen to be firstborn of my teaching,
> to be heir of my treasures.
> I have given thee the Keys of my Kingdom:
> behold, thou rulest over all my possessions ' (1).

As ' fountain-head ' and as giving drink to all nations, Peter is probably compared implicitly to Moses' rock, just as in Aphraates, quoted above. The ' sweetness of life ' is the Eucharist. The obvious importance of this passage makes the question of the authenticity of these *memre* acute. It was accepted before Beck's critical remarks (2), but he has shown how their doctrine is more explicit and developed than in the unquestionable works. That greater explicitness is found here. It should be remenbered, however, that Ephrem is far from any circles that were interested in developing ' Petrine claims '; hence a ' stronger ' text need not *ipso facto* be later. Also these *memre* contain clear statements of doctrines which we can check as being peculiar to, or specially characteristic of, Ephrem — e.g. the notion that Christ ' deconsecrated ' the eucharistic species to give to Judas (3) and the fusion of our Lady and Mary Magdalen (4). In the latter passage

(1) LAMY I, 411.

(2) *Theologie*, p. 21-22; *Eucharistie*, OC 38 (1954), p. 62.

(3) LAMY I, 421-3; cf *EC* 19,3 (CSCO 145, Arm 2, p. 194) and *Azym.* 14,13-15 (LAMY I. 603).

(4) LAMY I, 531-3; (this subject is treated at length in the work rom which this extract is taken).

comes yet another reference to Simon Peter which, no less than the last-quoted passage, shows Kêphâ as a functional title:

> 'For he was the Kêphâ and Foundation
> of the Church of the Gentiles, the elect'.

(iii) *The Building on the Rock.*

In *EC* 14,1-2, on Peter's confession, Ephrem does not actually quote the words 'and on this rock I will build my Church', but he comments by way of variations of the theme, in a most remarkable passage. As we saw above, he quotes the 'bars of Sheol' immediately after 'blessed art thou', and comments 'that is, that that faith shall not be destroyed', illustrating the powerlessness of man to reverse God's judgements by allusion to Nabuchodonosor, Nicanor and Achab (1). Then in 14,2 he continues:

> 'And when he had built this Church, there was built the Tower whose foundations are sufficient for all that is built on them. And whereas the one language was divided into many languages, so that men might not ascend to heaven, — that is, that they might be prevented from putting their trust in the tower rather than in righteousness: (for the abyss did not bring forth the Flood against them that they might take refuge on the heights (2), but sin drowned [them], while penance brought salvation, that is, righteousness brought deliverance;) — whereas the dispersal of those men brought an end to the earthly tower and the temporal establishment (3) and the destructible place of refuge, the Lifegiver gave them from himself a Tower which leads up to the heights, and a Tree whose fruit is the Medicine of Life'.

It is only after this, and in connection with the reproof of Peter, that Ephrem quotes 'Thou art Peter'. Thus in the *EC* commentary he does not actually speak of Christ building his Church on Peter, or indeed on anything; there is only the remark

(1) *EC* 14,1. Syr p. 114, Arm (CSCO 145, Arm 2) p. 134.

(2) The Armenian as rendered by Leloir reads: 'nam non abyssus protulisset super eos diluvium, si ad excelsa confugissent'. In the Syriac the conjunction is not *en*, 'if', but *d-*. Thus the sense is the opposite of what the Armenian suggested; see below in text.

(3) *Tûqqān zabnâ*, which Leloir renders 'constructio transitoria'; the Armenian *patrastout'iwn žamanakean* is rendered by Leloir 'praeparatio diuturna' and by Euringer (better, as it turns out) 'die zeitliche Veranstaltung'. For the probable reference, see below.

about the foundations being strong enough. This is a curious omission — and in fact, if we follow Beck in questioning the authorship of the *Serm. in Heb. Sanc.*, only one certainly authentic passage, as far as I know, explicitly calls Peter the foundation, namely in *H Arm* 5, ' Nam fundamentum Ecclesiae fecit eum ' (¹). Peter is Rock, Head of the disciples, Chief Shepherd and chief Holder of the Keys, all often enough; yet Ephrem seems content to leave ' foundation ' implicit in ' Kêphâ '. Hence in this place the stress is all on the building, which is compared to a tower. The phrase about the foundations hints at the ' house on the rock ' (*šaw'â*) in Mt 7,24-5; in fact Ephrem combines clear allusions to this and to the tower-figure (Lk 14,28) in *HdF* 12,17:

' The rock (*šaw'â*) awaits builders
  that foundations be laid on it,
that all who see it may give praise.
  Let not their tower be a mockery, O Lord!
through thee may it be completed!
  Praise be to the Perfecter of all! ' (²)

Another passage which illustrates the building on the *šaw'â* is *CNis* 1,8. This hymn refers to the third siege of Nisibis in 350 A.D., when the Persians isolated the city by changing the course of the Mygdonia, so that Ephrem compares the city to Noe's Ark, buffeted by the waves of the Flood. He prays that the city may not fall like the house built on the sand:

' The Rock (*šaw'â*) be my foundation,
  for upon thy rock I have built my faith! ' (³).

The walls of Jericho fell because they were ' built on the sand ', but Moses was able to build a ' wall ' even in the sea (cf Ex 14,22) because his faith was founded on the rock, and the same rock supported Noe's ' dwelling of wood ' in the waters.

To return to *EC* 14,2, the tower thus seems to be compared to the house on the rock; but the main points are made by allusion to the Tower of Babel, to the Tabernacle (probably) and to the City of Refuge, with a parenthesis on the Flood. The allusions are very densely packed, but other works of Ephrem make

(¹) PO XXX, p. 52-53.
(²) CSCO 154, Syr 73, p. 59.
(³) CSCO 218, Syr 92, p. 4-5.

almost everything clear and certain. God stopped the building of the Tower of Babel lest men should try to reach heaven by their own skill instead of by righteousness: now, in contrast, Christ has given us a Tower which raises us heavenward. God sent the Flood, not to make men try to save themselves by climbing the heights (towards Paradise, as we shall see in a moment), but in order to make them repent, on the pattern of Noe, whom 'penance saved' and 'righteousness delivered' (1). That the reference is to Noe is clear from *In Gen* 6,8-9, on Noe's innocence and the hundred years given for repentance while he laboured to build the Ark (2). Euringer rightly interprets the Flood and the 'Heights' in terms of Ephrem's doctrine of Paradise as a mountain soaring above all the mountains of earth, as expounded in the *Hymns on Paradise* (3), for example, in *Parad* I, 10-11 (4). Here Ephrem tells how Adam, after his sin, had to descend from the mountain of Paradise and live at its foot; but his descendants sinned again, so God destroyed them (and even Noe was not worthy to return, for the Ark was deposited in 'Qardu' (Kurdistan, the Peshitta reading for Hebr. 'Ararat'). The descendants of Cain had settled on lower land, the Sethites on higher, i.e. nearer Paradise; these were the 'Sons of God' who took wives from the children of men (Gen 6,2). This identification of the 'Sons of God' with the Sethites is explicit in *In Gen* 6,3 (5), where Ephrem says also that they 'were the sons of the Blessed One and dwelt in the land beside the fence of Paradise' (6). Here

(1) The Armenian, on the contrary, seems to mean that if man had sought the heights (to return to Paradise) God would not have sent the Flood; the reference to penance then comes in as if it were a *different* way of escape, instead of the only way. But the whole point of the passage is that men could not reach heaven by their own efforts; only by Christ's gift of the Church. Cf *Nat* 1,47 (CSCO 187, Syr, 83, p. 6), where in response to the earth's silent cry to God in the Flood 'He descended and opened [the fount of] baptism, and they were drawn up to heaven'.

(2) CSCO 152, Syr 71, p. 58-59. See also GINZBERG, *Legends*, vol. V, p. 174, n. 19.

(3) *Locus Classicus* (in Festgabe A. Ehrhard) p. 148 ff.

(4) CSCO 174, Syr 78, p. 3, with BECK's commentary in *Paradies* p. 5-7.

(5) CSCO 152, Syr 71, p. 56; cf. *Nat* 1,48 (CSCO 187, Syr 83, p. 7).

(6) Ibid 6,5, p. 57.

he is following a Jewish tradition, (though not the commonest one, which understood the Sons of God as angels) (1).

All this is the background to the sentence ' the abyss did not bring forth the Flood against them that they might take refuge on the heights '; the latter attempt, which the evildoers might have made when the Flood began, is thus parallel to the building of the Tower of Babel. Ephrem brings the two together, abstracting from history (as he does elsewhere when considering merely the symbolism of events) to characterize man's ambitious pride and trust in his own works, which are yet unavailing without grace. But God frustrated the Tower of Babel and scattered mankind, so that they lost all hope of climbing up again — both Tower and *tûqqān zabnâ* and City of Refuge. What is the *tûqqān zabnâ*? The expression does not occur in the Peshitta text, nor elsewhere in Ephrem as far as I know. *Tûqqānâ* can mean the act of creating (2), a human act of establishing (3) or an artefact (4), the preparation of food (5) or an actual banquet (6). The most probable of these seems to be ' establishment ', namely that of the former Tabernacle, the ' temporal dwelling ' as the Peshitta called it, misconstruing the Hebrew *'ôhel mô'ed*, ' tent of meeting '. Thus the titles of Ex 25 and 35,4 in the Peshitta are *'tûqqān maškan zabnâ '*, ' establishment of the Tabernacle '. Ephrem echoes this in *In Ex* 25-31, and interprets *zabnâ* as indicating that the Tabernacle was only for a time and then destined to pass away:

' In saying *Whatever likeness of the Tabernacle I show you, so shall you make it* (Ex 25,9), he first called it a likeness and a " temporary dwelling ", to show that it was to pass away and give place

(1) See GINZBERG, *Legends* I, p. 152: ' The family of Seth was settled upon the mountains in the vicinity of Paradise, while the family of Cain resided in the field of Damascus... The two strains united with each other to execute all kinds of iniquitous deeds '. See ibid. vol. V, p. 172, n. 14 and GINZBERG, *Die Haggada dei ben Kirchenvätern*, p. 75-6, Berlin 1900 (original publication in *MGWJ* 43 (1899), 409-10).

(2) E. g. *In Gen* 1,5.

(3) E. g. in Ex. 25-31, quoted below.

(4) E. g. *SDN*, LAMY I, 213.

(5) E. g. *Parad* 9,7.

(6) E. g. LAMY II, 627.

to the Church, which, as the prototype (*tapnkâ*) is to last for ever: and that it should be precious in their eyes, because it was a likeness of the Tabernacle in heaven ' (1).

Here there is an evident reference to Hebrews 8, on which Ephrem makes a similar comment: ' Omnia illa veteris similitudines erant et symbola huius ministerii Ecclesiae, quod in conspectu eius spirituale caelesteque habetur ' (2).

This interpretation fits our context well; we now have three Old Testament types which symbolize the Church but were insufficient in themselves: the Tower of Babel, the Tabernacle, and the ' Place of Refuge ' (*beyt gawsâ*).

The latter is the expression in the Peshitta for the Cities of Refuge in Num 35,11 ff. Ephrem applies it to the Ark in *CNis* 1,10; but, more important, it is a title of Christ himself, first in the *AJT* (3) then in Ephrem in *Nat* 3,15, in a short ' acclamation-series ' which we have already met:

> ' The Architect who became the Tower for our Place of Refuge ' (4).

Finally the figure is developed at length in *Eccl* 34 as a symbol of penance, where — just to illustrate how closely woven is the fabric of imagery in Ephrem's mind — we meet again the Ark (stanzas 3 and 6) and a hint of Paradise in the three grades of Christian achievement (st. 4) which correspond to three levels in Paradise (*Parad.* 2,11-13) (5).

Returning once again to our text in *EC* 14,2, in contrast with mankind's loss of every refuge and expedient, ' the Life-giver gave them from himself a Tower which leads up to the heights, and a Tree whose fruit is the Medicine of Life '. ' From himself ' is *min lwātēh*, ' de chez lui ', to be understood as in Jn 17,7 (in both VS and Peshitta): ' Everything thou hast given me is from thyself '; i.e. it designates the Tower as Christ's gift and even as himself. ' Tower ' is a name of Christ in both Aphraates and Ephrem, while the Tree of Life is definitely Christ

(1) CSCO 152, Syr 71, p. 152.
(2) *In Paulum*, tr. p. 221. Cf. Aphraates, 526.1-4.
(3) See Appendix II.
(4) CSCO 186, Syr 82, p. 23.
(5) Cf. E. Beck, *Paradies*, p. 19-21.

himself as source of sacramental grace, as we see in both authors (1). In *EC* 14,2 the Tower is still compared with Babel and its intention of reaching heaven; this is made even clearer in *Nat* 1,44:

> ' The Tower which the many built
> in its symbolic meaning (*rāzēh*) was looking to the One:
> He came down and built on earth
> the Tower that leads up to heaven ' (2).

Here the Tower (as, in the following stanza, the Ark) is evidently the Church (3). But in *Nat* 3,15 and probably in *EC* 14,2 Christ makes himself the Tower, recalling Aphraates ' ' He is the Tower on which many build ' (681.24). Yet he is also the Architect (*ardēklâ*), both by virtue of Mt 18,18, and as a formal title in *Nat* 3,15. The title is applied more often to God as Creator and as author of the Incarnation and Resurrection. In a passage of the *EC* extant only in Syriac, on the Annunciation, Ephrem comments on Lk 1,35: ' because it was right that the Architect of Creation (lit. "of works") should come and raise up the building which had fallen, and that the overshadowing (*mraḥḥpānîtâ*) Spirit should sanctify the buildings which had been defiled ' (4). God as author of the Resurrection is called ' Architect ' in *CNis* 48,10 (5) and *CH* 42,3-4 (6). The title is then shared by the Apostles, in virtue of 1 Cor 3,10 (on which Ephrem glosses ' architectus Spiritûs ' (7). Thus in *EC* 22,1 Ephrem speaks of the confirmation of the Apostles at Pentecost in a way closely parallel to what he said about the Incarnation: ' He sent his architects,

(1) This theme is treated at length in the full work. Cf Aphr. XXIII, 9.3-8; Ephrem in *EC* 21,10-11, Syr p. 214-216. For the relationship of Tree of Life and Rock, cf *EC* 1,18 (Syr p. 16): ' His word is the Tree of Life, which on all sides reaches out blessed fruits to you; and like that rock which was opened in the desert, which for every man on every side became spiritual drink '.

(2) CSCO 186, Syr 82, p. 6.

(3) The figure comes mainly from Lk 14,28 and is developed at length by HERMAS, *Vis.* 3,3-4. But there is nothing to indicate any dependence of Ephrem on Hermas. On the latter's Rock/building symbolism, see J. RINGGER in *Das Felsenwort*, p. 291-8 and J. DANIÉLOU, *Th. du JCme*, p. 319-20.

(4) *EC* Syr p. 22. Cf. *Virg* 1,2; CSCO 223, Syr 94, p. 1.

(5) CSCO 240, Syr 102, p. 63.

(6) CSCO 196; Syr 76, p. 169.

(7) *In Paulum*, p. 53.

to restore (lit. "prop up") the faith that was shaken' [1]. He next calls the Apostles 'pillars', a title (*'ammûdâ*) drawn probably from Gal 2,9, as is suggested by *In Ac* 9,8 [2]. This is applied to the three witnesses of the Transfiguration in *EC* 14,5 and again in *HdF* 7,3 [3].

The *Temple* does not figure in Ephrem's exegesis of Mt 16,16-19, and is rarely a symbol of the Church. However, it seems fitting to digress here to consider his few references in this sense, insofar as it is related to the Church as a building. For Ephrem, as for Aphraates, the temple symbolizes primarily living bodies in which the Holy Spirit dwells; first, Christ's [4], destroyed like the Temple [5] but raised again [6]; after Christ, Mary's body in the first place, his own temple [7], and likewise all Christians [8] but especially consecrated virgins [9]. These temples too will be raised again [10]. An ecclesiological sense is found in Ephrem's comment on 2 Thess 2,4, but only in an obvious way which does not illustrate the theme of the Church as a building [11]. In ch. IV we saw the figure of the Temple and the Shekina applied to the Church. Clearer comparison is found in CH 24,21-3. Here Ephrem is attacking Marcion as an innovator by stressing the continuity of Temple and Church.

> 'The Church of the Nations came to be
> where the Temple of the Nation was destroyed';

(1) *EC* Syr p. 234.

(2) In JACKSON-LAKE, *Beginnings of Christianity* I, 3, p. 143.

(3) *EC* Syr p. 118, Arm p. 135; *HdF*, CSCO 154, Syr 73, p. 32. Since Aphraates has the same figure in the same context (XXIII, 36.11-12), we may wonder if we have not here a hint of a common exegetical tradition. Might it mean that the Apostles are thus symbolized as integrally concerned in the Temple of Christ's Body, now revealed for the first time in its glory? But this is probably more ecclesiological than we are entitled to be with both our authors.

(4) Cf *EC* 11,26, Syr p. 72, Arm p. 114; and *In 1 Cor* 3,16-17, *In Paulum*, tr. p. 53.

(5) Cf *EC* 20,37, CSCO 145, Arm 2, p. 220.

(6) Cf *CH* 42,4, CSCO 169, Syr 76, p. 169.

(7) Cf *EC* 4,15, Arm p. 41.

(8) Cf on 1 Cor 6,19, *In Paulum* tr. p. 59.

(9) Cf *H Arm* 46, PO XXX, p. 214-7.

(10) Cf *CNis* 49,9, CSCO 240, Syr 102, p. 66; and 50,7, ibid. p. 69.

(11) *In Paulum*, tr. p. 194-5.

— even, imagines Ephrem, on the very spot where the Temple had stood, a church was built. The heretics cannot show any such continuity; but the true Church stands in the direct line which stretches from Adam through the Patriarchs, to David and so to Christ and the Apostles. Ephrem concludes triumphantly:

> ' He who commanded the Ark,
> the same built the Temple of the Nation.
> He who made these pass away,
> has established the Church of holiness ' (1).

But the most striking passage is in ?Ephrem *In Zach* 4,9, where we find the literal exegesis (*sûʿrāna'it*) and the typical (*šarrîra'it w–rûḥāna'it*) contrasted exactly as on the Blessings of Jacob. The former sense refers to Zorobabel rebuilding the Temple;

> ' ...but in the realised and spiritual sense [it is said] of Christ, who, according to his humanity, was of the seed and house of David or of Zorobabel, descendant of David; and of the Church which was built through faith in him, among all the nations which have believed in him and by him have been delivered from the devil and death, and have been gathered into the *One House*, which is the Church of Christ ' (2).

(iv) *The Bars of Sheol.*

It has long been known that the Syriac Diatessaron at Mt 16,18 read not ' gates of hell ' (*tarʿê dašyôl, πυλαὶ ῞Αιδου*) but ' bars ... ' (*mûklê dašyôl, μοχλοὶ ῞Αιδου*) (3). The rest of the sentence in all known Syriac versions has the verb *ḥsen*, which has usually been translated, just as κατισχύω usually is, ' shall not prevail against it ' (Diat. perhaps ' against thee '). The question must now be asked why the change from ' gates ' and what

(1) CSCO 196, Syr 76, p. 97-8.

(2) ER 289 E-290 A. On the ' One House ' see p. 316 n. 2 above.

(3) BURKITT, *Evangelion da–mepharreshe*, p. 119. EURINGER, *Locus Classicus*, p. 171-6. R. KÖBERT, S. J., *Zwei Fassungen von Mt 16,18 bei den Syrern*, Bibl 40 (1959), 1018-20. In Ephrem it is quoted in EC 14,1; in the hymn called by Beck ' *De Ecclesia* ', (following *Parad.*), three times in the Severus catena, and in a hymn of mixed value as regards likely authenticity. These will all be discussed below. To the other ancient attestations of the reading should be added those noted by Köbert from Marutha and Babai Magnus.

does it imply? Several questions are involved here. The first would be, Is the reading a real testimony either for the original form of the saying, or for the true sense? This question, as belonging to N.T. exegesis, I shall not attempt to answer. The second question is, What did Tatian mean by the reading? Though this is also not our direct concern, the investigation will produce what I think is a certain answer to this question. Third: What did Ephrem take the words to imply? This is our immediate question, though inevitably the discussion of it will range wider.

Prima facie, when a word in a passage of poetic imagery is changed, it can be supposed that the changer intended something thereby. We know enough about the Diatessaron to know that it was not a 'scientific' harmony but something between a harmony and a personal 'life of Christ', perhaps the first of that vast genre, and a work with tendencies such as encratism, still strongly reflected in the Persian Diatessaron. What has just been said about imagery is even more likely to be true in the case of a poet such as Ephrem. Let us start the investigation from what has been the main subject in the present section on Ephrem, namely *EC* 14,1-2. Euringer judged that the key to the 'gates of hell' (for they are 'gates' in the Armenian, which is all he had) is the following passage on the Flood (1). This was unleashed when 'the fountains of the great deep broke forth' (Gen 7,11) and Euringer suggested that the gates and bars of Sheol are seen as what confine the waters under the earth; now they were drawn back, so that in a sense they were attacking. In favour of this interpretation would be the fact the House on the Rock of Mt 7,24-25, to which Ephrem seems to allude implicitly, is likewise attacked by floods. Thus the picture would be of the Church on the Rock which is both Christ and Peter, being attacked by the forces of Sheol under the figure of the Flood, and not being overcome. Partial literary parallels unknown to Euringer in the Qumran *Hodayoth*, in rabbinic tradition and in ?Marutha's introduction to the *Acts of the Martyrs in Persia*, lend a certain support to this interpretation (2).

(1) *Locus Classicus*, p. 150-151.

(2) On the *Hodayoth*, see O. Betz, *Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde*, ZNW 48 (1957), esp. p. 70-72. In 1 QH 6,22 ff the psalmist speaks of himself as a sailor struggling in the deep, attacked by the abyss, and the

Yet the Flood does not seem to be the key to Ephrem's exegesis in EC 14,2, even if there was a midrashic tradition which made it proper to mention the Flood in connection with the cosmic rock. For Ephrem the point is not that the tower withstands the Flood, but that the latter destroyed those who did not do penance like Noe. In fact the sentence on the Flood is in parenthesis. Secondly, Ephrem usually gives clearer hints than this. If by the one word ' bars ' he means to evoke the waters under the earth, he is putting a lot of weight on the word and it should have recognisable connotations, which we may expect to be able to trace from the Peshitta Old Testament. In fact there is no place where *mûklê* is linked with the floodgates of the deep. Jonas 2,7 would seem the ideal link; from the belly of the sea-monster Jonas prays and speaks of his descent into the deep:

> ' I went down to the land
> whose bars closed upon me for ever '.

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phrase occurs ' even to the gates of death ' (6,24; cf Is 38,10). But he was as one delivered and brought into a fortified city. Then he rejoices because God is establishing a יסוד on a rock: interpretations differ, but it is either a foundation (*y^{e}sôd*) or a circle of intimates (*sôd*). Then Is 28,16 is quoted (a primary NT testimonium!) and then even gatebars come into the picture, though in a sense contrary to that required by Euringer's interpretation, since the ' bars of strength which shall not be broken ' belong to the divine foundation on the rock, not to their enemies. Still, in comparison with Mt 16,16-19 the passage is extraordidinarily suggestive.

The rabbinic traditions are summarised by J. JEREMIAS in *Golgotha und der hl. Felsen*, where also (pp. 114-117) he discusses Ephrem's comment on Mt 16,17-18, following Euringer and agreeing with him on this point.

The Syriac passage mentioned is in BEDJAN, AMS II, pp. 81-82. If the author is not Marutha (and it has not been sufficiently examined to prove that it is not) the work is hardly after 400. The author compares the martyrs to stones (*kêphê*) and gives a full ' testimony-series ' including Mt 16,18 (with *mûklê*); then Rom 9,33, and then: ' For the Church has grown strong and has been built upon precious stones and has been fortified (or, has shown itself strong: *etḥasnat*, from *ḥsen*), and the waves of the troubled world which dash against it cannot shake it, because it is rooted deep and set firm ' (cf. Mt 7,24-5 again). But this comment is separated from Mt 16,18.

Here the Hebrew has *b^e^rî^a^ḥ*, the normal word for a door-bolt or bar. But the Peshitta has the native Semitic word *sûkrâ*; only the late Syro-hex. has *mûklê*. Of the places where *mûklâ* is used in the Peshitta we can rule out all those speaking merely of the bars of the Tabernacle etc. We want instances where there is a context of conflict. This reduces us to four places:

1. Jud 16,3: Samson pulled up the gates of Gaza, *bar and all.*
2. Ps 107,16: For he has shattered the doors of bronze
   and cut asunder the *bars* of iron.
3. Is 45,2: I will shatter the doors of bronze
   and cut asunder the *bars* of iron.
4. Nah 3,13: (prophecy against Nineveh)
   The gates of thy land shall be open to thy foes:
   fire shall devour thy *bars.*

Of these, (2) and (3) have all the same nouns and verbs in the Hebrew (and in the Syriac) and we may take it that one depends on the other; which, does not concern us here. Now in all these instances the sense concerns not bars somehow conquering an enemy, but bars *not being able to resist*; and the enemy in question is in (1) Samson, the hero of God's people, in (2) and (3), God himself, and in (4) the divine justice as executed by Nineveh's enemies. These texts will concern us further, and contain the probable answer to the whole question, but first we must consider the third point against Euringer, a philological one, with regard to the verb *ḥsen.*

Father R. Köbert, S. J., discussing this text in the Syriac, has already drawn attention to the fact that *ḥsen* can mean ' withstand ' just as well as ' overcome ' [1]. The latter sense dominates sometimes, as is clear in 1 Sam 13,4; but the former is no less clear in Mt 17,21, in the sense of ' to be too hard for someone '. The verb connotes the exercise of strength against an adversary, but this is not limited to an attacking sense. Consequently it is proposed to render the Syriac here ' to have power against ', in order to preserve the ambiguity. The fourth argument is of a more practical nature; the natural function of bars is defensive, and it would be strange to use them as a symbol for attack.

It is suggested, then, both from R. Köbert's examination of the verb *ḥsen* and from the foregoing examination of the uses of

[1] *Zwei Fassungen*, Bibl 40 (1959), 1018-20.

mûklê in the Peshitta, that the Syrians who used the Diatessaron were likely to see the ' bars of Sheol ' in Mt 16,18 as on the defensive rather than the offensive; the text could mean perfectly naturally ' the bars of Sheol shall be powerless against her ', i.e. ' will be unable to withstand her '. Our familiar picture of the embattled citadel on the rock, doggedly resisting attack, changes to — or at least has an alternative in — the vision of the Church sharing in Christ's eschatological victory over death, carrying the battle before her and breaking in the very doors of the kingdom of death, even as Christ did in his Resurrection. Of course, to picture a building doing this is to mix one's images very strangely; but we must remember that the early Fathers saw the Church not only as the House built on the Rock but also as the extension of their favourite ' stone-testimony ', the stone of Dn 2,35, hewn without hands from a mountain, which smote the great image and then itself grew to a mountain and filled the whole earth.

Are we justified in seeing the phrase in the Diatessaron as referring even to a participation in Christ's conquest of death? (1) On the evidence for the significance of the ' bars ' in the early texts that deal with or allude to the Descent to Hades, I am inclined to answer ' yes ' for Tatian. It would delay the discussion of Ephrem's use of the text too much to go through the evidence; it is reserved, therefore, for Appendix III, remarking here summarily that the broken doors and bars of Is 45,2 appear in a baptismal context in *Ps.-Barnabas* and in a probably similar context in the *Odes of Solomon*, and in the dramatic picture of the descent to Hades which becomes traditional in the apocryphal accounts. The text from Ps 107 is implicit in ?Hippolytus, Tertullian and Aphraates, and becomes classical by the later fourth century (Eusebius, Gregory of Elvira etc.). The broken doors and bars are stressed in the Greek liturgical texts, and from about the tenth century they figure largely in the iconographical tradition for the *Anastasis* type, though not in the earlier monuments.

As regards Ephrem, however, this suggestion is only a hypothesis which must now be tested, and that on two scores: first, does the evidence suggest that he understood Mt 16,18 in this

(1) In favour, apparently, is J. Teixidor, in *La descente aux enfers chez S. Ephrem*, OS 6 (1961), 29.

way? and second, when he speaks of the descent of Christ to Sheol, does he seem to allude to Mt 16,18, or to have any ecclesiological overtones?

1. In EC 14,1 the phrase is glossed: 'namely, that this faith shall not be destroyed: for whatever he builds, who shall destroy it? And whatever he overthrows, who shall set it up?' — with three historical confirmations. This seems on the whole hardly favourable to the hypothesis, though 'whatever he overthrows' could be in line with it. There is no clear conclusion to be drawn from this.

2. In the hymn which follows those *de Paradiso* (Beck's 'De Ecclesia') (1), the phrase is quoted but with a unique variant: 'The bars of Sheol cannot conquer her" (... *d-nezkonāh*, from *zkâ*, not *ḥsen*). At first sight this would seem decisive against the hypothesis; surely the bars are completely active. In fact, the position is rather the contrary. If we conventionally translate *zkâ* as 'conquer', its connotation is not identical with that of the English word. The O.T. instances often suggest the sense of 'succeed' (2); the original sense will have been 'to be in the right', 'to come off best'. In Aphraates XXI, 184.5-7, it appears in a reading of Lk 21,15 which is different from both VS and Peš, rendering ἀντιστῆναι, 'withstand'. Furthermore, in the next verse of our hymn the Church is described as stronger (*ḥsînâ*) than Sheol. In fact the Branch which is both Cross and Christ is triumphant throughout the hymn; it has 'wearied the arms of mighty men' (the heretics) who attacked it, and finally, most significant of all, in st. 8 (3) the Branch on which the Church 'hangs'

> ..... 'bent down
> even to Adam in the midst of Sheol.
> It ascended and brought him up,
> and with him returned to Eden'.

The imagery of the hymn is so well-knit that the two references to Sheol are likely to be connected. Thus the total context supports the hypothesis.

The passages that remain are of doubtful authenticity; but the writer has come to be convinced that we ought to consider the Severus catena on the prophets seriously, and it is worth while looking at these examples.

3. *In Is 54,17* (Lamy II, 155): '*No weapon that is fashioned against thee will prosper*, means that no kingdom that is set against thee will bring its enterprise to completion: that is, *the bars of Sheol*

(1) CSCO 174, Syr 78, p. 67; Lamy IV, 673.
(2) Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* 1119.
(3) CSCO 174, Syr 78, p. 69.

shall have no power against thee' (1). This is not favourable to the hypothesis. Though the following phrase and its interpretation might favour it, the two phrases are quite distinct.

4. *In Is* 62,2 (Lamy II, 185): " *And thou shalt be called by a new name*: *that is*, Holy Church, *which the mouth of the Lord will give*, saying, *Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the bars of Sheol shall have no power against her'*. This instance is quite neutral and tells us nothing.

5. *In Ezech* 1,8-9 (ER Syr II, 166 D-E): The human hands of the four living creatures signify, says ?Ephrem, " that this (Christ's) right hand is sustaining the foundation of the Church. *And a wheel within a wheel*: that is, power within power, and kingdom within kingdom. *And* they were going towards their faces: that is, before his face in the Church, *and the bars of Sheol shall have no power against her* " (lâ ḥāsᵉnîn läh). This favours the hypothesis; the Church is pictured as moving and active.

6. The hymn on Simon Kêphâ in Lamy IV, 689 (st. 12):

' Blessed art thou, Simon, on whom is built
the Church most fair, the Bride of Light (2),
to whom the Son of God promised
that the bars of Sheol should have no power
against her.
In her beginning the head of the Bride was exalted,
and she despises death and corruption;
in her is set up the Cross,
which laid Sheol waste (*aḥrbeh lašyôl*)
by its unconquerable power '.

This hymn includes verses of the well-authenticated *Virg*. 15. The ' Cross set up ' occurs there, but not in the corresponding place in Lamy's text. Granted that the latter is a later farrago, only some verses of which can be authenticated, the transposed mention of the Cross here is one of several features in the stanza which favour an early origin and suggest Ephrem's authorship. If this is possible, we have a text supporting the hypothesis.

So far, the question remains open; partly because there are points which do not favour the hypothesis, partly because two texts which do support it cannot be authenticated, (though it may be possible in the future to come to a conclusion regarding the Prophets, at least, in the Severus catena). However, the

(1) On the reading ' thee ', see above, p. 330, n. 3.

(2) Cf the ' Epithalamion ' in *AJT*, Klijn 6-7, Wright p. 150.

hypothesis is bearing up very well so far. We now come to passages on the descent of Christ to Sheol.

Ephrem has several vivid descriptions of Christ's 'harrowing of hell' in *CNis*. Hymns 35-42 are entitled 'On our Lord and on Death and Satan'; 43-49 are on the Resurrection, and 52-58 are Dialogues of Death and Satan, (the same genre as the 'Dialogues of Continence and Chastity' in *H Arm*); the theme continues till Hymn 68. In *CNis* 36,13 ff, Death laments that the dead rising have trampled him down at the gates of Sheol (1):

> 'Let me run and close the gates of Sheol
> before that Dead One whose death has despoiled me...
> ... The Medicine of Life has entered Sheol
> and made its dead live'.

No one but God has a master-key to the gates of Sheol (2); before Christ came, Sheol was confident:

> 'Sheol fondled his treasure,
> the store of all bodies.
> His gates and also his bars
> he made fast in his confidence' (3).

In 62,5 Death laments to the risen dead:

> 'You smote the gates of Sheol
> and did me injury' (4).

But this is all that is even remotely relevant. Considering how often Ephrem in *CNis* 35-68 refers to the despoiling of Sheol by the resurrection, it must be concluded that he makes little of the gates and bars; and though there are slight similarities to the apocryphal *Descensus* tradition, there is no allusion in the whole series to the classic text Ps 107,16, much less to Mt 16,18. Samson occurs three times as a type or (as most often in patristic references to him) as a warning, but not his carrying away the doors of the gate of Gaza, bar and all, which was to become a type of the 'harrowing of hell', in the Latin west at least, from

(1) CSCO 240, Syr 102, pp. 12-13. When this iconographical type begins, in the 6th or 7th century in the east and in the 8th in Rome, it is this trampling on death, not the breaking of the bars, which is most prominent till about the 10th century.

(2) *CNis* 37,9; CSCO vol. cit., p. 18.

(3) *CNis* 43,5; ibid. p. 41.

(4) ibid. p. 96.

the time of Gregory the Great (1). Thus the second part of the inquiry is disappointing for the hypothesis, even if it tells against it only *ex silentio*.

A few writers imply the victory of the Church in Mt 16,18 by allusion to the Stone (Christ) which conquers all; thus ?Marutha in the introduction to the Acts of the Persian martyrs, already mentioned, has Mt 16,18 following Dn 2,34 (2), while the considerably later *Life of St Christina* by Babai Magnus (c. 550-628) referred to by R. Köbert (3), follows Mt 16,18 with Lk 20,18, a text in the same sense which in fact alludes to the Daniel text (4). These instances have parallels in Hilary, who during the intellectually fruitful period of his exile in the east may have come into contact with Syrian traditions, and in a paschal homily under the name of Proclus which has markedly Syrian features (5). These indications, however, cannot do more than suggest that an allusion to the victory of the Church under this figure was quite reasonably possible for Ephrem; in fact he has no clear instance of it.

We may now sum up Ephrem's extraordinarily complex exegesis of Mt 16,16 ff and his use of rock/building imagery in general. We find Christ the Rock or Stone, prefigured by a number of types, in which Ephrem shows acquaintance not only with general Christian tradition but also with Jewish legend. The theme of Christ the Rock making Simon the Rock is often implicit, but rarely as explicit as in Aphraates. But we see Simon's name Kêphâ once again as a functional title shared with Christ (6).

(1) It comes, however, in ?Ephrem *In Jud*, ER Syr I, 325 C-D, as a type of Christ bearing the sins of both Jews and Gentiles up Mount Calvary. Whether or not this is by Ephrem, it is likely to be the first typological application of the episode; otherwise the first use I can find is in Paterius, *Expos. Vet. et Nov. Test. ex S. Greg.*, PL 79, 788 D-789 A. After Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 1050 A) it receives classic expression on the Verduner-altar at Klosterneuburg.

(2) Bedjan, AMS II, p. 81, 13-16.

(3) *Zwei Fassungen*, p. 1019.

(4) Bedjan, AMS IV, p. 204. Incidentally, this proves that not every quotation of a Diatessaron reading is necessarily early.

(5) These will be dealt with in Appx III, where there is an attempt to trace the whole early tradition on this subject.

(6) Thus both authors witness to the faith which Leo the Great was to sum up: 'Cum ego sim inviolabilis petra, ego lapis angularis ... tamen tu quoque petra es, quia mea virtute solidaris, ut quae mihi potestate sunt propria, sint tibi mecum participatione communia' (PL 54, 150 B).

That this was a concept familiar to Ephrem is proved by an important passage on the Annunciation in *EC* 2,25, not preserved in the Armenian but now available in the Syriac, which contains some reflections on the name Jesus, as meaning Saviour: ' Therefore this name is not of the *nature* (*kyānâ*) but of his *actions* ' (*sûʿranāw*) (1).

To trace all that Ephrem has in his mind when he meditates on Mt 16,16 ff, requires wide reference to his other works. In *EC* 14 he connects the name Kêphâ more, apparently, with the stone of offence which Peter made himself, than with Peter's function as foundation, though Ephrem hints at the latter by his reading which makes the object of ' shall not prevail against ' not the Church but Peter. Christ building the Church is implicitly the Architect, a title elsewhere applied to God as Creator and Raiser-up, and shared with Christ by the Apostles. Ephrem refers implicitly to the House on the Rock (Mt 7,24-25) and contrasts the Church with the Tower of Babel, man's overweening bid to scale heaven by his own efforts; this pride is in turn contrasted with the penitential spirit of Noe, though without allusion to the Ark. Man's efforts — at worst sinful, at best mere foreshadowings — are symbolized by Babel, by (probably) the Tabernacle and by the Cities of Refuge; parallels throw light on these also as symbols for the Church. Finally, in place of these Christ has given us in the Church a Tower which really leads up to heaven (in other places He Himself is the Tower) and the Tree of Life, source of the sacraments. The Temple does not enter into this complex of imagery; it is usually only the symbol of Christ's own body.

On the ' bars of Sheol ', we have reviewed evidence (so far, biblical and philological, leaving the patristic evidence for the moment) suggesting that the phrase could at least equally well mean ' The bars of Sheol will not be able to withstand her '. We have examined how far Ephrem may have had this in mind, and the conclusion must be ' Not proven ', though there are a few solid arguments in favour.

(1) Syr p. 22. We can now see that this passage is quoted in the (post-Chalcedonian) " Defence of the Nicene Creed " attached to MARUTHA, *De S. Nicaena Synodo* (Cod. Vat. Syr. Borg. 82, p. 109 foot, tr. BRAUN, p. 115-116).

CONCLUSION

What our authors have to say about the Apostolic authority and succession is treated in another part of the work from which this study is drawn. Here we have seen all that refers to Peter in particular, and a word on its doctrinal significance may now be in place. I have deliberately worked within a framework of imagery, not of theological theses, and do not propose to make a ' synthesis ', because this seems unfaithful to the unsystematic, unreflective utterances of both Aphraates and Ephrem. They have a high sense of the episcopal office and its continuity with the Apostolic college. Likewise they have striking passages on Peter's primacy, but nothing on this being handed on. It is not as if Ephrem knew no Roman traditions; — he knows of St Peter's crucifixion upside-down (1) — but neither he nor Aphraates says anything about any primacy within the episcopal college. Because of the isolation of the Syriac-speaking church in Mesopotamia and Persia, this absence of explicit doctrine on the primacy in their tradition determined the subsequent development of that church's attitude, long after it had formally severed its unity with the west and split in two. As the independent Catholicosate of Seleucia-Ctesiphon and the Jacobite Patriarchate of Antioch gained standing, their respective adherents tended to apply the " Petrine texts " to their Catholicos or Patriarch, but often also to the whole episcopal college of their own church. At the same time, apart from the animus of the Jacobites against Pope Leo and of the Nestorians against Pope Celestine, they have nothing to say for good or ill about the Roman primacy; their isolation prevented irritation and embitterment, and often in the future was to make friendly relations and even partial reunions possible (2).

(1) *CNis* 59,2; CSCO 240, Syr 102, p. 89. But so does the author of the Manichaean Psalms (ALLBERRY p. 142.18); it was a widely-diffused tradition.

(2) See W. DE VRIES, S. J., *Der Kirchenbegriff der von Rom getrennten Syrer*, Rome 1955, p. 33-5, 61-2, and the useful summary of the book in OS 2 (1957), 111-124 on the Jacobites and 3 (1958), 149-164 on the East Syrians.

Appendix I

'Firm Rock' *(kêphâ šarrîrtâ)*

In chapter VI we saw several texts in Aphraates which suggest that these two words together formed a recognized title applied not only to Christ but also to Peter. The earlier evidence, scanty as it is, seems to make this certain.

The only earlier occurrence in Syriac is in *Od.Sol.* 31,11:

> 'But I stood unshaken like a firm rock (*kêphâ šarrîrtâ*)
> that is beaten by the waves and endures'.

Here at least, as not always in the Odes, it is certain that Christ is the speaker. Similar imagery occurs twice in different contexts. Thus 22,12 ends:

> 'And that the foundation for everything might be thy Rock (*kêphâ*);
> and on it thou didst build thy Kingdom,
> and thou becamest the dwelling-place of the Saints;
> Hallelujah!'

Here the attribution is not so clear. The earlier part of the poems seems to be put in the mouth of Christ, addressing the Father after his conquest of death. If this last verse is the same, Christ ascribes to the Father what in Mt 16,18 he says he will do himself. But possibly vv. 11-12 are addressed to Christ. In any case there seems to be a clear allusion to the foundation of the Church.

In Ode 11,5 the Odist is the speaker:

> 'And I was established upon the Rock of Truth (*šaw'â da-šrārâ*) where he had set me up'.

The word for 'rock' here points rather to Mt 7:24, but Aphraates uses it in combination with the phrase we are examining. As for *šrārâ*, truth, it is close in root and meaning to *šarrîrtâ*. We have the Greek of Ode 11 in the Bodmer Papyri; 11,5 reads:

> *ἐστηρίχθην ἀπὸ στερεᾶς πέτρας ὅπου με συγκεκάθικεν,*
> 'I was firmly fixed by the firm rock where he had set me' (1).

(1) Pap. Bodm. 11, ed. M. Testuz, Bibl. Bodmeriana 1959, p. 60-61.

Two recent studies, by A. Adam and A. Vööbus, both argue for the Greek text being secondary (¹). I agree; but even so, the phrase *στερεὰ πέτρα* has a history. In *Barnabas* 6,3, in a testimony-series on the Stone, between Is 28,16 and Ps 118,21 we find: *καὶ ἔθηκά με ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν*, an adaptation of Is 50,7, ' I set *my face* as a hard stone ', so as to apply the figure to Christ himself rather than just to his face. (Yet just before, in 5,14, the text occurs in the usual form). *Στερεὰ πέτρα* seems to have been a favourite phrase of the translator of Isaias, as if he felt that *πέτρα* alone were not strong enough; it occurs also at 2,21; 5,28 and 51,1; elsewhere in the LXX only at Dt 32,13. The Ambrosian Peshitta at Is 50,7 has only *kêphâ*, but I will venture to guess that some manuscripts will be found to have *šarrîrtâ*, especially as the Targum has an adjective (*taqqîp*). In any case, Barnabas shows both the source of the Greek phrase and its adaptation as a virtual title of Christ. This tradition appears again in Eusebius, referring to the Church: ' Her foundation is, first, the inviolable and *firm rock* (*στερεὰ πέτρα*) on which she is built, according to... (Mt 16,18); the Rock was Christ ' (²). This is, of course, one strand in patristic tradition, side-by-side with that which takes the words in their natural sense, of Peter. In this

(¹) A. ADAM, *Die ursprüngliche Sprache der Salomo-Oden*, in ZNW 52 (1961), 141-156. He argues well for the original language being ' an Aramaic which stands close to Edessene Syriac ' (p. 156). The article of A. VÖÖBUS, *Neues Licht zur Frage der Originalsprache der Oden Salomos*, in *Le Muséon* 75 (1962), 275-290, has much less to say that carries conviction. On the version in question, treated on p. 280, he has little of value, and certainly does not explain the curious *ἀπό*.

The ' rock ' passages in the *Odes* are extraordinarily close to a place in the Qumran *Hodayoth* (1 QH 6,22-29) where the psalmist first speaks of himself as being buffeted by waves, and then as being made a foundation, on which God will build a circle of men as a strong and unshakable building. The use of classical themes coincides with early Christian practice even to the extent of using the great testimony-text Is 28,16. (See O. BETZ, *Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde*). But I agree with F. M. BRAUN in *L'Enigme des Odes de Salomon* (Revue Thomiste 65, (1957), 579-625). Here, in one of the best modern studies of the problem, he discusses the verbal similarities to the Qumran texts and concludes that the differences are too fundamental to allow of any influence. Once again, the similarities are reflections of one world of midrashic style, not of one field of particular influences.

(²) EUSEBIUS, *In Ps* 17,15-16; PG 23,173 D.

latter sense a very striking instance of ' Firm Rock ' occurs in the Pseudo-Clementine homilies, in a passage unfortunately not extant in the Syrian, where Peter reproaches Simon (whom the author seems to identify with Paul!) for resisting him: *πρὸς γὰρ στερεὰν πέτραν ὄντα με, θεμέλιον ἐκκλησίας, ἐνάντιος ἀνθέστηκάς μοι*(1).

When we recall how Aphraates says that Christ called Simon ' Firm Rock ' (XI, 501.25) and that he ' made him a foundation, and called him Kêphâ, the Building of the Church ' (VII, 336.21-22), Aphraates is evidently following an existing tradition of a formal title, taken from Is 50,7 and applied by adaptation to Christ and then, by virtue of Mt 16,18, applied also to Peter (2).

Appendix II

' City of Refuge ' *(beyt gawsâ)*

In our discussion of Ephrem's comment on Mt 16,18 we observed that his expression ' Place of Refuge ', symbolizing the Church, has parallels elsewhere in his writings. In ch. VIII of this work in its full form all the titles of Christ with ecclesiological significance which are found in early Syriac literature are set in

(1) Ps.-Clement, Hom. XVII, 19,4,5; GCS p. 240.

(2) A number of the vernacular Diatessarons have an adjective corresponding to ' firm ' or ' solid ' applied to the rock in Mt 7,25. Thus the Liège Diatessaron (ed. Plooy and Phillips, Amsterdam 1933-, p. 88): ' op enen vasten steen '. The editors there note other similar readings, including Aphraates and the ' Erklärung des Evangeliums ' in the Armenian Ephrem (Venice 1836, vol. II, pp. 261-345, translated and commented on by J. Schäfers, *Eine altsyrische antimarkionitische Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn*, NT Abhandlungen VI, 1-2 (Münster 1917), p. 165). Plooy and Phillips concluded that the Diatessaron had such an adjective at Mt 7,25. This is very likely, but it does not entirely explain Aphraates' use, since the word in Mt 7 is always *šaw'â*, not *kêphâ*. In any case, we have traced the phrase back earlier than the Diatessaron.

Plooy and Phillips also refer to Zachary (11th century), *Sermo de S. Georgio* (PL 186, 624 B), which reads " super firmam petram " in a citation of Mt 7,25. This tradition remains in the Latin Office for the dedication of a church, which makes great use of the phrase " bene fundata est super firmam petram ".

a table, from which some striking parallels emerge. Though *beyt gawsâ* (lit. ' place of refuge ') does not occur as a title in Aphraates, it is applied to Christ and apparently to the Church in the *AJT*, while in the *Prayer of Asenath* there is a similar use which may in turn be the key to a type used by both Aphraates and Ephrem. In the *AJT*, in several passages of a litany-like character, Christ is addressed as ' Place of Refuge ' (1), while elsewhere the author speaks of coming to his (Christ's) ' Place of Refuge ', which naturally suggests the Church (2). This is exactly analogous to the author's use of another title, ' Place of Assembly ' (or meeting) (*beyt ṣawbâ*), which is twice applied to Christ (3), while in several places we come to his ' Place of Assembly ' (4).

We find the title ' City of Refuge ' again in the *Prayer of Asenath*, a Jewish or Jewish-Christian work extant in many ancient versions, which is thought to have been written in Greek in Syria in the fifth century (so E. W. Brooks) or even in the fourth (so Batiffol). The Syriac version dates at the latest from the sixth century, but this does not in the least exclude the possibility of fourth-century authors knowing the tradition. The story tells how Joseph's Egyptian wife fell in love with him and married him. An angel brings her heavenly manna and gives her the new name ' City of Refuge ', ' for that in thee many nations shall seek refuge and they shall lodge under thy wings ' (5). He also blesses Asenath's maids, saying that they will be " seven pillars in the City of Refuge ' (*mdînat gawsâ*) and all of them ' daughters of the city of the *beyt gawsâ* of the elect ' (6).

Though a Christian interpolator has probably worked over the story (7), the author clearly sees Asenath as the type of all

(1) KLIJN ch. 10, WRIGHT p. 153; K. 60, W. p. 199, etc.

(2) K. 60, W. p. 199; K. 136, W. p. 271.

(3) K. 60, W. p. 199; K. 156, W. p. 288. Unfortunately Wright obscures the identity of the phrase by rendering *beyt ṣawbâ* as ' Refuge ' when it is applied to Christ.

(4) K. 37, W. p. 178; K. 136, W. p. 270, and several other places.

(5) *Joseph and Asenath*, tr. E. W. BROOKS, London 1918, p. 48. Brooks' version takes all the ancient versions into account and does not give preference to the Syriac; in fact this passage is missing in the ms printed by J. N. P. LAND in *Anecdota Syriaca* III.

(6) Translated from the Syriac, LAND III, p. 33, lines 24-25; cf. BROOKS p. 54. For the pillars, cf Ps 144,2 and Apoc 3,12.

(7) Cf K. KOHLER in *Jewish Encyclopedia* II, 174.

pious proselytes. Now for both Aphraates and Ephrem Asenath is the type of the Gentile Church. Thus Aphraates in *Dem.* XII says:

> ' Joseph married the daughter of an unclean (i.e. Gentile) priest, and Jesus brought to himself the Church from the unclean Gentiles ' (957.3-5).

And Ephrem speaks of Asenath in *Virg.* 21,9:

> ' Thou (Ephraim) art the son of Asenath (Syr. *Asîth*), daughter [of a priest,
> who was the type of the Church of the Gentiles;
> she loved Joseph, and the Son of Joseph
> has Holy Church loved in truth ' (1).

Though the relevant material is not abundant enough to permit a certain conclusion, it seems reasonable to suggest that already by the fourth century a midrashic tradition concerning Asenath and her symbolic title ' City of Refuge ' was related by Jewish Christians to the Church, and that this explains the occurrences we have examined. The application of ' City of Refuge ' to Christ himself could be an independently-developed way of symbolizing him as our Gatherer and Defender.

Appendix III

The Bars of Sheol

We have considered what the ' bars ' reading in the Diatessaron at Mt 16,18 meant for Ephrem, but postponed a discussion of the previous history of that representation of Christ's descent to Sheol which stresses the breaking of the door-bars. It was shown that the most likely source of this element is Ps 107 (106) 16:

> ' For he has shattered the doors of bronze
> and cut asunder the bars of iron '.

including with it the evidently related text Is 45,2, which has all the same verbs and nouns. The following study is concerned

(1) CSCO 223, Syr 94, p. 73.

with this pair of texts, but aims also to illustrate the general tradition on the Descent to Sheol in which Aphraates and Ephrem find their place.

In the *Odes of Solomon*, besides Ode 42, in which Christ speaks of his bringing the souls out of Sheol, Ode 17,8-9 has a clear allusion to the text:

> ' And I opened the doors that were closed,
> and I broke asunder the bars (*mûklê*) of iron;
> but my own iron [bonds] melted and dissolved before me '.

This might seem an almost certain reference to the Descent to Sheol, as D. Plooy took it to be (1); but J. H. Bernard and J. Daniélou refer it primarily to baptism (2). In favour of this is the fact that Is 45,2 comes in *Barnabas* (11,4), probably the earliest use of either of these two texts, as a testimonium on baptism. But the two interpretations need not exclude each other. By baptism we enter sacramentally into Christ's conquest of death, as the Roman liturgy of Easter night illustrates. If the figure of Christ's breaking the door-bars is connected not only with the descent to Hades but also with baptism, this only strengthens the likelihood that the change in Mt 16,18, so as to admit a more specially pictorial word, intended a special thought about the Church, namely her sharing in Christ's victory over death.

The earliest references to the Descent in patristic literature do not use our psalm-verse, but stress Christ's trampling on Hades or Sheol. In Melito's *Homily on the Pasch*, 102, Christ tells how he ' undid Death, triumphed over the enemy, trampled on Hades, bound the strong one, and led man up to the heights of heaven ' (3). In the fragments ascribed to Hippolytus, however, (fr. 3, in Syriac and Greek), we have a direct reference to Ps 106,16 (4). In

(1) ZNW 14 (1913), 222-231.

(2) BERNARD's edition in TaS, p. 82-83; DANIÉLOU, *Th. du JCme* p. 269-70.

(3) Ed. B. LOHSE, Leiden 1958, p. 35.

(4) GCS Hipp. I.2, p. 268. NAUTIN, however, argues in *Le Dossier d'Hippolyte et de Méliton* (Paris 1953), p. 74-79, that this is ' un passage glosé de l'homélie pseudo-hippolytienne sur la Pâque '. I am not competent to enter into this discussion, but have noticed that Nautin's scepticism on many topics arouses a similar reaction in many other scholars.

the 'Paschal Homily in the tradition of Hippolytus' edited by Nautin, the same verse is paraphrased (1), and it is used again in the same context by Eusebius and (first among the Latins) Tertullian (2).

The apocryphal accounts of the Descent to Hades have the same development. In the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, thought to be of Alexandrian provenance in the 4th century, Christ relates how the devil said to Hades: 'Be not troubled, make safe thy gates and strengthen thy bars', but still Christ entered and bound him (3). In the *Descensus* in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Part II, which is much later but whose details still seem to me to reflect very primitive tradition, there is a similar dialogue. The entry of Christ is then heralded by a quotation of the Psalm-verse 'Lift up your gates' and other texts, including Ps 106,16; then, in words taken from the same, 'the brazen gates were broken down and the iron bars were shattered' (4). Then Christ tramples on Hades and binds Satan, and taking Adam by the hand leads him and the other Old Testament saints up to Paradise. Here we have all the elements which henceforth are classical in the iconographical tradition.

To return to Syriac writers, the *AJT* have two passages on the Descent to Sheol, both in prayers to Christ and evidently related; the *bars*, however, do not appear. The shorter reads:

> 'And Thou didst descend to Sheol and go to its uttermost end, and didst open its gates and bring out its prisoners, and didst tread for them the Way above by the power of thy Godhead' (WRIGHT p. 155, KLIJN ch. 10).

(1) NAUTIN, *Homélies Pascales* I, 62, SChr p. 189-91.

(2) EUSEBIUS, *Dem. Evang.* VI, 7, 4 (GCS Eus. VI, 257); cf *In Ps.* 106,16, PG 23, 1324 D. TERTULLIAN, *De Resurr. Mort.* 44,7, CChr II, 980.

(3) Ed. WILMART and TISSERANT in RB 10 (1912), 161-190 and 321-368; this quotation, p. 187. English version in M. R. JAMES, *Apocryphal N.T.* p. 168.

(4) TISCHENDORF, *Evang. Apocr.* 328, 429; Eng. tr. of both texts, JAMES p. 134. Future use of this document must take account of the indispensable study by G. C. O'CEALLAIGH, *Dating the Commentaries of Nicodemus*, in *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 56 (1963), 21-58, in which he shows up the arbitrary methods of Tischendorf and proves that the earliest draft (the 'commentaries') cannot be earlier than 555, while the 'Gospel', with the *Descensus*, is later.

The longer passage adds the raising of the dead to life, the helplessness of the 'Lord of Death', and ends: "and Thou didst bring them into thy Fold, and mingle them with thy sheep" (Wr. p. 288, Kl. ch. 156) (1).

In the Manichaean Psalms extant in Coptic, but judged by Allberry to have been composed in Syriac about 340, we find the bars mentioned, though without a quotation of Ps 107:

'He opened the doors that were closed by his resurrection, The doors and bars (*μοχλοὶ*) of the men of Hades he broke' (2).

We come now to Aphraates, who was not referred to in ch. VI, since he has no direct quotation of the 'bars' phrase in Mt 16,18. He has echoes, however, of most of the elements which we have now seen as traditional in the picture of Christ's descent to Sheol. In a passage of exhortation to peaceful trust in Christ as conqueror of death, Aphraates says:

'He entered Sheol and brought out its prisoners; he strove with the evil one and triumphed over him; he trampled on him and broke his footholds (?), and despoiled his possessions; he broke his doors and shattered his bars...' (XIV, 652.7-10).

Here we have an implicit quotation of Ps 107,16 in the last phrase, and also the trampling, here on Satan. In a comparison-series in XXI, Ananias and his companions descending into the furnace are compared to Christ:

'Jesus went down to the place of darkness, broke its doors and brought up its captives' (XXI, 977.9-11),

while all the traditional elements are expanded in XXII, 996.22-1000.17, with Death fully personified, as in the apocryphal accounts, and lamenting his fate. Here Aphraates speaks of death being forced to eat a lethal poison (997.9-11, 1000.3-17), a detail which comes similarly in *Od. Sol.* 42,11-12 (3). There is an interesting 'submerged' reference to the *Descent* tradition in Aphraates' midrashic account of the crossing of the Red Sea, where he alludes to Ps 24 (23),7.9 (*Dem.* I, 37.21-22). This verse, as

(1) See Klijn's notes, p. 189-91.

(2) *A Manichaean Psalm-book*, Pt II, ed. C.R.C. Allberry, Stuttgart 1938, p. 196.

(3) Cf D. Plooy in ZNW 14 (1913), 224-6.

we saw, will be prominent in the *Descensus* in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and in the whole tradition (¹). That Aphraates was in fact thinking of the Descent to Sheol when speaking of the Red Sea, can be inferred from a comparison-passage on Moses and Christ:

> ' For them Moses cleft the sea and made them pass through; and our Saviour cleft Sheol and broke its gates, when he entered into its recesses and opened them, and trod the way ahead of all who believe in him ' (XII, 524.3-7).

Here is what could be a verbal quotation from both *Od. Sol.* 22,7 and the *AJT*, though the coincidence is probably to be ascribed rather to oral tradition.

Ephrem's picture of the Descent to Sheol, given especially in *CNis*, is sufficiently summarised above. He has most of the traditional elements *except* Ps 107,16, a circumstance which leaves inconclusive any hypothesis that he took the ' Bars of Sheol ' in Mt 16,18 to allude to the Psalm text and to the Descent to Sheol. But the evidence reviewed above provides a context for Tatian's choice of ' bars ', which makes it most likely that *he* intended an allusion to Christ's victory over death, shared in by the Church (²).

This understanding of Mt 16,18 is not unknown among the Fathers, though it is found only after Tatian's time. The first clear voice is that of Hilary, *In Mt* 16,7:

> ' O in nuncupatione novi nominis felix Ecclesiae fundamentum, dignaque aedificatione illius petra, quae infernas leges et tartari portas et omnia mortis claustra dissolveret ' (³).

(¹) E. g. Ps.-Eusebius, *In Diabolum et Orcum*, PG 86.1, in the ' editio altera ', p. 403-4. On this use of Ps 24,7 ff see also A. Cabaniss, *The Harrowing of Hell, Ps 24 and Pliny the Younger*, in VigChr VII (1953), 65-74, though it does not say very much.

(²) The paraphrase in the Old Saxon poem *Heliand*, 3071-2, referred to by G. Quispel (*Der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium*, VigChr XV (1962), 121-151, p. 130) supports the meaning ' withstand ' rather than ' prevail '; ' ni mugun uuið them thînun suîðeum crafte / anthebbien hellie portun ' (against thy [Peter's] mighty strength the gates of hell cannot stand fast). The dependence of the *Heliand* on the Diatessaron tradition is an accepted fact.

(³) PL 9, 1010 A. Cf *De Trin.* 6,37 (PL 10, 187 A): ' Haec fides Ecclesiae fundamentum est; per hanc fidem infirmes adversus eam sunt portae inferorum '.

A similar sense appears, if less forcibly, in Leo, Serm. 51: Christ took Peter up the mount of Transfiguration in order to give his faith ' inviolabilis petrae firmitatem, super quam fundata Ecclesia portis inferi et mortis legibus praevaleret ' (1).

The link which made this way of thinking possible was, I believe, the ancient testimonium-symbol, Christ the Stone, seen as active and conquering by virtue of Dn 2,34-44, a text which symbolizes Christ's victory through his Church. We have seen two later Syriac examples which bring this out. But no patristic text known to me brings together all the themes we have been tracing more impressively than the Homily of Pseudo-Proclus ' On the Lord's Passion, for Good Friday ':

> ' Today Hades all unwittingly drank a draught of destruction (Od. Sol., Aphr.!); today death received, as one dead, Him who lives for ever; today were loosed the bonds which the serpent forged in Paradise; today were freed the prisoners from all ages; ...' (Then follows the Good Thief, a constant figure in the tradition)... ' Today saw a new Royal Entry into the prison; today, *He shattered the doors of bronze and cut asunder the bars of iron,* He who was swallowed down as a naked corpse, but [now] as the Word of God, wrought havoc. Today Christ, the *Stone at the head of the corner,* shook the ancestral foundation of death, snatched up Adam, rescued Abel, and overthrew the whole house of Hades ' (2).

I cannot form a judgement on this homily, but seeing that one of the same set is connected with the paschal homilies of Pseudo-Chrysostom which A. Nautin has restored to their early place, I believe this homily deserves closer inspection, and especially by Syriac patrologists (3).

It remains to review the evidence of iconography, in which the Descent to Hades becomes the classical ' Anastasis ' type; in the developed Greek and Russian tradition, broken doors and bars under Christ's feet are usually much in evidence. The earliest examples, however, do not give them much prominence. The scene is not depicted before about the 6th century; earlier, the usual Resurrection-scene shows the Women at the Tomb (as in the Chapel at Dura) or the soldiers (as on the ' Passion-sarco-

(1) PL 54, 309 B.

(2) PG 65, 784 A-B.

(3) Cf. C. Martin, S. J., *Hippolyte de Rome et Proclus de Constantinople*, in RHE 33 (1937), 255-276.

phagus ' in the Lateran) (1). The later Anastasis-type appears to begin in Syria or Palestine, the earliest examples (small reliquaries and pectoral crosses) being from the 6th or 7th centuries (2). On what is probably the oldest, the Fieschi Morgan Reliquary, Christ tramples on Hades and takes Adam and Eve by the hand, while the doors, small and crossed as almost always, are by their heads. In other early examples Hades and the doors are not prominent, while in all the earliest extant paintings and mosaics (the 8th c. frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua and the Oratory of the Forty Martyrs, and the 9th c. mosaic in the chapel of St Zeno in S. Prassede, all in Rome), the lower part of the picture is lost. It is clear in S. Clemente, lower basilica (9th or 10th c.), but only Hades appears, not the doors. Only from the 10th or 11th century does the iconographical tradition begin to present almost exact illustrations of the *Descensus* in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. This bears out the critical remarks of G. C. O'Ceallaigh on the late dating of the original apocryphon on which this is based (3).

Thus iconography in the earlier period gives no support to the hypothesis we have been pursuing, to see whether the door-bars of Sheol were so emphasized as to make it likely that Tatian chose to allude to this in his version of Mt 16,18. Nevertheless the literary evidence from the second century makes the hypothesis thoroughly tenable, and, I believe, more likely. If Aphraates and Ephrem do not speak in this way, nevertheless this study has illuminated the background of the imagery which they certainly use.

R. MURRAY S. J.

(1) *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary report*, ed. BAUR and ROSTOVTZEV (New Haven 1934, vol. V, pl. 41, 48: WILPERT, *Sarcofagi* 146.3 (Mus. Lateran. 171, c. 340 A.D.).

(2) See E. LUCCHESI PALLI, *Der syrisch-palästinensische Darstellungstypus der Höllenfahrt Christi*, in *Römische Quartalschrift* 57 (1962), 250-267, with pl. 17-21. Also valuable is H. J. SCHULZ, *Die Höllenfahrt als Anastasis*, in ZKTh 81 (1959), 1-66.

(3) See p. 358, n. 4.

The Theological Synthesis
of Cyrus of Edessa, an East Syrian Theologian of the Mid-Sixth Century

II

The second view of Christ's Redemption is not in direct contradiction with the first, even though it does involve a shift of tone and emphasis. Accordingly, the Redemption is not so much the decisive intervention of God in history as the culminating act in the long history of the divine pedagogy (1), a process that will not end until the final Resurrection (2). According to

(1) *CR* iv, f. 127 v°:8-23: " Seeing that the same is God of the Old Testament and the New, it was becoming that in the former testament He should have depicted beforehand, as in an image, symbols and types that were going to be fulfilled in the coming of Our Lord. For since He had it in His mind, from the beginning and *from before the foundations of the world* (Eph. 1:4), that He would manifest the world to come, whose commencement He has manifested in the revelation of Our Redeemer, He rightly brought it about that we should first live in this present life, in which to acquire a training that would be suitable and would advance (us) towards perfection, and that then, at the end, we would pass on to the one that is to come by the Resurrection from the Dead, in order that by the comparison, we would realize the more the greatness of that (life) that is then going to be revealed. Accordingly, since, as I have said, the salvific economy of Christ Our Redeemer had been foreordained in the mind of God from the very outset, it was fitting that He should have prefigured symbols and types in the Old Testament of the things appertaining to Christ, so that when they should have been revealed at the end through Christ, the true exemplar, they would not be thought to have recently occurred to Him ".

(2) *CF* ii, f. 80 r°:2-16: " Since, indeed, according to the witness of Scripture, in the Kingdom of Heaven they neither eat nor drink — for *they are like the angels* (Mt. 22:30) — it was well that Christ established for us in His Church solemnities that signify that manner of life that,

this view, man at his first creation was radically imperfect, such that without an experience of mortality and its resultant ills, he could not appreciate and benefit from the supreme gift of immortality (1). Hence, the aim of God's pedagogy, throughout

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in accordance with the divine decree, is going to be revealed in its time in *the Jerusalem that is in Heaven* (Heb. 12:22), of which this solemnity of the Fast, that Holy Church celebrates today, is likewise one, which directs and guides us towards that true and divine fast in which, after the Resurrection, all men are going to share, which purifies the soul from the defilements of sin and cleanses the body from the filth of vices. And that which, as the discourse has shown, is necessarily going to reign over all in the new world at the time that is fitting, whenever that is to be, in this present dispensation trains and disciplines our soul and our body as in a school, until the time of the achievement of perfection shall have arrived. "; *CPc* i, ff. 96 v°:15-97 v°:13, where Cyrus explains that " even though we have surpassed the extent of the knowledge of those who lived under the Law, yet we are very far from an exact knowledge of the truth ", and hence we need diligence, instruction and sacraments to attain to the truth; *CA* ii, f. 153 v°:15-21: " Accordingly, when Christ Our Lord wished to lead the way for us into Heaven, seeing that He had become *the head and the first-born from the dead* (Col. 1:18), He first of all became for us a trail-leader and led the way towards these good things and was raised up most gloriously, in order that He might impart to us an unhesitating hope concerning them, that whenever He knows is expedient and we are capable (of it), He will cause us (to attain) them, according to His decree in our regard ".

(1) *CR* viii, f. 133 r°:4-v°:23, where Cyrus explains that since creatures can acquire knowledge only by contrariety (cf. p. 19, n. 1), we could only arrive at an appreciation of immortality and immutability by the experience of their contraries, mortality and mutability, and hence God " first arranged for us that we should attend, as a sort of training-place, the school of this life, so full of sufferings and so burdensome with adversities, in order that in it, at least, we might be taught as in a sort of gymnasium, and so that on the basis of the contradictions with which it abounds, we might distinguish good from evil; and (only) then, after we had been disciplined as much as was proper, and the choice of the good had been made known to us, did He make ready to give us that world to come that is free of all contradiction and in which there reigns everlasting life without end. "; *CR* viii, f. 134 r°:16-v°:5: " Accordingly, since God, more glorious than all and more lofty than all, is not only good, but also wise, it did not seem good to Him that, (simultaneously) with our first creation, He should have conferred on us that dignity that He has now made ready to give us in our second creation. Rather, since He was well aware that it was much more beneficial for us that we should first be disciplined by these (present) chastisements and afflictions, so that when we should have arisen to these (future) glories, we would know

the history of the world, has been to train man by means of the experience that he lacked, so that he would be capable of fruitfully enjoying in the next world the gifts God had decreed to give him " from before the foundations of the world " (1). Included in this training was the allowing of man to fall under the tyranny of sin, Satan and death, the very contrary of the world to come (2). Thus, although the human situation from the first point of view steadily deteriorated with the passage of time, from the second point of view, on the contrary, mankind was actually making progress (3), at least in the sense that it was being disposed for the

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how to give thanks to the giver of them as much as is proper, He made us live first of all in this dispensation full of toil, in order that, from the discipline we received in it and the training we got from it, we would be able to perceive the power of these things that He had made ready from the outset to give us, and (only) then, in the consummation of the ages, when the stature of the world had progressed to final completion, would He confer on us immortality, along with immutability, (a condition) in which He has now established us, at the time that was fitting, by means of the Resurrection of the Prince of our salvation, Christ Our Lord ".

(1) *CR* iv, f. 127 v°:8-18, cited above, p. 363, n. 1; *CPt* iv, ff. 169 v°:23-170 r°:23, summarized above, p. 19, n. 3.

(2) *CSEL* 35¹, 283-5 (capp. 58 and 60).

(3) Cyrus may, perhaps, imply this in the following two passages: *CR* viii, f. 134 r°:8-16: " Accordingly, since the situation of us all was ordered by divine providence so that the instruction (we received) from it should not be in vain and without fruits, it was well that God did not make us immortal from the very beginning, not because this would have been difficult for Him, but because, as has been shown, it would not have been advantageous for us. For how would it not be the part of folly, indeed of impiety, that this should be thought concerning Him, because, behold now, in the last of the ages, though sin has grown stronger than ever and injustice more powerful, He has conferred on us, in His unspeakable lovingkindness, with no constraint from without, in accordance with His eternal decree, immortality by means of the first-fruits of our redemption, Jesus Christ Our Lord? "; and *CR* ix, f. 135 r°: 13-9: " Furthermore, there is also another (point to consider): for it would be quite shameful for us to think that *one (man's) offense* (Rom. 5:17) should have procured a common death for all men, whereas the sins that have been multiplied various and manifold in the world by many men should have brought to it a complete abrogation, were not the entire ordering (of events a work) of divine lovingkindness, that accomplished everything in accordance with its purpose and eternal decree ".

intervention of God by an experience of its own weakness and by a hatred of sin engendered by the miseries of which it was seen to be the cause (1).

However, in order for man to profit from this experience of evil and mortality, instruction by means of laws was altogether necessary, for without a law to enlighten his conscience, man would have been unable to distinguish between good and evil and hence recognize evil as such, but would have acted like dumb animals without reflection (2). Therefore, in addition to the law of nature (3), Adam was given at the time of his creation the first positive law, the prohibition from eating of the fruit of the tree (4). This was followed by a series of dispensations (5) that were aimed at gradually educating man in the rejection of sin and the choice of virtue (6). Nonetheless, though enlightening man's conscience as to the good to be chosen and the evil to be rejected, though deterring from sin and inciting to virtue, these laws could not give him the moral power to observe them, as long as he remained subject to the tyrannical empire of death (7). Hence, although

(1) *CR* ix, f. 136 r°:3-8, cited above, p. 22, n. 4; Staab 129:18-33; 130:16-28.

(2) Staab 126:24-9; 127:31-4; 129:7-18; *PG* 66, 641A.

(3) *CPs* viii, f. 122 r°:1-4: " Now if divine commandment, natural law and common sense judge to be right and approve that not even to those who make us suffer evils is it becoming that we repay evil, since we do not even gain any advantage thereby ... "; Staab 116: 18-21. Cf. also *CPc* v, f. 103 r°:25-v°:5, where Cyrus implies the distinction between natural and positive law: " But because many are in doubt how (it is that though) Christ Our Redeemer, after He had eaten the legal Pasch with His Disciples, then gave them the type of His body, we, on the contrary, are reprehended if we approach the Mysteries after we have eaten anything, we ought to realize, first of all, that it is not the nature of the actions that makes worthy of reprehension those who perform them, but it is the fact that one violates the canons ".

(4) Staab 126:29-31; *PG* 66, 640C-641A.

(5) *CPc* v, f. 103 r°:8-13: " Worthy of all glorifications and of all thanksgivings and praises is the glorious nature of Thy exalted divinity, o Lord of all, who hast constantly, in all ages, fulfilled various dispensations for the salvation of men. And even though they were so ungrateful, still Thou didst ever proffer them signs of redemption ".

(6) Swete I, 26-9, 53; Staab 127:26-8; 129:7-18; *TEN* 25-8.

(7) *CPt* vi, ff. 172 v°:19-173 r°:1: " Seeing that human nature is continually inclined towards evil, and neither divine commandments, nor the terrors (inspired) by punishments, nor the constraint of admo-

they were a thing of grace and very profitable in themselves (1), these laws also had the effect of increasing man's guilt immeasurably (2). But this too was a benefit in disguise, because it made man realize more profoundly the utter malice of sin that had caused such evils (3) and, at the same time too, his own powerlessness to redeem himself (4).

Neither the experience of slavery to evil nor the sense of his own guilt would have been effective in training man without a corresponding redemptive action of God. For there was great danger that man in his helplessness would end in total despair (5). Hence, God intervened at different moments of history to propose types of salvation and so arouse in man a hope of a coming change

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nitions easily avert it from its appetite, because, according to the saying of Scripture, (man's) *inclination is evil* from the beginning of his formation (Gen. 8:21), rightly, for the healing of his transgression and the rectification of his straying from the divine commandments, *He who wills all men to be saved* (I Tim. 2:4) foreordained the coming of Christ in wondrous wise ... "; SWETE I, 27-8, 51, 147; STAAB 125:24-33; 134: 15-20.

(1) *CPt* ii, f. 164 r°:6-9: " ... *the Law was for us a pedagogue towards Christ*, according to the saying of Blessed Paul (Gal. 3:24), from which, likewise, we made progress and advanced gradually towards these (present) things of Christ Our Redeemer, as though from the image towards the exemplar and from the likeness towards the exact pattern ... "; *CPt* ii, f. 164 r°:20-v°:1: " For even though the giving of the Law and the concern over its commandments was a thing of grace, inasmuch as it was very profitable in its time, yet the true and abiding grace has been manifested in Christ, (and) when we shall have become by it immortal and unchangeable, we shall receive, without labour and toil, that justice which was more distant from the Law than one can say ... ".

(2) STAAB 125:24-33.

(3) STAAB 129:18-33; 130:16-28.

(4) SWETE I, 51. Cf. also *CPc* vi, ff. 104 v°:21-105 r°:2, cited above, p. 26, n. 3.

(5) *CPs* iii, f. 112 v°:1-10: " And who would have been able to rescue us from the power of death, which, through sin, was day by day growing stronger against us, as long as He, who is the achiever of our salvation, neglected our redemption? For behold, we have seen no one profiting from this (privilege) that was accomplished towards Blessed Enoch and Elijah on account of His universal economy, that they should escape from death, except themselves alone. Had the very same thing been done towards Christ Our Lord, and if He had confined in Himself the profit of many that has actually redounded from Him over all, it would have been inevitable that our entire situation would have ended in despair ".

for the better [1]. The first instance of this was God's championing of Abel's blood, a solicitude that would have been meaningless were there to be no resurrection [2]. Next, He translated Enoch alive from the sojourning of this life, in order to show that death would one day be abolished [3]. Thirdly, He took Elijah up to

(1) *CPc* v, f. 103 r°:8-13, cited above, p. 366, n. 5; *CR* iv, f. 127 v°:8-23, cited above, p. 363, n. 1; *CR* iv, ff. 127 v°:23-128 r°:16: " Accordingly, because we were going to be redeemed by means of the coming of Our Saviour, Christ Our Lord, from death, Satan and the rest, lest it should be thought by the ignorant difficult and unworthy of being believed, He brought this to pass in a partial way beforehand with the people of Israel, when He redeemed them from Egypt, as though *from a furnace of iron* (Deut. 4:20), and delivered the first-born of the Israelites from the Angel of Death, that was menacing the Egyptians, by the sprinkling of the blood of a dumb lamb ... He foretaught those ancients by means of these things, in order that when Our Lord should be revealed, should confer on us freedom from the servitude of sin and death and should *enroll* us (as) *first-born* (Heb. 12:23) in *the Jerusalem that is in Heaven* (Heb. 12:22), (these things) would not seem to us strange and be difficult for us (to believe), and we be deprived of the benefit from them ... ".

(2) *CR* vii, f. 132 r°:9-25: " Accordingly, lest this weakness be thought concerning Himself by the uninstructed, (God) prefigured (the Resurrection) dimly by means of the avenging of Blessed Abel's blood, which was a sign that at some time human nature was going to be redeemed by its Creator, and life would be restored to it, not like that of which it had been deprived because of its disregarding of the divine commandments, but everlasting life, an end to which its recipients shall never suffer ... It was well that God should have fixed beforehand in (creation) the hope and consolation, by means of the things that have been said above [i.e. the avenging of Blessed Abel's blood], that at some time this human situation was going to undergo a sublime transformation, seeing that God had shown this solicitude over the blood of the just man, whose part He had taken, as if for His friend, and had patronized his cause".

(3) *CR* vii, f. 132 r°:25-v°:6: " (God) renewed this, likewise, towards Blessed Enoch in a different manner. However, so as not to make known this (truth) by means of parables only, but also to fix in them by very deeds the expectation of it, He translated the just man from this (place of) sojourning, even though he was subject to mutability, in order that He might thereby propound to all the teaching, as it were, that the abolition of death was going to come to human nature, considering that a representative from it was being kept in the storehouse of life. "; *CA* v, f. 160 r°:20-3: " By the first two, Blessed Abel, I say, and Enoch, He was propounding to the Holy Angels the teaching, as it were, that at some time men were going to be freed from the servitude of death and become immortal and immutable ... ".

Heaven, showing thereby that men would not only one day become immortal and immutable, but would even ascend to Heaven itself (1).

Nonetheless, these types were insufficient of themselves. A greater revelation was needed to confirm man's hope, that of the very abolition of death. For this, it was quite necessary that Christ should first die and then rise again most gloriously from the dead. For had He passed directly from this mortal life to the immortality of the next in the manner of Enoch and Elijah, He would have benefited no one but Himself; as far as the rest of men was concerned, the empire of death would have remained as intact as before, so that the hopes engendered by the other types would have ended in complete despair (2). By dying first, however, and then rising again and ascending into Heaven, Christ has manifested the abolition of the tyrant death and has given to all the hope of one day putting off all mortality and rising with Him to the dwelling-place of Heaven (3).

Thus, the Death and Resurrection of Christ is truly a crucial step in the process of man's education, without which the other steps would have no meaning, but it is by no means the final step. Thus, after His Resurrection, the Apostles remained imperfect, such that Christ was obliged to condescend to their childishness and moderate His revelations in proportion to their weakness, first convincing them of the truth of His Resurrection and then drawing them on, step by step, to progress towards adult

(1) *CR* vii, f. 132 v°:6-14: " Moreover, God the Lord of all, wishing more abundantly to impart to creation hope in these things that have been brought to pass by means of Christ, and, at the same time too, that this human situation was going to change towards a more excellent transformation, effected the ascension of Blessed Elijah, which was made more abundantly manifest by the things that were brought to pass in his regard for the attainment of perfection. For He depicted in his ascent that men were not only going to become immortal and immutable, but inhabitants as well in the dwelling-place in *the Jerusalem that is in Heaven* (Heb. 12:22) . . . ".

(2) *CPs* iii, f. 112 v°:1-10, cited above, p. 367, n. 5; VOSTÉ 174.

(3) *CPs* iii, f. 111 r°:22-v°:1, cited above, p. 29, n. 5; *CPs* iii, f. 112 r°: 11-4: " And what enticements, pray tell, would have persuaded the rest of the Apostles to bow their necks readily to the sword, had He, who is the Prince of their salvation, not manifested in Himself the abolition of death? "; *CR* ii, f. 125 r°:24-v°:2, cited below, p. 372, n. 1.

stature (1). Even at the time of His Ascension, when He gave them the supreme revelation of the Trinity of Persons in God, they were incapable of taking it in (2). Something more was needed.

This something was the grace of the Holy Spirit, that Christ sent down upon His Apostles at Pentecost. Even with regard to this, however, Cyrus lays great stress on the fact that Christ did not send the grace of the Spirit while He was still on earth with His Disciples (3) and that it was ten days, no more nor less, that He waited after His Ascension before sending it down upon them, all because of their childish imperfection, lest, on account of it, they fail to profit from the grace (4). But, having been thus carefully prepared by Christ, the Apostles were completely transformed by the grace of the Holy Spirit (5). Only then did they come to a realization of the mysteries that Christ had revealed

(1) *CA* iii, ff. 154 v°:13-156 r°:1.

(2) *CA* vi, f. 161 v°:14-21: " In the same way too, in the case of Christ Our Saviour, who has been led away to take possession of a kingdom that shall not end, in the dwelling-place in *the Jerusalem that is in Heaven* (Heb. 12:22), because He saw that the mind of the Blessed Apostles was incapable of taking in, at the moment, perfect knowledge concerning Himself, He rightly sent for their encouragement these forms fashioned from vapour [or: by the Spirit], such as were capable of enticing them away from their continual contemplation of Himself and, at the same time too, to signify to them about those things that were going to come to pass, until the time of the Descent of the Spirit should arrive, from whom they were going to receive instruction in all knowledge ... ".

(3) *CPt* iii, ff. 166 v°:10-169 r°:24 (cf. above, p. 36, n. 5).

(4) *CPt* iv, ff. 169 r°:24-171 v°:7.

(5) *CPt* iv, f. 171 r°:8-20: " At the same time, furthermore, the intervening period of these ten days was advantageous for this (reason) too, that once the Apostles had themselves become aware of their weakness, such that they would even take refuge in hiding, and would realize that it was by the Descent of the Spirit that they were shown to be completely changed, and that they were feeble and imperfect, as was demonstrated by the facts themselves, then suddenly and unexpectedly, according to that expectation that Our Lord had Himself fixed in them — for ' *Await,* ' (Lk. 24:49) He had said, ' *the promise of the Father* ' (Acts 1:4) — by a great miracle, beyond any human expectation, He most gloriously crowned their heads with the Descent of the Holy Spirit, His love took root in them more abundantly and His power increased in them, when, from such great despondency, they underwent such a change for the better and were manifested in the sight of everyone as completely changed by His assistance ".

to them, of His own divine sonship and of the Trinity of the divine Persons (1), only then did the love of Christ take firm root in them, only then were they transformed in virtue and made ready to face without flinching the forces of evil that they were soon to encounter in their efforts to fulfill Christ's commission of making disciples of all peoples (2).

The Resurrection of Christ and the descent of the grace of the Spirit would seem to mark a final step in the training of mankind for the future world, and yet it is not so. Man is still not yet prepared for immortality (3), for if he were, God would give the gift without delay. The only reason why God delays His gifts to us is our own incapacity to receive them, and it is for this reason that God condescends to our weakness and patiently draws us on, step by step, to higher things (4). Moreover, the fact of having received in pledge the grace of the Holy Spirit does not automatically guarantee a life of virtue. The necessity of one day dying still remains, and our wills remain free (5). Furthermore, the memory of Christ's redemption and, in consequence, our hope of immortality can grow dim and ineffectual in us (6). There is

(1) VOSTÉ 216; REUSS 130 § 93:1-5.

(2) *CA* iv, f. 158 v°:4-10: " For seeing that by their means this preaching was going to issue forth into the entire inhabited world and (that) afflictions and persecutions, together with mockery and death, were consequent on it, (Christ) rightly admonished the captains of piety to clothe themselves with all the armour of the Spirit, with which they would be enabled to shatter *all the fiery arrows of the Evil-One* (Eph. 6:16). For where adversaries are judges and enemies are accusers, who is capable of persevering, save him who is endued with the mighty *power* of the Spirit *from on high* (Lk. 24:49)? "; *CPt* iv, f. 171 r°:8-20, cited above, p. 370, n. 5.

(3) *CA* ii, f. 153 r°:23-v°:7, summarized above, p. 26, n. 2.

(4) *CPt* iv, ff. 169 v°:23-170 r°:23, summarized and cited above, p. 19, n. 3 and p. 26, n. 2; STAAB 157:32-6.

(5) SWETE I, 49, 102, 103; STAAB 122:6-27; 133:28-31; 205:25-9.

(6) *CPc* iii, f. 98 v°:17-25: " Because, however, He was well aware that He was not going to live with His followers after His Resurrection from the Dead, but was going to ascend into Heaven and be taken away from the view of all creatures until (the time) when, in accordance with the divine decree, He is going to make His appearance from on high, at the time that He perceives is expedient for us, when His incomprehensible knowledge knows well (to be best), whereas the faithful that are left behind to sojourn in this world until then, lest, because of their distance from Him, and also because of the protraction of time and the

need, therefore, of sacraments, types of Christ's Death and Resurrection that will renew in us, from day to day, the memory of what He has done for us and our own hope of dying and rising with Him (1). The living word of mouth is not enough; we need something to appeal to sight and touch thoroughly to persuade us (2). This is true, not only of our baptism (3), but in a special way of the Eucharist, that not only is an image or type of Christ's Death and Resurrection and of our own as well (4), but is likewise a type of Christ's nearness to us (5),

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advance of the centuries, this glorious economy be forgotten or the esteem concerning it be fixed in us imperfectly ... ".

(1) *CR* ii, f. 125 r°:24-v°:7: " For if the very assumption of our first-fruits came to pass for this, that (God) might depict for us in Him, as in a sort of type, the true manifestation of our death and of our resurrection, how is it possible to suppose that the things that have been done in His regard shall not likewise be accomplished in every way in our regard too? Of these things, behold, their type is already being fulfilled in our regard, as in a sort of sacrament, in the ecclesiastical liturgy, which is a type of Heaven, by means of baptism and the Holy Mysteries, that renew in us, day by day, the hope of our death and of our resurrection, whose true exemplar has already been manifested to us in deed in the things that have been brought to pass in regard to Christ Our Lord ".

(2) *CPc* iii, ff. 98 v°:25-99 r°:4: " ... sight [*lege*: hearing] alone is not so capable of persuading man as (when) he has with it something that (can be) seen and touched, so that by means of speech we persuade the ears, by means of sight, on the other hand, the eyes, and by means of touch the hands, and by means of these three senses knowledge be passed on to the soul, and in its (faculty of) memory the truth of the matter be more thoroughly preserved ... ".

(3) *CF* ii, f. 79 v°:17-23, cited above, p. 32, n. 3.

(4) *CR* ii, f. 125 r°:24-v°:7, cited above, n. 1.

(5) *CF* v, f. 86 r°:3-17: " Accordingly, seeing that He was about to *depart from this world* (*to go*) *to His Father* (Jn. 13:1), lest the faithful be deprived of the contact of His holy body, He rightly left the type of His body and His blood in Holy Church, as He Himself has said: '*This is my body.*' (Mt. 26:26), and '*This is my blood.*' (Mt. 26:28); while He fittingly did not say: This is a type of my body and a type of my blood, but: *This is my body*, so that ... when, by means of the grace of the Holy Spirit, the sacrament of His body and His blood nestles on our hands, we would consider that it is in truth as though we embrace and kiss the very substance of His holy body, and by means of that which is near, we would be guided towards that which is in Heaven."; *CPc* iii, f. 99 r°:4-8: " ... Christ Our Redeemer has contrived, for the profit

such that we should manifest towards it the love we have for Christ (1).

This second view of human history, by placing its emphasis on the gradual progress of man from his first creation to the final Resurrection of the Dead, runs a very serious risk of undermining the decisive significance of both the Fall of Adam and the Redemption of Christ, especially if it is regarded as being in opposition to the first view. Perhaps this is what Baumstark has done when he accuses the authors of *The Causes of the Feasts of the Economy* in general, but with particular reference to Cyrus of Edessa, of shriveling up the significance of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ to being a mere image of the abolition of death (2). True it is that the contrast between the two views of history is considerable. It is further true, moreover, that the second view is more personal to Theodore of Mopsuestia and characteristic of his followers, whereas the first is more traditional. Nonetheless, it may be presumed that neither Theodore nor his

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and consolation of the faithful, this admirable means and has left us as a sort of image this bread, so that whenever we draw near to it and receive it on our hands, we would consider that it is Our Redeemer Himself that we are embracing, and when we gaze upon this (bread), we would think that we are dwelling in His company. "; *CPc* v, ff. 102 v°:23-103 r°:1: " ' *This is my body,* ' (Lk. 22:19) He says, ' for I shall shortly be handed over to suffering and death, and my body will be fastened to the Cross by the Jews, but in this you shall have consolation, so that whenever, ' He continues, ' you gaze upon this, therefore, consider that you are with me. ' ".

(1) *CPc* iii, f. 99 r°:16-v°:2: " For just as, in the case of images that are set up in honour of kings, it is not to the materials from which they have been fashioned that we give heed, but to the glory with which they have been endued from the name of the king that has been placed upon them, and all the servants of the king, according as their will is towards the king, so they show it towards his image, those who love him honouring his image, his enemies, for their part, spurning it, the honour, however, and the insults of both parties attaining the king who is the prototype (of the image), in the same way too, this bread and wine have been placed in Holy Church as a glorious image of the body of that celestial King who is distant from us and hidden in those divine mansions that *eye has not seen* (I Cor. 2:9), and everyone, according as he has the love of a believer towards Christ's body, is by this (image) made manifest ".

(2) *Die nestorianischen Schriften, OC* I (1901) 340, n. 3. The place that he cites is *CPs* iii, f. 111 r°:24-5, cited above, p. 26, n. 1.

followers regarded the two views as being fundamentally contradictory to one another, and it is quite clear that they used both as integral parts of their theological synthesis. Hence, I think it is better to regard them, not as opposed, but as complementary views of human history.

Thus, though the Passion and Resurrection of Christ are looked upon as an image and type of the abolition of death and of the future Resurrection of the Dead (1), like the other types that took place in the Old Testament, that does not exhaust their significance and efficacy. They also constitute Christ as the prototype and head of the future world (2), in whom the warring parts of human nature, indeed of the entire universe, have been reconciled and reunited (3), who has likewise definitively conquered

(1) Cf. the texts cited above, p. 26, n. 1, p. 369, n. 3 and p. 372, n. 1.

(2) *CR* ii, f. 125 r°:15-24: "This (immortality and immutability Christ), in His lovingkindness, has conferred on us too, as one who takes the place, in our regard, of the head to the body, from whom life derives to the rest of the members and in whom *each joint is structured and joined ... for the* consistence *of the body itself* (Eph. 4:16), and He has made us ready to become *sons of God*, in that He has made us worthy to *become sons of the Resurrection* (Lk. 20:36). On this account, accordingly, *we believe that* once *we have died with Christ, we shall* likewise *live with Christ* (Rom. 6:8), and just as He has shared with us *in everything... save sin* (Heb. 4:15), so we are going to share with Him in the Resurrection and in the ascent into Heaven."; the text then continues with the citation given above, p. 372, n. 1. Cf. also above, p. 30, n. 2.

(3) *CPs* vii, f. 121 r°:18-22, cited above, p. 38, n. 1; *CR* iii, f. 127 r°: 11-23: "... (Christ) has reconciled the discord that prevailed with all, and He has procured for all, *far and near, peace ... with the Father in one Spirit* (Eph. 2:17-8). Accordingly, it was well that these things, as the discourse has indicated, should have been brought to pass in this the first month, in which the vernal equinox holds sway and in which, too, creation received the commencement of (its) existence, so that just as, at this season, day together with night have attained harmony, and the former does not despoil the latter, nor is the latter overreached by the former, so also the soul together with the body has attained a lasting concord, such that (the soul) is not weakened, being impelled by force towards the performance of foul deeds by reason of the weight of mortality, nor is (the body), on the other hand, swept along towards the doing of evil, drawn by the disharmony that then reigned over both, since, according to the saying of Blessed Paul, *Christ is all, and is in all men* (Col. 3:11)".

on behalf of all the tyranny of Satan and death [1] and who has, as the reward and fruit of His Passion, sent down upon earth the first-fruits of the grace of the Holy Spirit [2], that is the principle of the future gifts of immortality and immutability [3]. Even as an image of the abolition of death, moreover, Christ's Passion and Resurrection are not to be reduced to the level of the other types that have preceded it or, in the case of the sacraments, have followed it, for without the reality of Christ's dying and rising, the other types would lose all their force and significance [4]. Rather, the Passion and Resurrection are the perfect and efficacious type of the abolition of death, especially in view of the solidarity of all men, indeed of the entire universe, with "Christ the true exemplar" [5].

Where the contrast between the two views of human history seems to result in open contradiction is, as I have indicated, in their divergent portrayals of the relationship between our present mortality and Adam's transgression [6]. How real the contradiction is seems indicated by some, at least verbally, contradictory statements of Theodore on the question [7] and by the superfi-

(1) *CR* ii, 125 v°:7-15, cited above, p. 33, n. 4.

(2) *CR* vii, ff. 132 v°:21-133 r°:1, cited above, p. 31, n. 3.

(3) Cf. the texts cited above, p. 35, n. 1.

(4) *CPs* iii, f. 112 v°:1-10, cited above, p. 367, n. 7; *CR* ii, f. 125 r°:24-v°:7, cited above, p. 372, n. 1; *CR* vii, f. 132 v°:16-24 cited above, p. 31. n. 3.

(5) Cf. above, pp. 31-2.

(6) Above, pp. 21-4.

(7) Some examples of Theodore's apparent contradictions are the following: The sin of (Adam) made the rest of men mortal, STAAB 120: 20-1, and yet Adam was, from the very beginning, formed from the earth so as to be completely mortal, *ACO* I, v, 173:18-9. Adam brought it about that (his) punishment has come upon his offspring, STAAB 119: 36-120:1, we are the heirs of his punishment, *TMHC* 9-11, and yet God never punishes one for another's fault, *ACO* I, v, 174:41-2. (Adam's) sin brought death upon all men, STAAB 119:28-9 and 120:20-1, and yet death has been decreed as the punishment of any sin, STAAB 119:6-7, and death has reigned over all because all have sinned, STAAB 119:2-6, 12-7. JUGIE, *TDCO* V, 250-1, solves these seeming contradictions thus: Adam was created mortal, but actually died because of his sin; his offspring, however, were born, not only naturally mortal, but also actually subject to death; this actual liableness to death made them inclined to actual sins of their own; thus, that they are punished with death is the

ciality of his attempts to reconcile them (1). Nonetheless, I do not think that the conflict is so absolute and fundamental as it would seem at first sight. The teaching of each view on our original state and on Adam's transgression aims at answering different questions. In the first view, it is to explain our present miserable state, why we are enslaved to the three tyrants, sin, Satan and death; in the second view, on the contrary, it is to explain why God did not create us immortal and immutable from the very beginning, seeing that He has intended to give us these gifts from all eternity (2). On the one hand, it would be unthinkable to suppose that God created us in a state of miserable slavery to His own enemies, but, on the other hand, it would be equally unthinkable that God should have created us in the same immortal and immutable state that we are one day to enjoy in the next world and then deprived us in anger over one man's sin (3).

However, it is clear that neither Theodore nor Cyrus has integrated the two views of history into a single synthesis, especially on the particular question of Original Sin. Perhaps if they had been able to make a clearer distinction between Adam's original, conditional immortality and the definitive immortality

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result of their own sins, but, indirectly, it is the result of Adam's sin too, because it was this that made them subject to death and, consequently, inclined to sin.

(1) Cf. above, pp. 22-3.

(2) This is the question that *CR* chap. viii is devoted to answering; cf. above, p. 13, n. 5.

(3) *CR* ix, f. 134 v°:12-9: " Seeing that God the Lord of all possesses innately a knowledge of all things whatsoever, it is the part of impiety that we should imagine concerning Him either that He does anything in anger, apart from what seems good to Him, or that in repentance He performs things other (than what He has decreed), for both of these things are shameful to think of Him. For had He decided to make us immortal from the beginning, He would never have changed His decree concerning us and would have made us altogether different (from the way He did). "; *CR* ix, f. 135 r°:19-24: " Moreover, how is it not ignorant in the extreme that He, whose mercifulness is immeasurable nor is there any limit to the love that He has poured out on us through His beloved (Son), should be supposed, *because of one* (*man's*) *offense* (Rom. 5:17), to have brought death on these (descendants) who had not yet even come into existence and a trial of their will had not been granted to (discover) in what things it would remain (faithful) and towards what things it would turn aside? ".

of the future world and had seen Adam's original state as a mere preparation for eternal immortality, a preparatory state, furthermore, that in God's mysterious wisdom was somehow not so apt as our present redeemed state (1), they would not have been so indiscriminate in condemning the occidental teaching of St. Jerome on Original Sin.

A yet more fundamental criticism of the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, that would apply with equal force to that of the authors of *The Causes of the Feasts*, is made by de Vries, and it is probably this criticism that forms the ultimate basis for Baumstark's accusation that they have shriveled up the significance of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. It is that Theodore leaves no place in his theology for the strictly supernatural gifts that Christ has merited for us by His Passion, the participation of the divine nature, the divinization of the soul, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, the infusion of sanctifying grace in this life, or the Beatific Vision of the Blessed Trinity in the next. The highest messianic goods that Theodore proposes are immortality, impassibility and immutability, which are preternatural, rather than strictly supernatural (2). Finally, the reason for the omission of the strictly supernatural gifts is Christological; for Theodore, having rejected a true incarnation of the Son of God, is left with a mediator, the Assumed Man, who is not truly God and who

(1) Cf. *PG* 66, 640C-641A, where Theodore adumbrates such a solution.

(2) *Der "Nestorianismus" Theodors von Mopsuestia in seiner Sakramentenlehre*, in *OCP* 7 (1941) 106, and *Das eschatologische Heil bei Theodor von Mopsuestia*, in *OCP* 24 (1958) 309-10, 325. Cyrus does speak of Adam as having been stripped of his glory and dignity as the result of his sin [cf. the texts cited above, p. 25, n. 1]; similarly, Satan, after his fall, was stripped of his dignity and splendour [*CF* vii, f. 91 r°:14-7, cited above, p. 16, n. 2, and *CPc* vii, f. 107 r°:14-7: "(Satan,) by reason of pride, was cast down *like lightning from Heaven* (Lk. 10:18), being likewise stripped, simultaneously with his fall, of all his splendour, like a (bolt of) lightning of whose brilliance, after it passes, not even the trace is ascertain(able)."]. With regard to man, however, what Cyrus seems to be referring to is the divine image [cf. *CPs* iii, ff. 110 v°:13-111 r°:1, cited above, p. 15, n. 2], which apparently consists in man's lordship over all creation [cf. above, p. 15, n. 4] and which he lost by becoming enslaved to sin, Satan and death. As for Satan's splendour and dignity, this would be, correspondingly, "the rank of his authority ... over those who are charged with the government of the air" [*CPc* vii, f. 107 r°:13-4].

cannot, therefore, mediate a true divinization of the soul or any other strictly supernatural gifts (1).

It is undoubtedly true that the highest hope that Theodore and his disciple Cyrus hold out to mankind is immortal life, with its attendant qualities of immutability and impassibility. The root of all our ills is mortality, because of which we are enslaved to sin, Satan and death (2). We can never enjoy complete liberty nor perform perfect justice until our moral mutability has been eradicated, and this is impossible as long as we remain mortal (3). Moreover, since they lack any clear concept of divine life in the soul (4), the immortal life that they propose is of the whole man only. They seem to have no clear inkling of a state of substantial beatitude between death and the Resurrection (5). Rather,

(1) *Der "Nestorianismus"*, pp. 102-3, 106, 145-6; *Das eschatologische Heil*, pp. 309-10, 325, 327-8.

(2) SWETE I, 27, 147, 287, 291-2; STAAB 125:24-33; 130:36-131:9; VOSTÉ 29. Cyrus, in his turn, implies that mortality is the root of our enslavement in saying that Christ's Resurrection has brought us liberation, e.g. *CR* iii, f. 127 r°:1-6: " ... Christ Our Lord, *the Sun of justice* (Mal. 4:2), has appeared to us from the Resurrection of the Dead and has gladdened the whole world, indeed, all creation, and has redeemed, beyond any human expectation, those who had been subjected to enslavement during their lives *in darkness and in the shadows of death* (Lk. 1:79); He has made the morning of the Resurrection shine forth, and He has thereby *stripped bare principalities and powers and has publicly put them to shame in Himself* (Col. 2:15) ".

(3) *CPt* ii, f. 164 r°:20-v°:7, cited above, p. 367, n. 1 and p. 36, n. 3; SWETE I, 29-31, 77, 148; STAAB 122:6-27; 134:1-14.

(4) For Cyrus, as we have seen above, p. 25, the life of the soul seems to be religious truth.

(5) Cf. DE VRIES, *Das eschatologische Heil*, pp. 330-2. Cf. also *CF* ix, f. 96 r°:14-5, where Cyrus puts the Second Coming of Christ as the day of reward: " ... in order that, on the day of the revelation of Christ, the Captain of our striving, we may be deemed worthy of *receiving from Him a glorious crown* (I Pet. 5:4) *that will not corrupt* (I Cor. 9:25) ... ". Cf. especially *TMHC* 177, where Theodore declares that the dead are without sensation and hence cannot be judged. In view of this passage, de Vries' judgment of Theodore seems, on this point, to be too benign. On the other hand, Cyrus speaks of the souls of Christ and the Good Thief as entering, after the Passion, the Paradise from which Adam had formerly been driven and does so in terms that imply that this is a true reward for the thief's faith and contrition [*CPs* vi, ff. 118 v°:13-119 v°:6]. However, as Išai, in *The Cause of the Confessors*, *PO* VII, 31-2, explains it, the stay of the souls of the Just in Paradise is only a pledge of their

the Resurrection, by which we alone attain to immortal life, is everything for Theodore and his disciples (1). This is, perhaps, one of the principal reasons why the here-and-now effects of the sacraments are so overshadowed by the future hope that they signify, that they seem to pale into the insignificance of mere symbols (2), seeing that they are unable to free us from the necessity of one day dying. This, too, may be the reason why so little importance is attached to the original state of Adam, who could not have had true immortality since he actually did die.

Looked at from a purely negative view, immortality is nothing more than a preternatural gift. However, in the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia and his disciples, it is clear that the immortality that has been promised us by Christ's Resurrection is much more than merely never to die. Even though they may sometimes talk as though the Resurrection and eternal bliss were one and the same thing (3), yet Cyrus, at least, is well aware that some men will rise again to eternal torments (4). The Damned

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future beatitude, and their separation from the souls of sinners is a type of the future judgment intended to encourage angels and men in the practice of virtue.

(1) *CR* i, f. 77 v°:4-7: " ... the acceptable time of the transformation of the Resurrection has already come to dawn on creation, when bodies, together with souls, are going to receive the exemplar of immortality ..."; *CR* ii, f. 124 v°:1-17, summarized and cited above, p. 11, n. 1 and p, 12, n. 3; *CA* iv, f. 158 r°:6-7: " ... *the times of refreshment in the presence of the Lord* (Acts 3:19) have been made ready for us by means of the completion of the perfection of the Resurrection ... "; *CPt* v, ff. 165 v°: 14-166 r°:11, where Cyrus argues, concerning Christ, that everything " in regard to dignity and sonship, or authority, or anything else of what He possessed and held as Lord ... has been conferred on Him by the Resurrection, and not by His ascent into Heaven. "; *CPt* vi, f. 174 v°: 7-15, cited above, p. 33, n. 4; *TMHC* 167-71; STAAB 157:33-4. Cf. DE VRIES, *Der " Nestorianismus "*, pp. 106-9.

(2) Cf. *Der " Nestorianismus "*, pp. 116-20.

(3) *CF* ii, f. 80 r°:2-10, cited above, p. 363, n. 2; *CR* ii, f. 125 r°: 24-v°:2, cited above, p. 372, n. 1; *CR* iv, f. 127 v°:11-8, cited above, p. 363, n. 1; STAAB 119:34-5; *TMHC* 153; VOSTÉ 174-5; *ACO* I, v, 176:25-30.

(4) *CR* iii, f. 98 r°:25-v°:4: " For Our Lord's coming has made it clear to us in very deed that the entrance of the High Priest into that inner tabernacle was an indication that those upper regions were going to be attained by men, first of all by the one true High Priest, Jesus Christ, then, at the end, by all those men whose bad will does not withhold them

in Hell will likewise be immortal and immutable, but in a vastly different sense from the immortality and immutability of the Blessed in Heaven. Indeed, since God alone possesses this true immortality and immutability by essence and eternally, for

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from the good things that are to come ... "; *CPs* viii, f. 108 r°:12-5: ' Let us not, therefore, in our turn too, despise the commandments of Christ Our Lord, lest we be cast into Gehenna by the vehemence of His justice, and let us not doubt about the promises that are to come, lest we be deprived of the ascent (into) the dwelling-place of Heaven. "; *CR* xi, f. 139 r°:13-21: " Such, therefore, are these things of glory that the Just receive in the world that is to come. From this point on, however, let us likewise speak about the retribution of punishment that they are going to receive who have defrauded themselves of these blessings by reason of the licentiousness of their rebellious will. For as much as the gifts for the sake of good deeds are beyond comparison, so too the retributions on account of evil deeds are likewise without limit. For *where their worm dies not, and their fire is not quenched*, according to Our Lord's declaration (Mk. 9:44), who is capable of speaking about that severity of punishment that is prepared for such as these? ".

As regards Theodore, there are two series of texts, one that seems to exclude the ultimate salvation of the damned and one that clearly indicates that for at least some of the damned there will be an end of punishment. The first series is much the more numerous and is derived from works of undoubted genuineness: *TMPss* 6:14-5; 33:14-23; SWETE II, 45-6, 56; STAAB 209:24-6; *TMHC* 311; REUSS 114-5 § 56:1-5. The other series consists of an excerpt from the polemic work Theodore is said to have written against St. Jerome's teaching on Original Sin, *ACO* I, v, 176:25-33, and a reference to the same work made by Photius, HENRY II, 179, f. 122 b:5-6 (= *PG* 103, 516B:14-5), a citation from an unidentified work by Solomon of Basra, E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Book of the Bee* (= *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, vol. I, part 2), Oxford, 1886, p. 140, and the reports of Theodore Bar Koni, *TBK* I, 75:15-21, and the chronicle of George the Monk, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 9 (1900) 19:11-3. It is quite understandable that DEVREESSE, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 103, sees in this contradiction about the eternity of Hell an additional reason for rejecting the authenticity of the polemic against St. Jerome (cf. above, p. 22). However, it is more probable that this is a later work than any of those that seem to teach eternal punishments (cf. J.-M. VOSTÉ, *La chronologie de l'activité littéraire de Théodore de Mopsueste*, in *Revue Biblique* 34 [1925] 77-80), so that it may represent a development in Theodore's thought. Or he may have held that the pains of Hell, though of their nature unending, will, in the mercy of God, end in fact. As DE VRIES notes, *Das eschatologische Heil*, p. 337, this would correspond better to his teaching of the reestablishment of the universe. Cf. MANSI IX, 222 (cap. 59).

creatures to possess it by grace is to participate in the divine nature, that is, to participate in an attribute that is strictly divine (1).

Thus, from the point of view of Theodore and Cyrus, immortality and immutability are strictly supernatural gifts. Doubtlessly, these are not the divine attributes that Catholic theology singles out in its analysis of our participation of the divine nature. Doubtlessly, too, the explicit analysis that Theodore and his disciples make of these two attributes is not particularly profound. Nonetheless, at least the concept of a supernatural participation of the divine nature as the fruit of Christ's Redemption is present in their theology. If the emphasis were put rather on the divineness of the life that is participated than on its immortal quality, if there were a more explicit awareness that this immortal life is primarily of the soul, that it is already participated in this life by the grace of the Spirit, that it flowers after death in the Beatific Vision and that the body comes to share in it afterwards in the Resurrection, then there would be substantial agreement with a fully developed Catholic theology.

Similarly, though the Beatific Vision seems to be entirely lacking in the theology of the school of Theodore of Mopsuestia, yet Cyrus, at least, has the adumbration of premises that could lead to the filling up of that doctrinal lacuna. Thus, according to him, Christ has come, not only to promise us immortality, both by His words and by the type of His own Death and Resurrection, but likewise to hand on to us the perfect teaching of the

(1) *CR* ii, f. 125 r°:11-5: " Today (Christ) has attained perfection in all things, as was fitting for Him to become who is the Son of God, and what belongs to God essentially and eternally, immortality, I say, and immutability and the rest, today He has received by grace. "; *CR* xi, f. 139 r°:2-9: " For (God) has been pleased to confer on us without grudging, out of the abundance of His lovingkindness, the things that belong to Him essentially and eternally, to give us in exchange the dwelling-place of Heaven for an earthly manner of life, to provide us with divine knowledge instead of human knowledge, to give us fellowship with angels and archangels instead of association with mortals, and, in brief, to assign to us as our right the sonship of God and (that we become) *coheirs of Jesus Christ* (Rom. 8:17), instead of a sonship and inheritance subjected under (the liability to) changes. " Perhaps this is what Theodore refers to, *TMHC* 555, where he speaks of our obtaining from Christ " communion with the divine nature ".

Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit [1], which, until His coming, had not been revealed to men or angels, but had only been hinted at [2]. Now just as the hope of immortality that

[1] *CA* iv, ff. 156 v°:22-157 r°:5: " Accordingly, God Our Lord, who is fully cognizant of everything before it comes to be, and *everything is naked and revealed before His eyes* (Heb. 4:13), and *who takes no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but that he repent of his iniquity and live* (Ez. 33:11), postponed this teaching about the Persons of the Trinity until the time of perfection, and what was unknown of old and was not revealed to the hearing of men (Eph. 3:5) — for *by the Church, the manifold wisdom of God has been made known to the principalities and powers that are in Heaven* (Eph. 3:10) — Christ Our Lord, for the first time, at the moment that was fitting, handed on to His holy Disciples and sent them out to make disciples of the whole world ".

[2] *CA* iv, f. 157 v°:8-19: " ... so that when the time of perfection should have arrived, and human knowledge should have progressed to full stature, and this teaching should have been handed on at the time that was fitting — ' *Go, make disciples of all peoples* ' (Mt. 28:19) — it would not be thought that Christ Our Redeemer was handing on to His Disciples an alien teaching, apart from the divine will. Rather, because this tradition had been fully depicted as in a sort of image by many things in the former testament, whether by ' *Let us make man in our image and in our likeness* ' (Gen. 1:26), or by ' *Come, let us go down and divide there (their) tongues* ' (Gen. 11:7), or by ' *Holy, holy, holy, mighty Lord* ' (Is. 6:3), with the rest, it would be brilliantly clear that it was not something new that Christ Our Saviour was teaching to His Disciples, but only that which had been depicted as in type in the Old Testament... "; Sachau 13-4. Note that Sachau's translation is misleading, because he has not given it the proper punctuation and has conjectured a negative that probably did not exist in the original text. I would translate the passage in question, text pp. 21:3-22:2, as follows:

" Finally, however, when He was about to ascend into Heaven, He handed these (teachings) on to them, so that they might know and teach (them) to all men, indeed, I confidently say, likewise to the rational and invisible natures. Formerly, they possessed the knowledge of this in parable, by means of that saying that was said by God (Gen. 1:26); exact instruction, however, only then came to them when Christ Our Lord handed it on to the Apostles. For if what is said by Blessed Paul is true, that *there has now been made known to the principalities and powers that are in Heaven by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, that He had prepared from ages (past) and has wrought in Christ Jesus Our Lord* (Eph. 3:10-1), how is it not the part of great stupidity that we should say that the wisdom of God, which has been revealed for the consistence (ܩܘܝܡܐ) of the Church by the tradition (ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ) of Christ Our Lord, was not now revealed to the invisible natures, but should say that, that exact instruction on the divine nature, which is acknowledged in the Father

we now enjoy on earth is to be crowned in the next world after the Resurrection, so the imperfect knowledge we now have of the divine Trinity should be crowned. Indeed, Cyrus speaks of our knowledge being transformed in Heaven from human to divine (1), which transformation should be with respect to the present knowledge we now have by faith through Christ's revelation and hence should refer more to the mode of our knowing than to its obicct.

What the thinkers of the School of Nisibis seem to have had in mind, judging by Thomas of Edessa (2), was that we would enjoy in the next world the contemplation of the glorified humanity of Christ, in whom, as in a living image, we would see the invisible God. Thus, the glorification of the humanity would manifest, in a visible manner, the indwelling divinity, and this would manifest indirectly the Trinity of the divine Persons. However, such a manner of knowing the Trinity would seem to be superior to what the disciples of Christ enjoycd more in degree than in kind. It would not be the divine manner of knowing the Persons themselves, which would alone seem to crown suitably what we are already able to enjoy in this life by faith.

Thus, though a Catholic theology of grace and of the Beatific Vision is absent from the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Cyrus of Edessa, I do not think it is absolutely incompatible with their theological synthesis. As for the reason that de Vries assigns for these dcficiencies, Theodore's defective Christology, that proposes a mediator incapable of mediating strictly supernatural gifts, I would object that Theodore's doctrine of the two worlds of mortality and immortality, with his consequent emphasis on the Resurrection by which we pass from the one to

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and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit, in which the consistence of the Church has been wrought according to the tradition of Our Lord, was known of old to them. For it is evident that, since the ecclesiastical consistence has been wrought by means of this tradition, the exactitude of the tradition only then (became) known (to them) when the consistence of the Church (was) likewise wrought, and they received exact knowledge of the wisdom of God by means of the things that were done in our regard ".

(1) *CR* xi, f. 139 r°:5-6: " ... to provide us with divine knowledge instead of human knowledge ... ".

(2) *TEN* 39. Cf. also Swete I, 261-2.

the other, stands at the very heart of his own, personal, theological synthesis, whereas he received both the *problématique* and basic elements of his Christology from his master Diodore of Tarsus (1). From a purely logical point of view, furthermore, it seems just as probable that the influence was the other way around, that the messianic goods that he proposed were not of such a nature that they required a true incarnation. I would rather suggest, however, that there may have been a common root for both deficiencies, either a rationalizing temperament that was inclined to minimize and explain away whatever mysteries had not yet been defined by the Church (2), or, perhaps rather, a falsely exaggerated sense of the divine transcendence that led Theodore, on the one hand, resolutely to reject any predication of passions of God the Word (3), and made it extremely difficult *a priori*, on the other hand, to conceive as possible a participation by creatures of the divine nature greater than simple immortality (4).

W. F. Macomber, S. J.

(1) Cf. F. A. Sullivan, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (= *Analecta Gregoriana*, vol. 82), Rome, 1956, pp. 181-201.

(2) Cf. de Vries, *Der "Nestorianismus"*, pp. 92, 107-9, 111, 114, 146.

(3) Cf. Swete I, 218-9; *TMHC* 135-9; Vosté 80-4; Sachau 45-8.

(4) Cf. Swete I, 259-60, 261-2; *TMHC* 83. According to W. Elert, *Der Ausgang der altkirchlichen Theologie*, Berlin, 1957, p. 52, the axiom *finitum non capax infiniti* is the tacit, sometimes expressed, premise of the Antiochene (Nestorian) Christology.

Les Querini, comtes d'Astypalée
1413-1537

Marco Barbaro, le fondateur de la généalogie vénitienne, a dressé avec sa prudence et son honnêteté habituelles l'arbre généalogique des Querini da Santa Maria Formosa, appelés Querini-Stampalia d'après l'île d'Astypalée, dont ils furent seigneurs de 1413 à 1537, non depuis 1310, voire depuis 1207, comme on écrit couramment. Dans le manuscrit original de Barbaro, cod. Vindobonen. Lat. 6156 (olim Foscarini) l'article Querini occupe les folios 348-359. Il comprend, outre la notice habituelle sur la famille (f. 348-348^{v}), les généalogies de sept branches du clan. Les quatres premières, dont les généalogies occupent les folios 349-353, étaient vénitiennes de Venise, les trois dernières vivaient en Crète. La première branche vénitienne (f. 349-349^{v}) était surnommée la *Cà Grande*, ou *Cà Mazor*, ou *Cà Mata*. Ses armoiries — écartelé d'argent et de gueules — figurent au f. 349. Barbaro réunit les trois autres sous le dénominateur commun *Querini de li zii*, d'après leurs armoiries, figurées au f. 350. Nous y reviendrons plus loin. La dernière, celle de Santa Maria Formosa au sestier de Castello, fait l'objet de cette note. Sa généalogie occupe les folios 352^{v}-353. Au f. 352^{v}, à droite en haut, figure une notice sur les armoiries, que nous imprimons en tête. Au bas du même folio une autre notice se rapporte à l'un des personnages de l'arbre généalogique, qu'il faudra identifier, car aucun signe de renvoi permet de le distinguer de ses homonymes. Nous l'imprimons à la suite de l'arbre généalogique. Nous reproduisons le contenu de celui-ci d'après le manuscrit, ajoutant seulement des numéros d'ordre aux noms des personnages, et modifiant la disposition, qui est horizontale dans le manuscrit [1].

[1] Abréviations: Scr. = Scritto (nel Consiglio dei Quaranta per esser del Gran Consiglio). Pr. = Provado (del Gran Consiglio). K = cavallier. Pour l'abréviation *Scr.* v. *Or. Christ. Per.* 28 (1962) 135 n. 1; pour la date « dec. 4 », *Ibidem* n. 2.

Querini

de li zii

Alcuni hano scritto di questa arma da li zii, così la uolseno non potendo tenire la prima perchè sua madre era de li Moresini de la tressa, ma che li aggionseno li tre gigli. Questo non può essere, perchè questi Querini erano diuisi in tre colonelli già più di anni quaranta inanci la congiura. Altri hano detto che un rè di Francia li donò essi gigli. Questo può essere. Ma se fu uero, haueuano questa arma quaranta anni e più inanci il diuieto dell'arma a quartieri.

(*arbre généalogique à la page 387*)

Zuanne Querini, bandito da Venezia, andò a Rhodi ad habitare. doue comprò la isola di Stampalia da uno la dominaua et si nominò conte di quella. et si sottomise ancho la isola di Morgo, dominata dal populo, et per poterla mantenire tolse moglie da quella isola, con la quale hebbe uno figlio. il quale morì et li rimase Francesco, della prima moglie. rimaseno suoi discendenti in signoria fino al 1537, nel qual' anno Keraidin, detto Barbarossa, capitano dell'armata di Soliman, imperatore dei Turchi, redusse alla obedientia del suo signore tutte le nostre isolette di Arcipelago eccetto Tine.

La note sur les armoiries des Querini, qui précède la généalogie, et celle sur Zuanne Querini, premier comte d'Astypalée, qui la suit ont donné naissance à des erreurs graves et tenaces avec lesquelles il est temps d'en finir. Voyons d'abord ce qu'elles disent au juste, ensuite ce qu'on leur a fait dire, et finalement, ce qu'elles valent. Nous commençons par la seconde, qui est fondamentale pour notre sujet. On en peut résumer le contenu en six points: 1° Giovanni Querini, à un moment non précisé de sa vie, fut banni de Venise et s'en alla habiter Rhodes. — 2° Il acheta l'île d'Astypalée et prit le titre de comte de cette île. — 3° Il se soumit l'île d'Amorgos. — 4° Il épousa en secondes noces une femme d'Amorgos. — 5° Il en eut un fils, qui mourut avant lui. — 6° Francesco, fils qu'il eut de son premier mariage, et ses descendants, lui succédèrent dans la seigneurie des îles.

A quel personnage de la généalogie se rapportent ces données précieuses? Malgré l'absence d'un signe de renvoi la réponse n'est pas douteuse: Zuanne ou Giovanni Querini, premier comte d'Astypalée et seigneur d'Amorgos, est Zanachi, fils d'Agostino Querini et de Chiara Giustinian, le n° 8 de l'arbre généalogique ([1]). En

([1]) Pour le nom de l'épouse d'Agostino Querini (Chiara Giustinian) et pour le nom de famille de la première épouse de Zanachi (Isabetta

(*1*) Zuanne

S. Maria Formosa
(*2*) *1296* Nicolò
eletto del Gran Conseio

1324 Scr.
(*3*) Zuanne

S. Maria Formosa
(*4*) Fantin
1350

1363. dec. 4
(*5*) Nicolò

1363. dec. 4
(*6*) Agostin

1368
(*7*) Zuanne

S. Maria Formosa
1394
(*8*) Zanachi
∞
Isabetta

1423 Pr.
(*9*) Fantin K.
de Gierusalem

1423 Pr.
(*10*) Francesco
∞
Cristina Pesaro

1424 Pr.
(*11*) Nicolò

1486 Scr.
(*12*) Zorzi

1453
(*13*) Nicolò

1487
(*14*) Fantin

1484
(*15*) Zuanne

1474
(*16*) Agostin

1530
(*17*) Agostin

1528
(*18*) Piero

1524
(*19*) Fantin

1523
(*20*) Francesco

(*21*) Nicolò

effet, ni Zuanne nº 1, ancêtre de la lignée, ni le nº 2, arrière-grand-père de Zanachi, ni le nº 7, son oncle, n'eurent un fils du nom de Francesco, et Zuanne nº 15, père de Francesco nº 20, est trop récent, car une inscription du 30 mars 1413, une délibération du sénat de Venise du 18 mai de la même année et un passage du *Liber insularum Archipelagi* de Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1420) prouvent clairement que les Querini étaient maîtres d'Astypalée dès cette date. Malgré la différence du prénom, plus apparente que réelle, car Zanachi (*Γιαννάκης*) est un diminutif grec pour Giovanni, le Zuanne Querini de la note et le Zanachi Querini de la généalogie sont un seul et même personnage, qui vécut à la fin du XIVe et dans la première moitié du XVe siècle. A la fin du XVIIe siècle Stefano Magno s'en était rendu compte, car il inséra dans ses *Annali*, sous l'année 1443, une notice où l'on reconnaît la note de Barbaro, enrichie de données empruntées à d'autres sources. parfois reconnaissables [1]. Nous l'imprimons en soulignant les éléments qui ne proviennent *pas* de Barbaro:

In questo anno 1443 vel circa fù uno Zuanne Querini, *si disse fò capitanio dell'armada in Pò*, il quale era bandizado da Venezia. andò a Rodi et comprò da quelli signori dominavano nello Arcipelago la isola de Astampalia, *che era immunida*, et in quella andò ad habitar et intitolossi conte, *et in quella refè vel di nuovo fè uno castello vel fortezza*, della quale fattosi signor andò all'isola di Amorgo vel Morgo, dominada per quel populo, et quella sottomesse. et per poder in quella dominare sposò una di quella isola, *delle principal.* della quale ebbe uno fiolo, *detto Zorzi quondam...*

Nota: nel 1384 vive Jacomo Grimani, signor de Stampalia et metà de Amergo [2].

Badoer) v. ci-dessous, Regestes, 1411.II.27. On trouvera dans ces Regestes, à la date correspondante, la preuve de nos assertions, quand elles ne sont pas données en note.

[1] Cristoforo Buondelmonti, qui parle de châteaux en ruine, a pu suggérer l'idée que Giovanni Querini restaura un de ces châteaux. Magno lui-même nous a conservé le document qui mentionne Giacomo Grimani seigneur d'Astypalée; v. notre Regeste 3. Le commandement des galères du Po n'a rien d'invraisemblable en soi, et s'il n'est pas encore connu par ailleurs c'est peut-être simplement parce qu'on n'a pas cherché à la bonne date.

[2] Ch. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin 1873, 194-195, d'après Stefano Magno, *Annali*, t. IV = cod. Vindobonen. (olim Foscarini) 6215. — N.B. Magno dit que Giovanni Querini *vivait* vers 1443 (ce qui est vrai) non qu'il se remaria à cette époque

Le sens de la note sur Zuanne Querini, l'identité du personnage qu'elle concerne et l'époque où celui-ci vécut étant bien établies nous pouvons passer à celle sur les armoiries. Pour la bien comprendre il faut se rappeler que les chefs de la Cà Grande, dont l'écu était écartelé d'argent et de gueules, et beaucoup de ses membres se compromirent en 1310 dans la conjuration de Baiamonte Tiepolo; en conséquence de quoi le Grand Conseil, par décret de décembre 1310, prohiba l'usage des dites armoiries et en ordonna la destruction dans tout le territoire de la république (1). Les trois autres branches du clan avaient en commun l'écu d'or à la fasce d'azur chargée de troi lys d'or. C'est pourquoi Barbaro les groupe sous le dénominateur commun « Querini de li zii » = « Querini aux fleurs de lys » (*zio* = *giglio* en vénitien). La note sur ces armoiries, bien qu'elle figure sur la page où commence la généalogie des Querini de Santa Maria Formosa, regarde donc pareillement les deux autres branches qui en faisaient usage, à savoir les descendants de Giacomo de Zan Zulian (f. 350-351) et (f. 351v-352) ceux de Gabriel du sestier de Castello, dont les fils habitaient dans les paroisses de Santa Marina et de Santa Giustina (2). Passons au contenu de la note. Barbaro y rejette et déclare inacceptable une certaine théorie sur l'origine des armes aux fleurs de lys et il en déclare acceptable

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comme lui fait dire K. Hopf, *Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten* (dans la suite: *Ven.-Byz. An.*) = Sitzungsberichte der k. Akad. der Wissensch., Phil.-Hist. Cl., Wien, 32 (1860) 365-528; v. p. 472-473.

(1) Barbaro, f. 349v. Publié, V. Lazzarini, *Le insegne antiche dei Quirini e dei Tiepolo* in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 9 (1895) 229 Doc. II, réimprimé dans V. Lazzarini, *Scritti paleografici e diplomatici*, Venezia 1938, 249 Doc. II, d'après un *Capitolare dei signori di notte* du XIVe siècle, cod. Cicogna 2560 de la Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr à Venise. M. R. Morozzo della Rocca, auquel je dois la connaissance de cette publication, m'apprend aussi que le décret ne se trouve pas dans le registre *Presbiter* de l'Archivio di Stato de Venise, qui contient les délibérations du Maggior Consiglio pour cette époque.

(2) Gabriele de Castello et Giovanni, ancêtre des Querini de Santa Maria Formosa (notre no 1), étaient probablement frères, fils de Nicola de Santa Maria Formosa, qui fit son testament le 3 novembre 1258, où il mentionne ses fils *Gabriele*, Pietro, *Giovanni*, Marco, Romeo (moine) et son frère Leonardo; Procuratori di San Marco de citra, Miscellanea testamenti, IX 762; v. aussi *Or.Christ.Per.* 25 (1959) 179 n. 2.

une autre, mais en y mettant une condition et sans d'ailleurs la faire sienne [1].

Les tenants de l'opinion que Barbaro rejette dataient de 1310 les armoiries aux fleurs de lys. Selon eux un Querini, dont ils ne disent pas le prénom, pas plus que celui de son père, aurait, après l'interdiction du blason écartelé (*arma a quartieri*) adopté celui de sa mère, une Morosini de la branche qui portait d'or à la fasce (*tressa*) d'azur et il aurait ajouté comme signe distinctif les trois lys d'or. D'après Barbaro cette spéculation héraldique était contraire aux faits, parce que les armes en question étaient en usage dans la famille Querini une quarantaine d'années avant la conspiration de 1310. Nous pouvons le croire sur parole, mais ce point n'a pas d'importance pour notre sujet. Ce qui en a, et beaucoup, c'est de constater et de bien retenir que ni Barbaro, ni apparemment les héraldistes qu'il critique, ne précisaient l'identitité du Querini hypothétique qui aurait épousé une Morosini non moins hypothétique. Cela n'empêcha pas ses successeurs de donner une Morosini comme épouse à Nicolò Querini de Santa Maria Formosa (n° 2 de la généalogie) sans autre fondement que la note de Barbaro. Pis encore; se fondant sur la même note ils donnèrent une Morosini comme épouse à Zanachi Querini (n° 8). L'auteur, ou du moins le propagateur le plus influent de ces confusions fut Giacomo Zabarella, chez qui les notices sur les numéros 3, 4, 6 et 8 de notre généalogie se présentent ainsi:

(3)

1324. Giouanni, fratello delli detti, era di Conseglio del 1396 (*sic* pour 1306!). non volse esser nella congiura, & però essendosi tirato non operò cosa alcuna. tuttauia fù bandito, & andò a Rodi con molti danari seco. però comprò Stampalia, isola nobile dell'Arcipelago, detta già Astipalia, & è di giro cioè circuito miglia 180. la quale fù altre volte da suoi maggiori acquistata & perduta; generò Marco e Francesco (*sic* pour Fantino!).

[1] D'après les tenants de cette opinion un roi de France aurait concédé à un Querini le privilège d'arborer les fleurs de lys. Barbaro concède seulement la possibilité théorique de cette opinion, à condition que le privilège soit antérieur d'une quarantaine d'années à la conjuration Tiepolo-Querini.

(4)

Fantin adunque, figliuolo di Giouanni, staua nella sua nobil casa a Santa Maria Formosa, et per la madre di Casa Morosini dal trauerso azurro in campo d'oro si haueua appropriato quell'arma con l'aggionta delli tre gigli d'oro in esso trauerso azurro, donatali dal rè di Francia, al qual fu ambasciator per la sua republica. fù signor di Stampalia et altri lochi. fiorì del 1315 e generò Agostino, Giouanni e Nicolò.

(6)

Agostino fù signore di Stampalia, ma dalli Greci fù pri[82]uato con fraude maluaggia. fù nella patria grande e conspicuo e generò Giouanni.

(8)

Giouanni, detto Zuanne e Zanachi, fù huomo di gran valore e fece molte grandi imprese, ma particolarmente ricuperò Stampalia et se ne intitolò conte. questa isola è in boccha dell'Arcipelago. si chiamaua già Astipalia et gira miglia 80. acquistò anco Santorini et l'isola del Morgo poco lontana, detta già Amorgus, quale era gouernata da suoi habitatori. e per potersela mantenere sposò (essendo vedouo) vna signora principale di quel paese et ne hebbe vn figliuolo, che morì putto, si che li successe Francesco, natoli della prima moglie, figliuola di Battista Morosini (1).

Zabarella, comme on le voit, fond en un seul personnage Nicolò Querini de la Cà Grande et son homonyme, l'ancêtre des Querini-Stampalia (2). Ensuite il applique à Giovanni Querini n° 3 les données de la note de Barbaro sur Zuanne Querini n° 8. Celà ne l'empêche pas (et ceci est un comble) de l'appliquer pareillement à celui qu'elle regarde vraiment! Pour couronner ce bel édifice il donne une Morosini pour épouse aussi bien au premier qu'au second, identifiant tour à tour l'arrière-grand-père et l'arrière-petit-fils avec le Querini indéterminé et probablement imaginaire

(1) G. Zabarella, *Il Galba, ovvero Historia della sereniss. Fameglia Quirina*, Padova 1671, 70 et 81-82.

(2) Comme j'ai écrit dans *Or. Christ. Per.* 25 (1959) 178-179. K. Hopf non seulement ne corrigea pas l'erreur de Zabarella, mais il l'aggrava. En effet il identifia le deux Nicolò Querini fondus en un par Zabarella avec un troisième, Nicolò Querini Durante, fils de Marco, petit-fils de Romeo, arrière-petit-fils de Giacomo de San Zulian: K. Hopf, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 462-463.

dont parle Barbaro dans la note sur les armoiries. Ces divagations, dont la non-valeur saute aux yeux, passèrent dans les manuscrits des copistes-continuateurs de Barbaro et dans le *Campidoglio Veneto* de Girolamo-Alessandro Capellari-Vivaro (1). Leurs élucubrations sont la source de la prétendue histoire des Querini d'Astypalée de 1310 à 1412, échafaudée par Karl Hopf et répétée inlassablement sur la foi de cet érudit. L'aurait-on cru sur parole, comme on a fait, s'il avait renvoyé à Zabarella, comme source première de ses affirmations si catégoriques?

* * *

Que valent les deux notes de Barbaro, débarrassées des additions et des interprétations arbitraires et erronées de ses épigones? Elles contiennent un fonds de vérité, mais elles ne sont pas exemptes d'erreurs. Pour permettre au lecteur de faire lui-même le partage et de juger sans parti pris les affirmations de Hopf, nous présentons en ordre chronologique, sous forme de regestes commentés, les principaux faits et documents intéressant l'île d'Astypalée et la personne de son premier comte, durant l'époque qui nous intéresse.

Regestes

1330.II.11, Candie. [1

Angelo Schiavo, *habitator Stampalie*, par devant me Giovanni Gerardo, notaire à Candie, déclare qu'il a reçu de Giovanni Siliolo de Candie, 15 hyperpères pour commercer pendant 4 mois (aux conditions ordinaires d'un contrat de *colleganza*).

Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Notai di Candia, busta 100, Giovanni Gerardo.

K. Hopf, *Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten*, = Sitzungsberichte der k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Phil.-Hist. Cl., Wien, 32 (1860) 365-528, p. 503 (réédition avec pagination spéciale, Amsterdam 1964, 139) fait d'Angelo Schiavo un seigneur (*dominator*) d'Astypalée et un fils du corsaire Menego Schiavo (2)!

(1) Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. Marcian. It. VII 17 (coll. 8306), f. 258v-260.

(2) Sur Menego (Domenico) Schiavo, corsaire et temporairement (1296-1303?) seigneur d'Ios (Nio, Nia) voici les sources à consulter: 1° Continuation d'Andrea Dandolo, L. A. Muratori, *RR. Itt. SS.*, XII, Milan 1728,405 E-406 A et 408 D-409 A. Cette continuation est tirée de la chronique anonyme de 1360, cod. Marcian. Lat. X 36 A, cf. cxviv-cxvii et cxviiiv-cxix. — 2° Chronique anonyme (ps.-Pietro-Dolfin), cod. Marcian.

1334-1348 [2

Umur-pacha (*Morbassanus*), émir d'Aydin, pille et dépeuple Astypalée.

CHR. BONDELMONTIUS, *Liber insularum Archipelagi*, cap. 18; ed. L. de Sinner, Leipzig 1824, 78.

Premier fait connu de l'histoire d'Astypalée après 1204! Pour le règne d'Umur-pacha v. P. LEMERLE, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident*, Paris 1957.

1384(1385?).II.2, Andros. [3

Francesco Ier Crispo, duc de l'Archipel, et Fiorenza (Sanudo), son épouse, donnent l'île d'Andros en fief à Pietro Zeno de Venise, qui a promis, le 29 janvier précédent, d'obéir à leur fils Giacomo Crispo.

Présents entre autres Januli da Corogna, seigneur de Sifanto (Siphnos) et Giacomo Grimani, seigneur d'Astypalée et de la moitié d'Amorgos.

CH. HOPF, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin 1873, 184 d'après STEFANO MAGNO, *Annali*, t. IV = Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo civico Correr, cod. Cicogna 367.

N.B. Cet acte est le *seul* document attestant la seigneurie d'un Grimani sur Astypalée et Amorgos.

1388.III.11, Venise. [4

Le sénat condamne ser Giacomo Grimani de Crète, fermier de certains biens du patriarcat (latin) de Constantinople, qui a falsifié des bulles de Paul Paléologue (Tagaris), patriarche (latin) de Constantinople et d'Antoine (Ballester) archevêque d'Athènes et vicaire d'Urbain VI dans le même patriarcat (1), pour faire croire qu'il avait payé le fermage des années 1383-1384 et 1385-1387.

It. 559 (coll. 7888), f. 66 et 68. — 3° Chronique d'Enrico Dandolo, cod. Vindobonen. Lat. 6580, f. 43v et 45; cod. Marcian. It. 102 (coll. 8142), f. 61 et 63-63v. — 4° Venezia, Arch. St., Senato, Misti 1, f. 19v-20, olim 121v-122 (1301.IV.11). C'est le volume cité par Hopf (*Ven.-Byz. An.*, 503 n. 1 et ailleurs) sous le titre « Registro Quarantia e Dieci, t. II »; ed. R. CESSI-P. SAMBIN, *Le deliberazioni del consiglio dei Rogati*, I, Venezia 1960, 26 n° 25; regeste: G. GIOMO, *I « Misti » del senato della republica Veneta*, Venezia 1887, 277 n° 49. — 5° Ibidem, Minor Consiglio 1308-1310, f. 62 (1309.XI.29); regeste: G. GIOMO, *Lettere di collegio, rectius Minor consiglio*, Venezia 1910, 344, n° 416.

(1) Sur Paul Paléologue Tagaris, faux patriarche mais vrai Paléologue par sa mère, je compte publier prochainement un travail spécial. Voir en attendant G. SARACINI, *Notitie historiche della città d'Ancona*, Roma

Venezia, Arch. St., Avogaria di Comun, Raspe 4, f. 113-113^{v}. Édition (incomplète) dans Revue des Études Byzantines, 20 (1962) 206-208. Utilisé à contre-sens dans K. HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 455-456.

N.B. Hopf identifie ce Giacomo Grimani avec le seigneur d'Astypalée de 1384, ce qui est possible, mais nullement certain. Marco Barbaro, dans la généalogie des Grimani de San Samuel (cod. Vindobonen. Lat. 6155, f. 192^{v}) mentionne Giacomo, fils de Marco, petit-fils de Raffaeletto de San Samuel avec la légende « 1348.dec.4 S. Simeon » et il ajoute « 1389 di Candia ». L'identification du Giacomo de 1348 avec celui de 1389 n'est pas contrôlable. Hopf, *loc. cit.*, identifie sans preuve aucune l'un et l'autre avec le seigneur d'Astypalée de 1384 et le condamné pour faux de 1388.

1405.IX.21, Venise. [5

Le sénat charge Zanachi Querini, patron d'une galère qui porte des pélerins (en Terre-Sainte) de répondre oralement et par la négative au grand-maître des Hospitaliers de Rhodes (Philibert de Naillac 1396-1421) qui a proposé par écrit de construire un château-fort dans l'île de Tenedos.

Venezia, Arch. St., Senato, Secreta 2, f. 151^{v}. Ed. C. N. SATHAS, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen-âge,* I, Paris 1880, 11-12 n° 11. Regeste: Fr. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie,* II, Paris-La Haye 1959, 54 n° 1194. Sathas imprime *Grino* au lieu de *Quirino.*

Cette mission à Rhodes semble avoir donné lieu à l'affirmation que Zanachi fut exilé dans cette île.

1411.II.27, Rialto. [6

Isabetta (née Badoer), épouse de Zanachi Querini, fait son testament. Fils: Francesco et Nicolò. Filles: Querina, Andrea, Bianca.

Venezia, Arch. St., Procuratori Misti 163^{a}. Une sentence du 16 mai, relative à la succession d'Isabetta (décédée à Naxos en 1419) fait voir qu'elle était fille de Nicolò Badoer. Son époux Zanachi Querini était fils d'Agostino Querini et de Chiara, fille de Donato Giustinian [1].

1675, 233-235; *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. M. L. BELLAGUET, I, Paris 1839, 636-642; FR. MIKLOSICH-JOS. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, II, Vindobonae 1862, 224-230 n° 476. — Sur Antoine Ballester O.F.M. archevêque d'Athènes et temporairement vicaire d'Urbain VI dans le patriarcat de Constantinople v. les données que j'ai réunies dans *Athènes et Néopatras II. Regestes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des duchés catalans = Archivum FF. Praedicatorum*, 28 (1958) index, s.v. Antoine.

(1) Je dois la connaissance de ces documents à M.elle Bianca Strina de l'Archivio di Stato de Venise. — L'absence de Zorzi (n° 12 de notre généalogie) dans la liste des enfants s'explique sans doute par le fait qu'il était fils de la seconde épouse de Zanachi.

Sur quoi donc se fonde K. HOPF, *Ven. -Byz. An.*, 472-473, quand il affirme qu'Isabetta était la seconde épouse de Zanachi, et qu'elle était fille d'Orio Magno et de Simona, veuve de Pietro Sanudo, seigneur de Gridia?

1411.VIII.22, Venise. [7

Le sénat autorise Giovanni Querini, qui est sur le point de partir comme recteur à Tinos et Mykonos, d'embarquer sur la galère dont il était jadis patron, certaines marchandises pour une valeur d'environ 5000 ducats.

Senato, Misti 49, f. 49; copie f. 152v. Cité, HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 470 n. 1.

1413.III.30, Astypalée. [8

Les premiers colons, appelés par Giovanni Querini, *comes Astineas* (*'Αστυνέα* = Ville-neuve) pour repeupler l'île, déserte depuis l'invasion d'Umur-pacha, arrivent à Astypalée (*'Αστυπάλαια* = Ville-vieille).

Inscription commémorative, accompagnée de deux écus blasonnés, dans l'église du château des Querini à Astypalée.

J. A. BUCHON, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée*, Paris 1843, Atlas, planche XLII n° 2. Photographies: *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 32, Rome 1936, 474 et *Μεγαλη Ελληνικη Εγκυκλοπαιδεια* 5, Athènes s.d., 954.

Le jeu de mot *'Αστυπάλαια-'Αστυνέα* est un programme et peint un caractère. Le titre comtal que Giovanni Querini s'adjugea, semble-t-il, de sa propre autorité, se réfère sans nul doute à Astypalée (1). L'un des deux blasons est celui des Querini *dei gigli*, l'autre, de sable (?) à 9 besants (ou boules?) d'argent (?) probablement celui de sa seconde épouse. Ce n'est pas celui des Magno, qui portaient 1° de sinople à la bande d'argent ou bien 2° coupé: au premier de sinople à la bande d'argent au second de gueules plein. Contre HOPF, *Ven. Byz. An.*, 472-473.

1413.V.18, Venise. [9

Le sénat décide que Zanachi Querini, recteur de Tinos et Mykonos, lequel s'est installé à Astypalée, qu'on dit être sienne (*que fertur esse sua*) doit venir résider dans les îles qu'il gouverne et doit y ramener les habitants qu'il a persuadés d'émigrer dans son île d'Astypalée.

Senato, Misti 49, f. 180v, copie, f. 563v-564v. Ed. SATHAS, *Documents*, III (1882) 4-5 n° 552. THIRIET, *Régestes*, II, 113 n° 1483. Cité, HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 470 n. 4.

(1) Hopf, *Ven. Byz. An.*, 471 n. 3, dérive le titre *comes Astineas* de l'île de Tinos (*εἰς Τῆνον*). Mais les recteurs vénitiens de Tinos et Mykonos n'ont jamais porté le titre de comte!

Les mots *que fertur esse sua* semblent indiquer que l'acquisition était récente, et qu'on la connaissait seulement par oui-dire.

1420. [10

Cristoforo Buondelmonti dédie au cardinal Giordano Orsini le *Liber insularum Archipelagi* qu'il vient d'achever.

On y lit au chapitre 18: « Tempore ergo Morbasani Turci, perventa magna classe, istas insulas in totum delevere piratae. Solus ille nobilis Venetus Iohannes Quirinus suis viribus eam incepit, tempore concilii Constantiae restaurare »; ed. G.R.L. de Sinner, Lipsiae-Berolini 1824, 78.

1446.VII.11, Venise. [11

Le sénat autorise la Seigneurie à vendre à Giovanni Querini, fils de feu Agostino et comte d'Astypalée, le quart d'Amorgos qui appartient à la république, parce que Querini négocie avec les propriétaires des trois autres quarts de l'île en vue d'acheter leurs parts, et qu'il ne veut pas les acquérir s'il ne peut pas acquérir aussi celle qui appartient à la république.

Senato, Mar 2, f. 159^v alias 161^v. Ci-après, Document II. Utilisé à contre-sens, HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 473.

Hopf affirme que Giovanni Querini devint seigneur d'un quart d'Amorgos par son second mariage avec Isabetta Magno, fille-héritière d'Orio Magno et de Simona, veuve de Pietro Sanudo, seigneur de Gridia et d'un quart d'Amorgos. Mais notre document contredit cette théorie, car il dit clairement que Giovanni Querini dut *acheter* l'île entière!

1446.VIII.4, Venise. [12

Francesco Foscari, doge, avec le consentement des conseils de la république, vend à Giovanni Querini, comte d'Astypalée, le quart de l'île d'Amorgos.

Venezia, Arch. St., Commemoriali, 13, f. 189^v = [R. PREDELLI], *I libri commemoriali della republica di Venezia*, t. IV, Venise 1896, 299 nº 296. Ed. HOPF, *Ven.-Byz. An.*, 524 nº viii.

Documents

I

Venezia, Arch. St., Notai di Candia, Giovanni Gerardo (*Busta 100*) (1)

1330.II.,11, Candie

Eodem die [11 mensis Februarii a. 1329 m.V.]. Manifestum facio ego Angelus Sclauo, habitator Stampalie, quod recepi cum meis heredibus a te Ioanne Siliolo, habitatore Candide et tuis heredibus

(1) Transcrit par M.elle M.-Fr. Tiepolo.

hyperpera in Creta currentia quindecim, cum quibus et eorum prode negociari debeo per terram et per aquam, portando, mandando, laxando et recipiendo totum uel partem de ipso habere, sicut mihi bonum uidebitur, amodo usque ad menses quattuor prius uenturos. et tunc uel antea totum suprascriptum habere uel eius reliquum ducere uel mittere debeam huc in Candidam tibi et ad tuum nomen per credentem hominem in testimonio bonorum hominum et intra dies quindecim posquam ego uel suprascriptum tuum habere Candidam applicuero uel applicuerit tibi debeo dare et deliberare tibi totum tuum suprascriptum capitale uel eius reliquum cum duabus partibus tocius prode quod mihi Dominus dederit cum iusta et uera racione sine fraude, reliqua tercia parte in me retenta. tamen tuum suprascriptum habere in tuo debet esse periculo clarefacto maris et gencium et non debeo facere aliquam partitionem de dicta pecunia nisi in Candia, et de omni nabulo et lucro persone dicti tui denarii debent habere talem partem qualem euenerit persone hominis per rationem partis. hec autem suprascripta hyperpera in duplum et de quinque sex per annum.

Testes Petrus Longo, Leonardus Teruisinus, Augustus Malatesta. Complere et dare. Dedi.

2

Venezia, Arch. St., Senato, Mar 2, f. 159^{v}, alias 167^{v}

Die XIº Julii [1446] in consilio Rogatorum
Consiliarii – (Capta).

Cum nobilis uir ser Johannes Quirino quondam ser Augustini ciuis noster comes Stampalie supplicauerit nostro dominio quod dignetur sibi concedere et alienare per uiam uenditionis aut aliter sicut dominationi nostre uidebitur, quartam partem insule uocate Amergo, que distat ab insula Stampalie per milliaria xxx vel circa, que quarta pars pertinet ad nostrum dominium, de qua camera nostra Crete percipit singulis annis yperpera xlii et grossos duos de Creta, cum idem ser Johannes dicat esse in pratica cum illis qui possident alia tria quarta dicte insule, que tamen accipere uel emere non intendit nisi etiam habeat dictum quartum nostri communis, cumque sit quedam pars capta in isto consilio disponens quod tales insule uel territoria nostri dominii non possint concedi, uendi, uel alienari nisi primo captum sit in isto consilio,

uadit pars quod per nostrum dominium cum consiliis ordinatis dari et concedi possit dictum quartum ipsius insule Amergo, quod possidetur per nostrum dominium per uiam uenditionis uel per alium modum qui uidebitur, pro illo precio et cum illis modis et conditionibus que uidebuntur rationabiles et honeste.

De parte omnes alii. De non 1. Non sinceri 0.

Rome.

R.-J. LOENERTZ, O. P.

Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der griechischen Markusliturgie

Im Verfolg unserer Untersuchungen über die anaphorischen Fürbittgebete der ostchristlichen Liturgien (1) greifen wir heute das der griechischen Markusliturgie an (2). Dieses tritt uns in drei Hauptgestalten entgegen:

1. Im PapStr (3);

(1) *Zum anaphorischen Fürbittgebet der westsyrischen Anaphora des Johannes Chrysostomus*, in *OrChr* 39 (1955) 44 f.; *Zum anaphorischen Fürbittgebet der ostsyrischen Anaphora der Apostel Addaj und Marj*, in *OrChr* 41 (1957) 102-24.; *Zum anaphorischen Fürbittgebet der westsyrischen Anaphora des Timotheus*, in *OrChr* 42 (1958) 59-62; *Zum Papyrus* 465 *der John Rylands Library zu Manchester* in *OrChr* 42 (1958) 68-76; *Zum anaphorischen Fürbittgebet der byzantinischen Chrysostomusliturgie*, in *Or Chr* 45 (1961) 20-29; 46 (1962) 33-60; *Zum anaphorischen Fürbittgebet der Basiliusliturgie*, in *OrChr* 47 (1963) 16-52.

(2) Im Laufe unserer Untersuchungen gelangen folgende Abkürzungen zur Anwendung:

ApKo = Apostolische Konstitutionen;
äg Bas = ägyptische Basiliusliturgie in griechischer Sprache;
by Bas = byzantinische Basiliusliturgie in griechischer Sprache;
äg Greg = ägyptische Gregoriusliturgie in griechischer Sprache;
gr Jak = griechische Jakobusliturgie;
sy Jak = syrische Jakobusliturgie;
Lov = saidisches Bruchstück der Cyrillusliturgie; vgl. S. 399. Anm. 7;
gr Mark = griechische Markusliturgie
Mess = Hs. 177 der Stiftsbibliothek zu Messina; vgl. S. 399. Anm. 4;
OrChr = Oriens Christianus (Wiesbaden);
PapStr = Papyrus der Universitätsbibliothek Straßburg; vgl. Anm. 3;
Pegas = Hs. der Patriarchatsbibliothek zu Alexandrien; vgl. S. 399. Anm. 3; wenn nichts anderes angegeben ist, stimmt mit der angegebenen Lesart auch die andere am gleichen Ort mitberücksichtigte Hs. überein.

(3) M. Andrieu et P. Collomp, *Fragments sur papyrus de l'anaphore de saint Marc*, in *Revue des sciences religieuses* 8 (1928) 489-515 oder J. Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima* (Bonn 1935/7)

2. in den griechischen Hss. Vat. gr. 2281 (1); Vat. gr. 1970 (2) und in zwei Hss. der Patriarchatsbibliothek zu Alexandrien, von denen die erste — aus den Jahren 1585/6 — von Pegas, dem späteren griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchen, geschrieben worden ist (3). — Die Hs. 177 der Stiftsbibliothek zu Messina kommt nur für das allerletzte Stück in Betracht (4);

3. in der saidischen (5) und bohairischen (6) Cyrillusliturgie.

Da die Zeugen für die koptische Cyrillusliturgie in allgemeinen eine entwickeltere Gestalt (7) aufweisen, trennen wir letztere zweckmäßig ab. Es geht uns hier nur um die Entwickelung des Fürbittgebetes, soweit sie aus den griechischen Zeugen zu erkennen ist (8).

44/8. — Das Bruchstück eines Papyrus des British Museum (vgl. J. M. MILNE, *Catalogue of the literary Papyri in the British Museum* [London 1927] 196, nr. 232 oder S. G. MERCATI, *L'anafora di S. Marco riconosciuta in un frammento membranaceo del Museo Britannico*, in *Aegyptus* 30 [1950] 1-7) brauchen wir hier nicht zu berücksictigen, da es nur ganz wenige Worte vom Anfang des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes enthält und diese wenigen Worte völlig mit der Fassung der späteren griechischen Zeugen übereinstimmen.

(1) C. A. SWAINSON, *The Greek Liturgies chiefly from original authorities* (Cambridge 1884) 30-48.

(2) SWAINSON wie in Anm. 1; F. E. BRIGHTMAN. *Liturgies Eastern and Western I* (Oxford 1896) 126-31.

(3) *Theologia* (Athen) 26 (1955) 14-36.

(4) SWAINSON a.a.O. 47/9.

(5) H. LIETZMANN, *Sahidische Bruchstücke der Gregorios — und Kyrillos — liturgie*, in *OrChr* 17 (1920) 1-19 oder E. LANNE, *Le grand euchologe du monastère blanc* = *Patrologia Orientalis* 28, 292-98.

(6) Eine kritische Ausgabe existiert bis zur Stunde noch nicht, ist aber in Bälde durch Ernst HAMMERSCHMIDT zu erwarten. Bis dahin sind die für den praktischen Gebrauch bestimmten Druckausgaben zu benutzen.

(7) Eine Ausnahme bildet nr. 29 der Coptica Lovaniensia, in *Le Muséon* 53 (1940) 26/9. Dieser Text wird deswegen an entsprechender Stelle mit berücksichtigt. Die Stellung dieser Fassung innerhalb der Geschichte unseres Fürbittgebetes hat schon Klaus GAMBER, *Das Papyrus-fragment zur Markusliturgie und das Eucharistiegebet im Clemensbrief* = Ostkirchliche Studien 8 (1959) 31-45 richtig gesehen.

(8) Daher kommen auch die Auswirkungen unseres Textes auf andere Texte hier nicht zur Behandlung; vgl. z.B. *Patrologia Orientalis* 18, 439.

1. Die Bitte für die Kirche

Diese Bitte weist schon im PapStr einen Auftakt auf, welcher wahrscheinlich die Überleitung vom Opfergedanken her vermitteln sollte. Bereits hier zeigen sich die Spuren der künftigen Entwickelung:

PapStr	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas
δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε	καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθέ	διὸ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν

Die Tendenz der Entwickelung geht auf die Fassung zu, wie in der ägyptischen Liturgie die Bitten gern eingeleitet werden ([1]). — Für die Beurteilung der eigentlichen Bitte für die Kirche ist die Übersicht in OrChr 46 (1962) 46 f. zu vergleichen. Schon der PapStr hat das charakteristische ägyptische μόνης ([2]). Gegenüber der Fassung der Bitte im PapStr haben die übrigen Zeugen eine entwickeltere Gestalt. Vor allem fällt auf die Ergänzung καὶ ἀποστολικῆς und τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων μέχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς. Letztere Wendung findet sich genau so in der diakonalen Reihe der gr Jak ([3]). Damit soll aber nicht gesagt sein, daß der Redaktor des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes der gr Mark sie nur dort entlehnt haben könnte.

2. Die Bitte für die Allgemeinheit

a. *die Bezeichnung der Allgemeinheit.*

PapStr = Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281	Pegas
πάντων τῶν λαῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ποιμνίων σου	καὶ πάντων τῶν λαῶν καὶ ποιμνίων σου	καὶ πάντων τῶν λαῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ποιμνίου

Wahrscheinlich ist die Lesart in PapStr und Vat. gr. 1970 die ursprünglichere.

(1) Vgl. z.B. Brightman a.a.O. 113, Z. 19 und 115, Z. 7 usw.
(2) Vgl. *OrChr* 47 (1963) 19.
(3) *Patrologia Orientalis* 26, 180.

b. *die für die Allgemeinheit erflehten Güter.*

PapStr.	Vat. gr. 1970 = Vat. gr. 2281	Pegas
τὴν ἐξ οὐρανῶν εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν. χάρισαι	τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν δώρησαι	τὴν ἐξ οὐρανῶν εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν δώρησαι

Die Unterschiede sind nur: οὐρανῶν – οὐρανοῦ und χάρισαι – δώρησαι. Es ist müßig zu fragen, was davon ursprünglich ist.

3. Die Bitten für einzelne und einzelne Gruppen

PapStr.	Vat. gr. 1970 = Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas
τ. . . τῆς γῆς εἰρηνικὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομά σου τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς ἐπ. . . τὰ στρατιωτικά. τοὺς ἄρχοντας βου bricht ab	τὸν βασιλέα τὰ στρατιωτικά, τοὺς ἄρχοντας βουλάς, δήμους, γειτονίας ἡμῶν (¹) εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους ἡμῶν ἐν πάσῃ εἰρήνῃ κατακόσμησον.

Beurteilung

1. Zu ἐπ– ist wohl αρχίου oder αρχίας zu ergänzen. ὁ ἡγούμενος τῆς ἐπαρχίου bezeichnet den vom Kaiser eingesetzten Präfekten (²). Wenn die Hss. diese Wendung nicht mehr bringen, so tragen sie den veränderten Verhältnissen Rechnung. Seit der Be-

(¹) *Vat. gr.* 1970 om ἡμῶν.

(²) Heinz HÜBNER, *Der praefectus Aegypti von Diokletian bis zum Ende der römischen Herrschaft* = Erlanger Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte. Reihe A. Beiträge zur antiken Rechtsgeschichte. Heft 1 (München – Pasing 1952) 16.

sitzergreifung Ägyptens durch die Araber (644) verzichteten die Christen darauf, für den Verwalter des Landes eigens zu beten.

2. Ebenso klar ist, daß die Hss. bei der Bitte für den Kaiser eine Änderung vorgenommen haben. Das τῆς γῆς εἰρηνικὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομά σου findet sich in ihnen nicht mehr. Der Grund dafür ist wohl ersichtlich. Im Laufe der Entwickelung kam es nämlich zu einem eigenen, sehr ausführlichen Gebet für den Kaiser. Daher hätte man eigentlich hier an unserer Stelle sogar ganz auf die Nennung des Kaisers verzichten können. Aber man scheint sich davor gescheut zu haben nun einfach mit stratiotika zu beginnen. So blieb wenigstens τὸν βασιλέα übrig. Andrieu-Collomp haben angenommen (1), daß der in sich schwer verständliche und dazu noch verstümmelte Text im PapStr ursprünglich gelautet habe: τὸν βασιλέα τῆς γῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαφύλαξον. δὸς αὐτῷ εἰρηνικὰ φρονεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Dafür ist aber im Papyrus kein Raum. Und es kann auch keine Zeile ausgefallen sein, weil die Anfangsworte der beiden in Betracht kommenden Zeilen so an die voraufgehenden Worte anschließen, daß alles lückenlos aufeinander folgt. Wir müssen also eine andere Lösung suchen. Und eine solche ist auch wohl möglich. Wenn man nämlich τ zu τῷ βασιλεῖ ergänzt und diesen Dativ noch von δώρησαι abhängig sein läßt, bekommt man τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς γῆς εἰρηνικὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομά σου.

Mit βου bricht der Text des PapStr ab, um erst in der Bitte für die Früchte des Feldes wieder leserlich zu werden. Die wenigen, noch zu identifizierenden Buchstaben bieten keinerlei sichere Anhaltspunkte für eine Ausfüllung der Lücke. Wohl aber läßt sich mit Sicherheit sagen, daß der Umfang des verloren gegangenen Textes nur einen Bruchteil des von den späteren Zeugen gebotenen Wortlautes ausgemacht haben kann. Damit entfällt die Möglichkeit, auf grund des Zeugnisses des PapStr über diesen Teil des Anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes der gr Mark eine Aussage zu machen. Trotzdem sind wir nicht vollständig aufs Trockene geworfen. Das beweist schon die Untersuchung der folgenden Bitte.

(1) Wohl auf grund verwandter Fassungen; vgl. Brightman a.a.O. 114, Z. 25/8 u.ö.

4. Die Bitte βασιλεῦ τῆς εἰρήνης

Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970	Is 26,12-14	gr Jak (1)	by Bas (2)
βασιλεῦ τῆς εἰρήνης	βασιλεῦ τῆς εἰρήνης	κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν		
τὴν σὴν εἰρή-νην δὸς ἡμῖν	τὴν σὴν εἰρή-νην δὸς ἡμῖν	εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν	τὴν σὴν εἰρή-νην καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀγάπην χάρισαι ἡμῖν	τὴν σὴν εἰρή-νην καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀγάπην χάρι-σαι ἡμῖν κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν
πάντα γὰρ ἀπ-έδωκας ἡμῖν	om	πάντα γὰρ ἀπ-έδωκας ἡμῖν	om	πάντα γὰρ ἀπ-έδωκας ἡμῖν
		κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν	ὁ θεός, ὁ σω-τὴρ ἡμῶν, ἡ ἐλπὶς πάντων τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς	
κτῆσαι ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὁ-μονοίᾳ καὶ ἀ-γάπῃ	ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ κτῆσαι ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός	κτῆσαι ἡμᾶς.	om	om
ἐκτός σου ἄλ-λον οὐκ οἴδα-μεν. τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν	ἐκτός σου ἄλ-λον οὐκ οἴδα-μεν. τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν	ἐκτός σου ἄλ-λον οὐκ οἴδαμεν. τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν	om	om
ζωοποίησον τὰς ἁπάντων καρδίας καὶ μὴ κατισ-χύσῃ, θάνατος ἁμαρ-τίας καθ' ἡ-μῶν μηδὲ κα-τὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου.	ζωοποίησον τὰς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν ψυχάς καὶ μὴ κα-τισχύσῃ θάνατος ἁμαρ-τίας καθ' ἡ-μῶν μηδὲ κα-τὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου.	om	om	om

(1) *Patrologia Orientalis* 26, 210.
(2) Brightman a.a.O. 337.

Beurteilung

1. Durch die Tatsache, daß zu dem ersten Teil dieser Bitte verwandte Text vorhanden sind, zu dem zweiten Teil jedoch nicht, wird unsere Bitte deutlich in zwei Abschnitte geschieden. Diese sind getrennt zu prüfen.

2. Im ersten Abschnitt scheint mir der Befund nur so gedeutet werden zu können, daß der Redaktor des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes der gr Mark hier sich nicht am Text der gr Jak bzw. der by Bas orientiert, sondern selbständig auf die Isaiasstelle zurückgegriffen hat. Nimmt man zu dieser Tatsache der Entlehnung aus der Hl. Schrift hinzu, daß der Inhalt dieser Bitte nur eine weitere Ausführung der bereits soeben eindringlich vorgetragenen Bitte um Frieden ist; nimmt man ferner hinzu, daß nach Ausweis des PapStr der Raum bis zum erneuten Zusammengehen in der Bitte um das Gedeihen der Feldfrüchte recht eng begrenzt ist, wird man ganz von selbst zu dew Annahme gedrängt, daß diese, mit Isaias parallel laufende Bitte eine spätere Zutat ist.

3. Demgegenüber scheint mir der zweite Teil unserer Bitte mit seiner ganz singulären Ausdrucksweise eine andere Beurteilung zu erfordern. Hinzu kommt, daß die Wendung ζωοποίησον sich wie eine Wiederaufnahme der grammatischen Form des βράβευσον und κατακόσμησον ausnimmt. Somit halte ich es für durchaus möglich, daß sich diese Sätze ursprünglich unmittelbar an κατακόσμησον anschlossen [1].

5. Die Bitte für die *Kranken*

Hier setzen als bedeutsame textliche Verwandte die Fassungen des voranaphorischen Fürbittgebetes nach dem Evangelium im ägyptischen Ritus ein. Hinzu kommt ferner der Text in saidischem Koptischen, den Th. Lefort veröffentlichte. So erhalten wir folgende Übersicht:

[1] Die Lesarten des *Vat. gr.* 1970 (om πάντα γάρ ἀπέδωκας ἡμῖν; andere Stellung des κτῆσαι ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός) scheinen sekundär zu sein.

nach dem Evangelium		anaphorisch		
Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas	Lov.	Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970
τοὺς νοσοῦντας κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι.	τοὺς νοσοῦντας κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι.	Lücke	τοὺς νοσοῦντας κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι.	τοὺς νοσοῦντας κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι.
om	ἀπόστησον ἀπ' αὐτῶν [1] πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν. τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐξέλασον ἀπ' αὐτῶν.	Lücke	ἀπόστησον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν. τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐξέλασον ἀπ' αὐτῶν.	ἀπόστησον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν. τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐξέλασον ἀπ' αὐτῶν.
om	om	Lücke (setzt ein) ἐλευθέρωσον.	τοὺς ἐν μακροῖς ἀῤῥωστήμασι προκατακειμένους ἐξανάστησον. τοὺς ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένους ἴασαι. τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἢ μετάλλοις ἢ δίκαις ἢ καταδίκαις ἢ ἐν [2] ἐξορίαις ἢ πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ ἢ φόροις [3] κατεχομένους πάντας ἐλέησον, πάντας ἐλευθέρωσον.	τοὺς ἐν μακροῖς ἀῤῥωστήμασι προκατακειμένους ἐξανάστησον. τοὺς ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένους ἴασαι. τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἢ ἐν μετάλλοις ἢ δίκαις ἢ καταδίκαις ἢ ἐν ἐξορίαις ἢ πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ ἢ φόροις κατεχομένους πάντας ἐλέησον, πάντας ἐλευθέρωσον.

(1) *Vat. gr.* 2281 liest ἁπάντων.
(2) *Pegas* om ἐν.
(3) *Pegas* liest ὅροις.

nach dem Evangelium		anaphorisch		
Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas	Lov.	Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas	Vat. gr. 1790
om	om	om	ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ λύων τοὺς πεπηδημένους ὁ ἀνορθῶν τοὺς κατερραγμένους, ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἀπηλπισμένων, ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων, ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν πεπτωκότων.	ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ λύων τοὺς πεπηδημένους ὁ ἀνορθῶν τοὺς κατερραγμένους ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἀπηλπισμένων, ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων, ἡ ἀνάστασις πεπτωκότων.
om	om	om	om	ὁ λιμὴν τῶν χειμαζομένων ὁ ἔκδικος τῶν καταπονουμένων. πάσῃ ψυχῇ χριστιανῇ θλιβομένῃ καὶ περιεχομένῃ δὸς ἔλεος, δὸς ἄνεσιν, δὸς ἀνάψυξιν.
om	om	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν κύριε ἰσχὺν	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν κύριε ὁ θεός, ἰσχὺν	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν κύριε,
		καὶ δύναμιν παράσχου.	καὶ δύναμιν παρασχεῖν καταξίωσον [1].	
om	om	om	om	τὰς κατὰ ψυχὴν νόσους ἴασαι, τὰς σωματικὰς ἀσθενείας θεράπευσον, ἰατρὲ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, ἐπίσκοπε πάσης σαρκός, ἐπίσκεψαι καὶ ἴασαι ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου σου.

(1) *Vat. gr.* liest ἀξίωσον.

Beurteilung

1. Von grundlegender Bedeutung ist die Beurteilung des Verhältnisses der Texte des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes zu den Texten des Fürbittgebetes nach dem Evangelium. In beiden Gruppen fällt auf, daß die Texte alle mit der Voranstellung des entscheidenden Dingwortes anheben:

τοὺς νοσοῦντας....
τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας....
τοὺς ὑετοὺς ἀγαθούς....
τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα....
τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς....
τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου....
τῶν ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ προκεκοιμημένων....
τῶν προσφερόντων....
τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ μακαριώτατον πάπαν....
τὰς ἐπισυναγωγάς....

Diese Voranstellung ist am leichtesten zu erklären, wenn unmittelbar vorher durch den Diakon auf diese Gruppen hingewiesen worden war. Nun scheint aber eine Verwendung von entsprechenden diakonalen Aufforderungen während des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes nicht ursprünglich zu sein. Denn der Vat. gr. 1970 bietet keinerlei derartige Aufforderungen; die Gruppe Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas kennt die drei Aufforderungen προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑετῶν καὶ καρπῶν τῆς γῆς (zweimal). προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ ἀναβάσεως τῶν ποταμίων ὑδάτων (1). Vat. gr. 2281 darüber hinaus: ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς ἀνατολάς (2) und καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης (3). Dagegen scheinen während des Fürbittgebetes nach dem Evangelium diakonale Aufforderungen von Haus aus üblich gewesen zu sein. Denn die Hss. bieten folgende Eintragungen: Vat. gr. 1970: ὁ διάκονος τὴν συναπτήν. Vat. gr. 2281: καὶ μετὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὁ διάκονος. σοφία.ὀρθοί.εἴπωμεν. Diese Angabe verstehen wir am besten, wenn wir daneben stellen, wie die Hs. des Pegas sich hier ausdrückt: σοφία. ὀρθοί. ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου.

(1) *Pegas*: τῆς ἀναβάσεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ Νεῖλον.
(2) Vor der Bitte für die Abwesenden.
(3) Während der Bitte für die eigene Gemeinde.

(μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν) εἴπωμεν πάντες ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας εἴπωμεν ... Vat. gr. 2281 ist also folgendermaßen zu interpretieren: trotz der Rubrik καὶ μετὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον bezieht sich σοφία. ὀρθοί. auf den Augenblick vor dem Evangelium. erst εἴπωμεν bezieht sich auf das Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium ([1]). Wenn aber die Hss. den Text nicht ausschreiben, deutet das darauf hin, daß es sich um ganz geläufige Wendungen handelt. Wir können uns auch ein Bild von dem Wortlaut der hier benutzten Wendungen machen, wenn wir in Betracht ziehen, dass der bohairische Ritus uns noch heute für das Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium folgende, in griechischer Sprache vorzutragende diakonale Aufforderungen erhalten hat ([2]):

ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΝΟCΟΥΝΤΩΝ
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΔΗΜΩΝ
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ ΑΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΠΩΝ ΤΗC ΓΗC
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗC CΥΜΜΕΤΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑCΕΩC ΤΩΝ ΠΟΤΑΜΙΩΝ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ ΥΕΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ CΠΟΡΙΜΩΝ ΤΗC ΓΗC
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗC CΩΤΗΡΙΑC ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΗΝΩΝ
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗC CΩΤΗΡΙΑC ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗC ΠΟΛΕΩC ΤΑΥΤΗC
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙCΤΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΩΝ
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΙΜΗΘΕΝΤΩΝ
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗC ΘΥCΙΑC ΗΜΩΝ ΠΡΟCΦΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΘΛΙΒΟΜΕΝΩΝ
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ

Dabei spielt für uns keine Rolle, ob jeder einzelne dieser Rufe auch in der gr Mark zur Anwendung gekommen ist. Für uns genügt die Tatsache, daß hier eine restlose Abstimmung von dia-

([1]) Diese Reihe weist die typisch byzantinische Gestalt auf, was bei *Vat. gr.* 2281 und bei der Hs. des *Pegas* auch sonst oft der Fall ist.
([2]) Vgl. BRIGHTMAN a.a.O. 159.

konalen Aufforderungen und priesterlichen Gebeten vorliegt. Wenn nun das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der gr Mark genau denselben formalen Bau der priesterlichen Gebete kennt, jedoch ohne die entsprechenden diakonalen Aufforderungen (1), so scheint mir dieser Befund dafür zu sprechen, daß die priesterlichen Gebete des Fürbittgebetes nach dem Evangelium zuerst geschaffen wurden — und zwar mit Rücksicht auf die voraufgegangenen diakonalen Rufe; daraus ergibt sich weiter, daß alle priesterlichen Gebete, welche denselben formalen Bau aufweisen, von vornherein dem Verdacht unterliegen, sekundär nachgebildet zu sein.

2. Hinzu kommt, daß die einzelnen Bitten des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes eine weit größere Ausführlichkeit aufweisen als die entsprechenden Bitten im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium. Dabei ist der Wortlaut dieser weiter ausgebauten Bitten durch Züge gekennzeichnet, welche auf den sekundären Charakter dieser Erweiterungen hindeuten. Das ist für jeden Einzelfall im einzelnen zu beweisen. Daher hier zunächst für die Bitte für dei Kranken.

a. Der Satz τοὺς ἐν μακροῖς ἀῤῥωστήμασι προκατακειμένους ἐξανάστησον stellt eine gewisse Spezialisierung des allgemeinen Begriffes « Kranke » dar.

b. Dann wird der Umfang der eigentlichen Kranken gesprengt; jetzt werden auch die geistig Kranken, die « Besessenen » (2) mit herein gezogen: τοὺς ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένους ἴασαι.

Zu dieser Tatsache der Sprengung des ursprünglichen Umfangs des Begriffes « Kranke » kommt eine weitgehende Übereinstimmung im Wortlaut mit der entsprechenden Fassung in der

(1) Dasselbe Verhältnis von diakonalen Aufforderungen und priesterlichem Gebet läßt sich z.B. in den *ApKo* beobachten: nach dem Evangelium umfassendster Einsatz von diakonalen Aufforderungen; während des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes keine einzige. Ahnliches gilt von der *gr Jak* und der *by Chrys* und der *by Bas*. Dagegen ist in allen drei bohairischen Liturgien wie auch in der *sy Jak* in Verwendung von diakonalen Aufforderungen während des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes zum vollsten Ausmaß gelangt. Indessen läßt sich leicht zeigen, daß es sich in den Fällen der letzteren Gattung um sekundäre Bildungen handelt. Doch greift dieser Nachweis über das hier gesteckte Ziel hinaus.

(2) Damals galt Besessenheit noch als Krankeit; vgl. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*² 2, 295-300 und *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 2, 183-85.

gr Jak. Diese Übereinstimmung fällt um so mehr ins Gewicht, als andere verwandte Bildungen weiter abstehen; vgl. die folgende Übersicht:

gr Mark	gr Jak (1)	by Bas (2)	ApKo (3)
τοὺς ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένων ἴασαι	μνήσθητι κύριε... τῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένων	τοὺς ὀχλουμένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐλευθέρωσον	ὑπὲρ τῶν χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου

Aber damit noch nicht genug der Erweiterungen! Obschon der Begriff « Kranke » keineswegs von sich aus dazu drängt, werden jetzt auch die Gefangenen mit in den Gesichtskreis einbezogen. Eine solche Folge findet sich auch im anaphorischen Fürbittgebet der ApKo (4). In der gr Jak (5) wie in der sy Jajk (6) geht die Bitte für die Gefangenen der Bitte für die Kranken und die Besessenen vorauf. Der Redaktor des Fürbittgebetes der Mk bewegte sich also in gewohnten Gedankenkreisen, als er die Bitte für die Gefangenen an die Bitte für die Kranken anschloß.

Für die Beurteilung des Wortlautes sind folgende Fassungen von Bedeutung:

Mark	ApKo	gr Jak anaph	gr Jak diak (7)	by Bas
		τῶν ἐν δεσμοῖς		τῶν ἐν βήμασι
τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς		καὶ φυλακαῖς		

(1) *Patrologia Orientalis* 26, 210.

(2) Brightman a.a.O. 334.

(3) Brightman a.a.O. 22.

(4) Wie Anm. 3.

(5) Wie Anm. 1.

(6) Adolf Rücker, *Die syrische Jakobosanaphora nach der Rezension des Ja'qôb(h) von Edessa* = Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 4 (Münster 1923) oder Odilo Heiming, *Anaphora Syriaca Sancti Jacobi Fratris Domini* = *Anaphorae Syriacae* XIV (Roma 1952).

(7) *Patrologia Orientalis* 26, 188.

Mark	ApKo	gr Jak anaph	gr Jak diak	by Bas
		τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίαις καὶ ἐξορίαις	τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίαις καὶ ἐξορίαις καὶ ἐν φυλακαῖς	
ἢ μετάλλοις	τῶν ἐν μετάλλοις	τῶν ἐν μετάλλοις		καὶ ἐν μετάλλοις
ἢ δίκαις ἢ καταδίκαις				
		καὶ βασάνοις		
ἢ ἐν ἐξορίαις	καὶ ἐξορίαις			καὶ ἐξορίαις
	καὶ φυλακαῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς ὄντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν			
ἢ πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ	ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ καταπονουμένων	καὶ πικραῖς δουλείαις ὄντων πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν	καὶ πικραῖς δουλείαις ὄντων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν	καὶ πικραῖς δουλείαις
ἢ φόροις κατεχομένων				

Beurteilung

Man kann nicht sagen, daß der Redaktor der gr Mark eine bestimmte Fassung direkt übernommen hätte; wohl aber läßt sich sagen, daß solche Wendungen ihm wohl vertraut waren und daß er diese Wendungen selbständig verarbeitete und dabei kleine Änderungen vornahm. Vor allem wird jedoch der Grundzug des Strebens nach Erweiterungen mit aller Klarheit deutlich.

Hinzu kommt des weiteren, daß unsere Bitte noch eine ausführliche Begründung erhalten hat. Solche Begründungen sind im Rahmen des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes im allgemeinen erst auf einer späteren Stufe der Entwickelung anzutreffen. Das klassische Beispiel dafür bietet das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der

Jak, welches in der syrischen Rezension sechs umfangreiche Begründungen aufweist, von denen die griechische Fassung nichts weiß (1).

Wenn nun das Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium in der Bitte für die Kranken ebenfalls von einer solchen Begründung nichts weiß, liegt die Parallele auf der Hand und verlangt nach der gleichen Bewertung (2).

Dazu paßt vorzüglich die Tatsache, daß auch der Lov. von einer solchen Begründung noch nichts weiß. Zwar sind wir bei Übersetzungstexten nie sicher, ob nicht ein solches aliud durch irgend eine andere Ursache sekundär ausgelöst worden ist. Dennoch müssen wir Befund hier sorgfältig notieren (3).

Dazu paßt ferner ganz vorzüglich die Tatsache, daß diese Begründung sogar noch in den griechischen Zeugen verschiedene Fassungen aufweist. Über den Textblock ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεός bis ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν πεπτωκότων hinaus bietet Vat. gr. 1970 noch die Wendungen ὁ λιμὴν τῶν χειμαζομένων bis δὸς ἀνάψυξιν. Und im Abschluß stimmt Vat. gr. 1970 nur in der Wendung ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν mit den übrigen Zeugen überein. Das alles deutet darauf hin, daß selbst zur Zeit der Abfassung der Vorlagen unserer Hss. der Text an dieser Stelle noch nicht gefestigt war.

Endlich soll auch nicht mit Stillschweigen übergangen werden, daß die letzte Bitte noch einmal den alten Kreis der Kranken sprengt — dieses Mal aber nicht, um wieder neue Gruppen anzufügen, sondern um den Betenden selbst ein Gut zu erflehen, das durch den Begriff « Kranke » ausgelöst wird.

Wenn wir all diese Beobachtungen zusammenfassen, sind wir überrascht über die Einheitlichkeit des Bildes, das sich uns bietet:

(1) Wie S. 410. Anm. 6.

(2) Dagegen läßt sich der Verwendung der Ausdrücke ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἀπηλπισμένων, ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων, ὁ λιμὴν τῶν χειμαζομένων ein Hinweis auf den sekundären Charakter dieses ganzen Stückes wohl nicht entnehmen, da solche Ausdrücke Gemeingut liturgischer Gebetsrede waren; vgl. den 1. *Klemensbrief* 59, 3 = K. Th. SCHAEFER, *Florilegium Patristicum* 44 (Bonn 1941) 65 oder J. DORESSE et E. LANNE, *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile* = *Bibliothèque du Muséon* 47 (Louvain 1960) 31. oder BRIGHTMAN a.a.O. 335 oder Jacob GOAR, *Euchologion* (Venedig 1730) 342 f.

(3) Vgl. unsere einschlägigen Bemerkungen in *OrChr* 47 (1963) 141 gelegentlich der Besprechungen von Ernst HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*.

die Fassung der Bitte für die Kranken im anaphorischen Fürbittgebet der gr Mark weist gegenüber der Fassung dieser Bitte im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium so viele sekundäre Züge auf, daß es kaum einen Fall in der Gesamtgeschichte liturgischer Texte geben dürfte, wo die Entscheidung so leicht zu fällen ist.

Ein besonderes Wort erfordert in diesem Zusammenhang die Gruppe ἀπόστησον ἀπ'αὐτῶν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐξέλασον ἀπ' αὐτῶν, welche sich in Vat. gr. 2281 und in Pegas auch im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium findet. Ist auch diese Gruppe im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium ursprünglich und von dort mit ins anaphorische Fürbittgebet gewandert? Die Tatsache, daß die Fassung im anaphorischen Fürbittgebet den Zusatz καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν kennt, bestimmt mich, die Fassung im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium für ursprünglicher zu halten. Das würde bedeuten, daß das Streben nach Erweiterung sich auch im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium breit gemacht und daß der Redaktor des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes bereits eine solche erweiterte Fassung benutzt hat.

6. Die Bitte für die Abwesenden

nach dem Evangelium	anaphorisch	
Vat. gr. 2281; Vat. gr. 1970; Pegas	Lov; Vat. gr. 2281; Pegas (1)	Vat. gr. 1970
τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ κατευόδωσον.	τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ κατευόδωσον.	τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀελφοὺς ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ κατευόδωσον.
om	om	εἴτε διὰ γῆς ἢ ποταμῶν ἢ λιμνῶν ἢ ὁδοιποριῶν ἢ οἱουδήποτε τρόπου τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦντας, πάντας πανταχοῦ ἀπο-

(1) *Vat. gr.* 2281 schickt dieser Bitte den Ruf des Diakon ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς ἀνατολάς voraus. Die Hs. des *Pegas* hat daraus eine Bitte des Priesters gemacht: ἐπίστρεψον εἰς τὰ ἴδια.

nach dem Evangelium	anaphorisch	
Vat. gr. 2281; Vat. gr. 1970; Pegas	Lov; Vat. gr. 2281; Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970
om	om	κατάστησον εἰς λιμένα εὔδιον, εἰς λιμένα σωτήριον. σύμπλους καὶ συνοδοιπόρος αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καταξίωσον. ἀπόδος τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶν χαίροντας χαίρουσιν, ὑγιαίνοντας ὑγιαίνουσιν.
om	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν δέσποτα κύριε τὴν παρεπιδημίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ἀβλαβῆ καὶ ἀχείμαστον καὶ ἀτάραχον διαφύλαξον (¹).	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῶν κύριε τὴν παρεπιδημίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ἀβλαβῆ καὶ ἀχείμαστον μέχρι τέλους διαφύλαξον.

Beurteilung

1. Der Textbestand der Bitte aus dem Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium findet sich wörtlich auch in der Bitte des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes.

2. Darüber hinaus weist letztere bedeutende Erweiterungen auf.

a. im allen Zeugen findet sich eine Bitte für die Betenden selbst. Wie wir uns im Rahmen der Bitte für die Kranken für diesen Teil zu der Bewertung « sekundäre Ergänzung » entscheiden mußten, so gilt dasselbe auch von dieser Bitte im Rahmen der Bitte für die Abwesenden.

b. In Vat. gr. 1970 kommt noch eine andere, recht umfangreiche Ergänzung hinzu. Hier treten die Züge sekundärer Auffüllung besonders deutlich hervor. So wenn die einzelnen Arten von Reisen beschrieben werden: εἴτε διὰ γῆς ἢ ποταμῶν ἢ λιμνῶν ἢ ὁδοιποριῶν ἢ οἱουδήποτε τρόπου τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦντας. Einen ähnlichen Eindruck sekundärer Erweiterung machen auch die folgenden Sätze: πάντας πανταχοῦ ἀποκατάστησον εἰς λιμένα εὔδιον,

(¹) *Lov* add dirige gressus nostros in conspectu tuo hinter διαφύλαξον.

εἰς λιμένα σωτήριον. σύμπλους καὶ συνοδοιπόρος αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καταξίωσον. ἀπόδος τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶν χαίροντας χαίρουσιν, ὑγιαίνοντας ὑγιαίνουσιν.

7. Die Bitte für das Gedeihen der Früchte des Feldes

An die Bitte für die auf Reisen Befindlichen schließt sich sowohl nach dem Evangelium wie innerhalb der Anaphora die Bitte um günstige Witterung und das Gedeihen der Feldfrüchte.

Dabei hebt sich ein veränderlicher Teil scharf von einem unveränderlichen, d.h. regelmäßig zu benutzenden ab. Wir behandeln zuerst den veränderlichen Teil.

nach dem Evangelium		anaphorisch		
Vat. gr. 2281 Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970	Lov. (1)	Vat. gr. 2281 Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970
om	τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὑετοὺς κατάπεμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήζοντας καὶ ἐπιδεομένους τόπους	τοὺς ὑετούς σου κατάπεμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήζοντας καὶ ἐπιδεομένους τόπους	τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὑετοὺς κατάπεμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήζοντας καὶ ἐπιδεομένους τόπους.	τοὺς ὑετοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλουσίως κατάπεμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήζοντας καὶ ἐπιδεομένους τόπους.
om	om	καὶ χάρισον ἡμῖν πλουσίως	om	om
om	om	om	εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.	εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τῇ καταβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς
			τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς μέθυσον. πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα	om

(1) *Lov* bietet die angeführten Texte in folgender Reihenfolge: 1. die Bitte um das Ansteigen des Nil. 2. die Bitte um Regen 3. die Bitte für die Früchte.

nach dem Evangelium		anaphorisch		
Vat. gr. 2281 Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970	Lov.	Vat. gr. 2281 Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970
om	om	om	αὐτῆς, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσεται ἀνατέλλουσα.	ἵνα ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσεται ἀνατέλλουσα.
			εὐλόγησον καὶ νῦν κύριε τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου.	om
τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς κύριε εὐλόγησον, αὔξησον, τελεσφόρησον, σώους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς διαφύλαξον.	τοὺς καρποὺς (1) τῆς γῆς αὔξησον	τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς εὐλόγησον. αὔξησον αὐτοὺς ἀκεραίους καὶ σώους ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς διαφύλαξον.	τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς, κύριε εὐλόγησον. σώους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς ἡμῖν (2) αὐτοὺς διαφύλαξον. εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς,	τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς κύριε εὐλόγησον, σώους καὶ ἀκεραίους ἡμῖν διατήρησον.
om	om	om	nur bei Pegas: τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς μέθυσον, πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς	om
om	εἰς σπέρμα καὶ θερισμόν.	om	om	παράστησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς σπέρμα καὶ θερισμόν,
om	om	om	ἵνα ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσεται ἀνατέλλουσα.	ἵνα ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσεται ἀνατέλλουσα.

(1) *Vat. gr.* 1970 bringt jetzt erst die Bitte um das Ansteigen des Nil.
(2) *Pegas*: αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν.

nach dem Evangelium		anaphorisch		
Vat. gr. 2281 Pegas	Vat. gr. 2281	Lov.	Vat. gr. 2281 Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970
om	om	εὐλόγησον κύριε τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου.	εὐλόγησον καὶ νῦν κύριε τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. (Pegas: + τῆς χρηστότητός σου)	εὐλόγησον καὶ νῦν κύριε τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου.
om	τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν σὴν χάριν.	τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν.	τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν σὴν χρηστότητα	τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον μέτρον αὐτῶν
om	om	εὔφρανον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς μέθυσον. πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς.	εὔφρανον τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς μέθυσον. πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς.	εὔρρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς μέθυσον. πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς.
om	om	παράστησον αὐτοὺς εἰς σπέρμα καὶ θερισμόν.	om	om
om	om	om	ἵνα ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσεται ἀνατέλλουσα.	om
om	om	εὐλόγησον τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου.	εὐλόγησον καὶ νῦν κύριε τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. (Pegas: + τῆς χρηστότητός σου)	om

Beurteilung

a. von einer einzigen Bitte zu einer dreifachen Bitte

Im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium hat die Gruppe Vat. gr. 2281-Pegas nur eine einzige Bitte; und diese geht auf das Gedeihen der Früchte des Feldes. Vat. gr. 1970 bietet darüber hinaus noch je eine Bitte um das Steigen des Nil und um Regen. Im anaphorischen Fürbittgebet kennen alle Zeugen diese drei Bitten.

Wir haben hier einen Fall vor uns, welcher in Parallele steht zu der Bitte für die Kranken: das anaphorische Fürbittgebet weist in allen Zeugen eine stark entwickelte Form auf: das Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium erscheint in zwei Fassungen, einer ganz kurzen und einer leicht erweiterten. Ein bedeutsamer Unterschied liegt indessen darin, daß bei der Bitte für die Kranken im Rahmen der Fürbitten nach dem Evangelium die Gruppe Vat. gr. 2281-Pegas die erweiterte Gestalt aufweist, während bei der Bitte um günstige Witterung der Vat. gr. 1970 die entwickeltere Fassung bietet.

Angesichts der Bedeutung, welche das Ansteigen des Nil für die gesamte Bevölkerung Ägyptens hatte (1), erscheint es von vornherein geradezu ausgeschlossen, daß eine Bitte um das Steigen Nil aus einem Fürbittgebet, das diese Bitte aufwies, sekundär wieder ausgeschieden wurde. Daher kann die Tatsache, daß Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas diese Bitte im Rahmen der Fürbitten nach dem Evangelium nicht kennen, sondern bloss die um das Gedeihen der Feldfrüchte, nur als Widerhall älterer Übung gewertet werden (2).

(1) Vgl. dazu auch H. Engberding, *Der Nil in der liturgischen Frömmigkeit des Christlichen Ostens*, in *OrChr* 37 (1953) 56-88 und Alfred Hermann, *Der Nil und die Christen*, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 2 (1959) 30-69.

(2) Vgl. damit auch die Tatsache, daß das Euchologion des Serapion eine solche Bitte um das Ansteigen des Nil nicht kennt; ebenso nicht das saidische Bruchstück der Basiliusliturgie bei Doresse-Lanne (s. Anm. 40); ebenso nicht das von H. Munier, *Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Kairo 1916) veröffentlichte Bruchstück; s. *Patrologia Orientalis* 28, 384.

Wahrscheinlich hat sich die Spaltung zuerst im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium durchgesetzt (1). Dann ist sie von dem Redaktor ins anaphorische Fürbittgebet übernommen worden.

b. Die Fassung der einzelnen Bitten.

Im Bereich des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes finden sich Wendungen, welche in derselben Fassung bei verschiedenen Bitten zum Ausdruck gelangen. Es handelt sich um folgende Sätze:

1. εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Derselbe Satz findet sich mit der Abwandlung von ἀναβάσει in καταβάσει auch in der Bitte um den Regen. Er dürfte indessen in der Bitte um das Ansteigen des Nil seinen ursprünglichen Platz gehabt haben.

2. Dasselbe gilt von dem Satz τοὺς αὔλακας μέθυσον. Dementsprechend finden wir ihn in Vat. gr. 1970 auch nur bei der Bitte um das Ansteigen des Nil. Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas bieten den Satz jedoch in allen drei Bitten.

3. Mit diesem Satz ist unverbrüchlich der andere πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς verknüpft, weil er derselben Quelle Ps. 64,11 entlehnt ist. Somit dürfte auch er ursprünglich nur zur Bitte um das Ansteigen des Nil gehört haben. Aber auch hier bieten Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas den Satz bei allen drei Bitten.

Zu dieser Annahme paßt vorzüglich, daß sich alle drei Sätze im Lov nur bei der Bitte um das Steigen des Nil finden.

4. Dieselbe Psalmstelle fährt fort: ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσεται ἀνατέλλουσα. Diese Wendung findet sich nicht im Lov; und der Vat. gr. 1970 bringt sie ausgerechnet nicht bei der Bitte um das Steigen des Nil. Es dürfte sich also bei dieser Wendung um eine spätere Ergänzung handeln.

(1) Als Zeiten werden angegeben: für die Bitte um das Ansteigen des Nil: 12. Paoni (= 19. [Greg.] bzw. 6. [jul.] Juni) bis 10. Paopi (= 20./21. bzw. 7./8. Oktober); für die Bitte um Regen: 11. Paopi (= 21./22. bzw. 8./9. Oktober) bis 11. Tobi (= 18./19. bzw. 5./6. Januar); für die Bitte um die Früchte: 12. Tobi (= 6./7. Januar) bis 11. Paoni (= 18. bzw. 5. Juni). Vgl. *Missale Alexandrinum* (Kairo 1898) 35 f. oder John Marquis of Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day* (London 1908) 38,, Anm.

Die Aufnahme dieser ganzen Psalmstelle in die Bitte um günstige Witterung und erst recht ihre Wiederholung sind eindeutige Anzeichen für sekundäre Entwickelung.

Jetzt ist noch der Wortlaut der Bitten, welche das konkrete Anliegen zum Ausdruck bringen, zu prüfen. Die Bitte um das Gedeihen der Früchte des Feldes tritt uns in folgenden Gestalten entgegen:

Vat. gr. 1970		Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	
nach dem Evangelium	anaphorisch	nach dem Evangelium	anaphorich
τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς	τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς κύριε εὐλόγησον. σώους καὶ ἀκεραίους ἡμῖν διατήρησον	τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς κύριε εὐλόγησον.	τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς κύριε εὐλόγησον. σώους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς διαφύλαξον
αὔξησον εἰς σπέρμα καὶ εἰς θερισμόν.	παράστησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς σπέρμα καὶ εἰς θερισμόν.	αὔξησον τελεσφόρησον, σώους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς διαφύλαξον.	

Beurteilung

Auszugehen ist von der Tatsache, daß sich das Wort θερισμόν auch im anaphorischen Fürbittgebet des PapStr findet. Somit wird eine Wendung εἰς σπέρμα καὶ εἰς θερισμόν zum Urbestand des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes gehört haben. Wahrscheinlich mit dem Verbum αὔξησον. Letzteres wäre dann unter dem Einfluß von ἡμῖν διατήρησον zu παράστησον ἡμῖν αὐτούς geworden.

Das Objekt τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς erhielt ein neues zusätzliches Verbum: εὐλόγησον. Und das Ganze wurde durch den Satz σώους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς (ἀκεραίους) ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς διαφύλαξον (διατήρησον) erweitert. Und zwar zuerst wohl im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium, um von dort ins anaphorische Fürbittgebet übernommen zu werden.

die Bitte um das Ansteigen des Nil

nach dem Evangelium	anaphorisch	
nur Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas
τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν σὴν χάριν,	τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον μέτρον αὐτῶν.	τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν σὴν χρηστότητα.

Die Keimzelle lautet also: τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν. Aus ihr entwickelten sich die Spielarten.

die Bitte um Regen

nach dem Evangelium	anaphorisch	
nur Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas
τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὑετοὺς κατάπεμφον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρῄζοντας καὶ ἐπιδεομένους τόπους.	τοὺς ὑετοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλουσίως κατάπεμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρῄζοντας καὶ ἐπιδεομένους τόπους.	τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὑετοὺς κατάπεμφον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρῄζοντας καὶ ἐπιδεομένους τόπους.

Diese Bitte weist von dem Augenblick an, in welchem wir sie zum ersten Mal greifen können, keine wesentliche Entwickelung mehr auf.

An diese je nach der Jahreszeit wechselnden Bitten schließt sich regelmäßig (¹) ein unwandelbarer, recht umfangreicher Textblock an. Zur Erarbeitung der Geschichte dieses Textblockes sind folgende Fassungen von Bedeutung:

(¹) Allerdings fehlt dieser ganze Passus in der *gr Greg*, wie sie das bei Hugh E. Evelyn WHITE, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius = The Monasteries of the Wadi'n Natrun* (New York 1926) 210 veröffentlichte Bruchstück bietet. Indessen halte ich dieses Fehlen für sekundär.

PapStr	Lov.	Vat. gr. 1970 = Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	äg gr Bas = äg gr Greg
?	om	s.u.	καὶ νῦν εὐλογῶν εὐλόγησον.
?	om	om	τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν οἰκονόμησον.
?	εὐλόγησον τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου	εὐλόγησον καὶ νῦν κύριε τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου	εὐλόγησον τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου
διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου	διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου	διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου	διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου
om	διὰ τὴν χήραν καὶ τὸν ὄρφανον, διὰ τὸν ξένον	διὰ τὴν χήραν καὶ (¹) τὸν ὄρφανον, διὰ τὸν ξένον καὶ (¹) τὸν προσήλυτον	διὰ τὴν χήραν καὶ τὸν ὄρφανον, διὰ τὸν ξένον καὶ τὸν προσήλυτον
δι' ἡμᾶς πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά (σου), διὰ πάντας	δι' ἡμᾶς πάντας	δι' ἡμᾶς πάντας	καὶ δι'ἡμᾶς πάντας
	s. unten	s. unten	s. unten
τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σε. s. oben	τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπί σε καὶ ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον.	τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπί σε (²) καὶ ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον.	τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σοι καὶ ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον.
om	om	οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σε ἐλπίζουσιν, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ.	οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σε ἐλπίζουσιν, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ.
		om	ποίησον μεθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγαθότητά σου.

(¹) *Vat. gr.* 1970 add. διά.
(²) *Vat. gr.* 2281 und *Pegas* om ἐπί σε.

PapStr	Lov.	Vat. gr. 1970 = Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	äg gr Bas = äg gr Greg
om	om	ὁ διδοὺς τροφὴν πάσῃ σαρκί. πλήρωσον χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν. πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες (²) περισσεύσωμεν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν	ὁ διδοὺς τροφὴν πάσῃ σαρκί. πλήρωσον χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν. ἵνα ἐν παντὶ (¹) πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες περισσεύσωμεν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν, τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου τὸ ἅγιον.
		om	
		ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.	om

Beurteilung

1. Das Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium bietet keinen verwandten Text.

2. Die älteste greifbare Fassung bietet PapStr.

3. Der Drang nach Erweiterung:

a. vor diesen Kern wurde das Psalmwort 64,12 gelegt: εὐλόγησον τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου.

b. die Wendung διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου wurde durch zwei Doppelglieder ausgebaut: διὰ τὴν χήραν καὶ τὸν ὄρφανον. διὰ τὸν ξένον καὶ τὸν προσήλυτον.

c. die Wendung τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπί σε zieht das Psalmwort 144,15 οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἴς σε ἐλπίζουσιν, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ an sich. Dadurch scheint auch bewirkt worden zu sein, daß die Wendung τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου umgestellt wurde, damit nicht ἐλπίζοντας und ἐλπίζουσιν unmittelbar aufeinander folge!

d. Unter Benutzung der Wendung aus Ps. 144,15, σὺ δίδως τροφήν folgt abschließend eine stark ausgebaute Bitte, auf daß der Erntesegen auch im geistlichen Bereich sich günstig auswirke!

(¹) *Greg*: ἐν πᾶσι.

(²) *Vat. gr.* 2281: σχόντες.

4. Lov kennt noch nicht die Erweiterungen 3c und 3d; steht also noch im Fluß der Entwickelung.

5. Die wichtigste Erkenntnis ist aber die, daß die Tendenz zur Erweiterung sich nicht an dem Text des Fürbittgebetes nach dem Evangelium auswirkt, sondern nur an der Gestalt des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes.

8. Die Bitte für den Kaiser

An die Bitte um günstige Witterung schließt sich sowohl im priesterlichen Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium wie während der Anaphora die Bitte für den Kaiser. Da diese ausgedehnte Bitte des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes aus verschiedenen Quellen gespeist worden ist, spalten wir unsere Untersuchungen dementsprechend.

a. *die Beziehungen zur Bitte im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium*

nach dem Evangelium		anaphorisch		
Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970	Lov.
om	om	om	βασιλεῦ τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριε τῶν κυριευόντων	om
τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου	τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου	τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου	τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου	τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου
om	om	τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν βασιλέως	τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου καὶ φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν βασιλέως	τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως
ὃν προώρισας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	ὃν ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	ὃν ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	ὃν ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	om
ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ διαφύλαξον	ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ γαληνότητι διαφύλαξον	ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ γαληνότητι διαφύλαξον	ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαφύλαξον	ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ διαφύλαξον

Beurteilung

1. Der Textbestand der Bitte im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium findet sich vollständig im Text des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes.

2. Darüber hinaus weist der Text des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes leichte Ergänzungen auf:

a. Vat. gr. 1970 legt vor die Bitte die aus 1 Tim 6,15 übernommene Anrede an Gott ([1]).

b. die Bezeichnung des Kaisers wird etwas höflicher.

b. *der übrige Teil der Bitte.*

Für die Übersicht können wir auf OrChr 47 (1963) 34-39 verweisen. Aus ihr ergibt sich: das Textgut, das zur Erweiterung gedient hat, ist beachtenswerter Weise gerade nicht-ägyptischen Liturgien eigentümlich. Dazu kommt eine noch reichere Benutzung von Psalmstellen in der gr Mark: ἐπιλαβοῦ ὅπλου καὶ θυρεοῦ καὶ ἀνάστηθι εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ wird erweitert durch ἔκχεον ῥομφαίαν καὶ σύγκλεισον ἐξεναντίας τῶν καταδιωκόντων αὐτόν. ἐπισκίασον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου ist gebildet auf grund von Ps. 139,8; und κάθισον ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ auf grund von Ps. 131,11. Für den Abschluss sind die Parallelen aus gr Jak und by Bas besonders zu berücksichtigen:

gr Jak	gr Mark	by Bas
om	λάλησον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ παντὸς τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ	λάλησον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ,
ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαληνότητι τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.	ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαληνότητι αὐτοῦ ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι	ἵνα, ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτοῦ ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.
om	τῇ εἴς σε καταληφθῶμεν.	om

([1]) Lehrreich ist, daß *Vat. gr.* 2281 und *Pegas* diesen Zusatz in der Enarxis aber sehr wohl kennen. Das beweist, daß diese Anrede später allgemein durchgedrungen ist.

Nach Maßgabe des sonst zu beobachtenden Verhältnisses der Texte des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes der gr Mark zu denen der gr Jak einerseits und zu denen der by Bas andererseits glaube ich hier sagen zu müssen: der Redaktor der gr Mark hat den ἵνα-Satz bei der gr Jak entlehnt und ihn dann unter Verwendung von Is. 40,1 und Jer 36,7 durch den λάλησον-Satz erweitert. Der Redaktor des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes der by Bas hat dann bei der gr Mark seine Anleihe gemacht.

9. Die Bitte für die Toten

a. *zur Reihenfolge*

Auf den ersten Blick scheint hier die Reihenfolge der Bitten im Rahmen der Fürbitten nach dem Evangelium nicht maßgebend gewesen zu sein. Denn die im bohairischen Ritus erhaltenen griechischen diakonalen Fassungen bieten: ΠΡΟϹΕΥΞΑϹΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙϹΤΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩΝ. ΠΡΟϹΕΥΞΑϹΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΩΝ. ΠΡΟϹΕΥΞΑϹΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΙΜΗΘΕΝΤΩΝ. Indessen ist wohl zu berücksichtigen, daß die priesterlichen Texte der Fürbitten nach dem Evangelium, welche uns in der bohairischen Bas bei Renaudot (1) und im äthiopischen Ordo communis (2) erhalten sind, die Reihenfolge Kaiser — Tote bieten, also genau wie im anaphorischen Fürbittgebet. Anscheinend ist in der diakonalen Reihe eine sekundäre Verwerfung eingetreten.

b. *zur textlichen Fassung*

Es empfiehlt sich die einzelnen Glieder dieser Bitte für die Toten gesondert zu betrachten.

α. die erste Bitte für die Toten

PapStr.	Vat. gr. 1970 = Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas
τῶν κεκοιμημένων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον.	τῶν ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ προκεκοιμημένων πατέρων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.

(1) *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* I (Frankfurt 1847) 8.
(2) Swainson a.a.O. 387.

Es ist offenkundig, daß der Satz des PapStr τῶν κεκοιμημένων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον den Ausgangspunkt bildet. Dieser wurde in allen Zeugen durch die auch sonst häufig zu belegende Wendung πατέρων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν ergänzt. Dazu kommt die Erweiterung ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ. Diese Wendung ist gerade in Verbindung mit τετελειωμένων (1) sehr beliebt und dürfte von dort entlehnt sein.

β. das Gedenken an die Heiligen

Da dem Redaktor wohl vertraut war, daß im Rahmen der Bitten für die Verstorbenen in der Regel zuerst das Gedenken an die Heiligen seinen Platz hat, brach er die Bitte für die Verstorbenen sofort ab, um ebenfalls das Gedenken an die Heiligen zu bringen. Dabei bediente er sich der überleitenden Wendung μνησθείς oder μνήσθητι.

Die Gestalt des Gedenkens an die Heiligen weist bereits jene Entwicklung auf, welche in gewissem Sinn als Endstadium anzusprechen ist (2). Man kann nicht erkennen, daß der Redaktor eine bestimmte der uns bekannten Gestalten dieses Gedenkens als Vorlage benutzt hat. Die Unterschiede berühren sich bald mit dieser, bald mit jener Gestalt; obendrein zeigen sich auch innerhalb der Bearbeitungen der Mark so viele Varianten, daß man nicht zu sagen vermag, wie die Urgestalt ausgesehen hat (3). Höchstens läßt sich ein negatives Kennzeichen ausmachen: ein gewisser Abstand von äg Bas.

γ. das Gedenken an einzelne Heilige

Die griechischen Zeugen bringen zunächst den Satz καὶ ὧν ἐν (4) τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ὑπόμνημιν ποιούμεθα. Die Fassung

(1) Vgl. die Übersicht in *OrChr* 46 (1962) 40.

(2) Vgl. die Übersicht in *OrChr* 46 (1962) 34 f.

(3) Einzelheiten: es fehlt die sonst so geläufige Wendung εὐαρεστησάντων σοι; — in der Stellung von προφητῶν stimmt *gr Mark* nicht mit den beiden anderen griechischen ägyptischen Anaphoren überein, sondern mit den nicht-ägyptischen! Dieselbe Abschirmung gegenüber *äg Bas* und *äg Greg* in dem Fehlen des Gliedes κηρύκων εὐαγγελιστῶν; nur *Vat. gr.* 2281 und *Pegas* kennen — wie *gr Jak* — das Glied διδασκάλων; ὁσίων dagegen findet sich auch in *Vat. gr.* 1970. — ἐπισκόπων gehört nicht mehr zum Block der Aufzählung der Heiligen, sondern zum alten Stamm des Totengedächtnisses.

(4) *PapStr* bietet ἐπί.

stimmt genau mit der im PapStr überein. Der Sinn hat sich aber gewandelt. Im PapStr zielt dieser Satz ganz eindeutig auf die Verstorbenen, und zwar auf jene, deren Namen jetzt aus den Diptychen verlesen werden sollten. In der gr Mark erhält der Satz jedoch durch seine Stellung zwischen der Aufzählung der Heiligen nach Klassen und dem hl. Markus und der Mutter Gottes den Sinn eines Gedenkens an die Heiligen, deren Gedächtnis man gerade an diesem Tage begeht.

Der hl. Markus wird genannt, weil diese Anaphora nach ihm benannt ist und weil die orthodoxen Melchiten ihn als Gründer der Kirche von Alexandrien besonders herausstellen — im Gegensatz zu den Monophysiten, welche sich des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien besonders rühmen.

Die Aufzählung einzelner Heiligen wird durch die Nennung der Mutter Gottes abgeschlossen. Eine Besonderheit liegt in der Tatsache, daß vor dieser Erwähnung ein Troparion vom Priester zu sprechen ist. Dieses Lied erweist sich durch seine schlichte Fassung (eine umfangreiche Entlehnung aus der Hl. Schrift, welche durch eine kerygmatisch gehaltene Aussage über die Stellung Mariens im Erlösungswerk abgeschlossen wird) als zur frühchristlichen Dichtung gehörig.

In Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas wird dieses Troparion durch die Wendung eingeleitet: μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς φωνῆς ἐπιλεγούσης. Dieselbe Ergänzung desselben Liedes finden wir auch in sämtlichen Hss. der gr Jak, welche von Mercier geprüft wurden (¹). Dabei zeigt sich überdies die interessante Einzelheit, daß die einleitenden Worte ,welche wir in Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas feststellen konnten, sich im Bereich der gr Jak auch in Vat. gr. 1970 finden, also anders als in der gr Mark. Wenigstens das χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη kommt aber auch — neben anderen Liedern — im Bereich der by Chrys (²) vor; im Bereich der by Bas hat nach Angabe von Swainson (³) nur Cryptoferratense Falascae dieses χαῖρε κεραριτωμένη.

Die gr Zeugen der Mark stehen also hier ganz im Fluß der Entwickelung der byzantinischen und melchitischen Liturgien.

(¹) *Patrologia Orientalis* 26, 212.

(²) P. Trempelas, Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας (Athen 1935) 116.

(³) Swainson a.a.O. 163, Anm.

δ. die Diptychen der Toten

Über die Fassung im einzelnen ist hier nicht zu handeln. Hier verdient nur Erwähnung die Einleitung zur Verlesung: auf die Bitte des Diakon κύριε εὐλόγησον antwortet der Priester in Vat. gr. 1970 ὁ κύριος εὐλογήσει σε τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς...; in Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas dagegen: ἡ χάρις τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί. ἀμήν.

ε. der Schlußsatz

Nach der Verlesung der Diptychen nimmt der Priester die Bitte für die Toten wieder auf mit einem Text, welcher in Vat. gr. 1970; Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas bis auf unbedeutende Lesarten der gleiche ist. Später hat dieser Text allerdings eine Erweiterung erfahren. Diese wird uns in griechischer Sprache in einem Zitat bei Kosmas Indikopleustes und in der bohairischen Cyrillusliturgie greifbar (1). Eine noch stärkere sekundäre Erweiterung bietet der Papyrus 465 der John Rylands Library zu Manchester. Er fügt zu dem durch Kosmas bezeugten Text noch eine Anleihe aus der äg Bas (2).

Nach Maßgabe des sonst zu beobachtenden Verhältnisses des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes der gr Mark zu demjenigen der gr Jak dürfte der Satz ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς χριστιανὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα καὶ ἀναμάρτητα durch den Satz der gr Jak ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς χριστιανὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα καὶ ἀναμάρτητα ἐν εἰρήνῃ κατεύθυνον beeinflußt sein. Die Schlußwendung καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον ἔχειν μετά orientiert sich jedoch wieder am Text des PapStr.

10. Die Bitte für die offerentes

a. *Zur Reihenfolge*

Der Grund dafür, daß sich im anaphorischen Fürbittgebet an die Bitte für die Toten die Bitte für die offerentes anschließt,

(1) *Christiana Topographia*, ed. WINDSTEDT (Cambridge 1910) 274 f. Die Stellung dieses Textes in der Geschichte der *gr Mark* falsch gesehen durch Erik PETERSON, *Die alexandrinische Liturgie bei Kosmas Indikopleustes*, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 46 (1932) 66-74; vgl. H. ENGBERDING, *Zum Papyrus* 465 *der John Rylands Library zu Manchester* in *OrChr* 42 (1958) 72, Anm. 20.

(2) Vgl. die in Anm. 1 am Schluß zitierte Untersuchung.

dürfte darin zu finden sein, daß sich im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium dieselbe Reihenfolge findet.

Damit ist aber noch nicht alles erklärt. Denn bekanntlich galt für das Fürbittgebet sowohl innerhalb der Anaphora wie nach dem Evangelium ursprünglich die Ordnung: erst Lebende, dann Tote (1). In unserem Fall liegt nun eine neue Erscheinung vor: die Bitte für die Toten steht nicht am Schluß, auch nicht am Anfang, sondern dazwischen. Die Erklärung für diesen Befund scheint mir darin gesucht werden zu müssen, daß wir es hier mit sekundären Anfügungen an einen älteren Block von Bitten zu tun haben.

Speziell für die Anfügung einer Bitte für die offerentes gleich hinter einer Bitte für die Toten sind die gleichen Erscheinungen in der Anaphora des Serapion (2) und in der diakonalen Reihe der gr Jak unmittelbar vor dem eucharistischen Hochgebet (3) zu vergleichen.

b. *Zur textlichen Fassung*

Für die Beurteilung der textlichen Fassung und die Erarbeitung seiner Vorgeschichte steht uns — genau wie bei der Bitte für die Toten — aus dem Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium in den griechischen Zeugen kein für den Priester bestimmter Text zur Verfügung. Wohl aber kennt der bohairische Text eine entsprechende Wendung (4). Zu diesen beiden Fassungen fügen wir noch die weiter entwickelte Fassung, welche dieses Gebet im Rahmen des Weihrauchopfers am Abend und am Morgen erfahren hat (5). So entsteht folgende Übersicht:

(1) Über die Abweichung von diesem Gesetz in der by Bas und Chrysostomusliturgie haben wir in *OrChr* 45(1961) 26-29 eingehend gehandelt.

(2) F. X. FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* 2 (Paderborn 1905) 176.

(3) BRIGHTMAN a.a.O. 48.

(4) RENAUDOT a.a.O. 1, 8.

(5) *Missale Alexandrinum* (Kairo 1898) Weihrauchdienst 18 f.; ebenso J. MARQUIS OF BUTE, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day* (London 1908) und Bruchstücke einer griechischen Fassung dieser Gestalt in Hugh G. E. WHITE a.a.O. 205.

bo nach dem Evangelium	anaph. Vat. gr. 1970 u. 2281 u. Pegas	Gebet über die Gaben im Weihrauchdienst am Abend und am Morgen
μνήσθητι κύριε	om	δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν τὴν ἀγαθότητά σου, φιλάνθρωπε, μνήσθητι κύριε
τῶν θυσιῶν, τῶν προσφορῶν, τῶν τὰς προσφορὰς προσενεγκάντων.	τῶν προσφερόντων τὰς θυσίας, τὰς προσφοράς, τὰ εὐχαριστήρια	τῶν θυσιῶν, τῶν προσφορῶν, τῶν εὐχαριστηρίων τῶν προσενεγκάντων
	om	εἰς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν τοῦ ἁγίου σου ὀνόματος.
πρόσδεξαι αὐτὰ	πρόσδεξαι ὁ θεός, εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον	πρόσδεξαι αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον
	om	εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας
	εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν οὐρανῶν διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας.	εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν οὐρανῶν διὰ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς καὶ ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου ἁγίας λειτουργίας.
	s.u.	ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τοῦ δικαίου σου Ἄβελ, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, (Ζαχαρίου τὸ θυμίαμα, Κορνηλίου τὰς προσευχὰς καὶ ἐλεημοσύνας) (¹) καὶ τῆς χήρας τὰ δύο λεπτά, καὶ τὰ εὐχαριστήρια τῶν δούλων σου πρόσδεξαι,
	τῶν τὸ πολὺ καὶ (²) ὀλίγον κρύφα καὶ παρρησίᾳ βουλομένων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ προσενεγκάντων.	τῶν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὀλίγον, κρύφα καὶ παρρησίᾳ βουλομένων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ προσενεγκάντων.

(¹) *Vat. gr.* 1970: ἐπουράνιον.

(²) Die in Klammern gesetzte Wendung findet sich nur in dem Bruchstück bei White.

bo nach dem Evangelium	anaph. Vat. gr. 1970 u. 2281 u. Pegas	Gebet über die Gaben im Weihrauchdienst am Abend und am Morgen
	ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τοῦ δικαίου Ἄβελ, τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ πατρός ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, Ζαχαρίου τὸ θυμίαμα, Κορνηλίου τὰς (προσευχὰς καὶ) ἐλεημοσύνας, καὶ τῆς χήρας τὰ δύο λεπτά, πρόσδεξαι καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εὐχαριστήρια.	s. o.
καὶ μισθὸν παράσχου αὐτοῖς.	καὶ ἀντίδος αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν τὰ ἄφθαρτα, ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ οὐράνια, ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια.	ἀντίδος αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν τὰ ἄφθαρτα, ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ οὐράνια, ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια.
	om	imple domus eorum et horrea eorum omnibus bonis. defende eos Domine virtute angelorum et archangelorum sanctorum tuorum, sicut recordati sunt sancti nominis tui super terram, ita memento eorum in regno tuo Domine neve derelinquas eos in hoc saeculo.

Beurteilung

Wiederum leuchtet klar die Linie der Entwickelung auf: am Anfang steht die Fassung des Fürbittgebetes nach dem Evangelium, deren ursprüngliche Gestalt freilich nur zu vermuten ist. Aus ihr hat sich die Fassung im anaphorischen Fürbittgebet folgendermaßen entwickelt:

1. die Ausdrücke für « Opfer » werden zu einer Dreiheit: θυσίας, προσφοράς, εὐχαριστήρια.

2. πρόσδεξαι zieht εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον, εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν οὐρανῶν διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας an sich.

3. προσφερόντων erfährt eine genauere Bestimmung durch die Ergänzungen: τῶν τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ὀλίγον, κρύφα καὶ παρρησίᾳ, βουλομένων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ προσενεγκάντων. Bei letzterer Wendung scheint gr Jak Pate gestanden zu haben; denn in ihr lesen wir: τῶν τὰς προσφορὰς ταύτας προσενεγκάντων ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ (1).

4. Es ist der Block der Musterbeispiele für eine Opferannahme eingedrungen; vgl. die Parallelen in Brightman 48 und 320.

5. Die Bitte um die Opferfrucht nimmt statt der einfachen auch in äg Bas benutzten Fassung (2) die aus der gr Jak entlehnte (3) umfangreichere Gestalt an.

6. Aus dieser anaphorischen Fassung hat sich durch weitere Ergänzungen eine neue Gestalt entwickelt, welche im Weihrauchdienst am Abend und am Morgen benutzt wird. White hat die Selbständigkeit dieser Gestalt nicht klar erfaßt (4).

II. Die Bitte für die *Hierarchie* und den Klerus

Folgende Fassungen sind für die Erarbeitung der Entwikkelung dieser Bitte von Bedeutung:

erster Teil

nach dem Evangelium		während der Anaphora	
Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970
τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν πάπαν τὸν Δ.	τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ μακαριώτατον ἡμῶν πάπας τὸν Δ.	μνήσθητι κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ μακαριωτάτου ἀρχιερέως ἡμῶν τοῦδε πάπας καὶ πατριάρχου	τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ μακαριώτατον πάπαν τὸν Δ.

(1) *Patrologia Orientalis* 26, 212.
(2) Renaudot a.a.O. 1, 70.
(3) *Patrologia Orientalis* 26, 212.
(4) Er hat sie einfach in die äg Bas eingeordnet, wo sie jedoch durch keinen Zeugen belegt sind.

nach dem Evangelium		während der Anaphora	
Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970
om	om	ὃν καὶ προέγνως καὶ προώρισας προχειρίσασθαι τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ	ὃν προέγνως καὶ προχειρίσασθαι τὴν ἁγίαν σου καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν
om	καὶ τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπον τὸν Δ.	om	καὶ τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν Δ. τὸν ἡμέτερον
συντηρῶν συντήρησον ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ἔτεσιν πολλοῖς καὶ χρόνοις εἰρηνικοῖς	συντηρῶν συντήρησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς, χρόνοις εἰρηνικοῖς	συντηρῶν συντήρησον αὐτὸν ἔτεσι πολλοῖς καὶ χρόνοις εἰρηνικοῖς	συντηρῶν συντήρησον αὐτοὺς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς χρόνοις εἰρηνικοῖς
om	ἐκτελοῦντας τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐμπεπιστευμένην ἁγίαν ἀχριερωσύνην κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακαριόν σου θέλημα ὀρθοτομοῦντας τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας	ἐκτελοῦντα τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐμπεπιστευμένην αὐτῷ ἁγίαν σου ἀρχιερωσύνην κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακαριόν σου θέλημα ὀρθοτομοῦντα τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας	ἐκτελοῦντας αὐτοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐμπεπιστευμένην ἁγίαν σου ἀρχιερωσύνην κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακάριόν σου θέλημα ὀρθοτομοῦντας τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας.

Beurteilung

In der Bitte für den Patriarchen weisen wiederum Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas kürzere Fassungen auf. Diese hat der Redaktor des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes erweitert, und zwar in folgender Weise:

a. durch einen Zusatz zum Amt des Patriarchen: es wird betont, daß der Patriarch dieses Amt durch göttliche Einsetzung bekommen hat: ὃν προέγνως καὶ προώρισας προχειρίσασθαι τὴν ἁγίαν σου καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

b. Ob der Satz ἐκτελοῦντας αὐτοὺς τὴν ὑπό σου ἐμπεπιστευμένην ἁγίαν σου ἀρχιερωσύνην κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακάριόν σου θέλημα; ὀρθοτομοῦντας τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας, der sich auch

im Vat. gr. 1970 im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium findet, zuerst im Rahmen des anaphorischen Fürbitt-gebeten entstanden ist, wird sich nur durch einen Analogieschluß beantworten lassen; vgl. die gleich folgende Bewertung des zweiten Teiles.

c. Dasselbe gilt für die sich ebenfalls nur im Vat. gr. 1970 findende Erwähnung des eigenen Bischofs.

zweiter Teil

nach dem Evangelium		anaphorisch			
Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	Vat. gr- 1970	gr Mark	gr Jak (1)	ApKo (2)	gr Greg (3)
		μνήσθητι δὲ καὶ			
	σὺν πᾶσιν	τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ			τῶν περιόντων
	ὀρθοδόξοις	ὀρθοδόξων			
	ἐπισκόποις	ἐπισκόπων	ἐπισκόπων...	ἐπισκόπων	ἐπισκόπων
	πρεσβυτέροις	πρεσβυτέρων	πρεσβυτέρων	πρεσβυτέρων	πρεσβυτέρων
	διακόνοις	διακόνων	διακόνων	διακόνων	διακόνων
	om	om	διακονισσῶν	om	om
	ὑποδιακόνοις	ὑποδιακόνων	ὑποδιακόνων	ὑποδιακόνων	om
	ἀναγνωσταῖς	ἀναγνωστῶν	ἀναγνωστῶν	ἀναγνωστῶν	ἀναγνωστῶν
	om	om	ἐπορκιστῶν	om	s.u.
	om	om	ἑρμηνευτῶν	om	om
om	ψάλταις	ψαλτῶν	ψαλτῶν	φαλτῶν	φαλτῶν
	om	om	s. o.	om	ἐξορκιστῶν
totum	om	μοναζόντων	μοναζόντων	om	μοναζόντων
	om	ἀειπαρθένων	ἀειπαρθένων	παρθένων	ἀειπαρθένων
	om	om	s.u.	om	ἐγκρατῶν
	om	χηρῶν	χηρῶν	χηρῶν	χηρῶν
	om	om	ὀρφανῶν	om	ὀρφανῶν
	om	om	ἐγκρατευομένων	om	s.o.
	om	λαικῶν	om	λαικῶν	λαικῶν
	σὺν παντὶ πληρώματι τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας				σὺν παντὶ πληρώματι τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας

(1) *Patrologia Orientalis* 26, 218.

(2) BRIGHTMAN a.a.O. 21 f.

(3) RENAUDOT a.a.O. 1, 100.

Beurteilung

1. Sicher ist, daß dieses Stück im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium ursprünglich gefehlt hat.

2. Sicher ist auch, daß die Reihe nach bekannten und vertrauten Fassungen gebildet worden ist. Nicht sicher ist jedoch, ob als Vorlage einer der uns bekannten Texte gedient hat; allerdings dürfte die Fassung in der gr Greg wohl nicht als Quelle in Frage kommen, da das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der gr Greg an anderen Stellen offensichtlich bei der gr Mark Anleihen gemacht hat.

3. Ist dieses Stück zuerst im Rahmen des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes aufgekommen oder im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium? Für die Annahme, daß diese Erweiterung zuerst im Rahmen des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes stattfand, sprechen folgende Gründe:

a. die uns bekannten Vorlagen gehören alle dem anaphorischen Fürbittgebet an.

b. der Anschluß mit σύν erscheint, sekundär gegenüber dem μνήσθητι des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes, das einen eigenen Satz, ja Abschnitt einleitet.

c. die diakonale Aufforderung, welche im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium vorausgeht, nimmt auf diese Klassen keinerlei Bezug.

d. auch die zusammenfassende Wendung σὺν παντὶ τῷ πληρώματι (1) κτλ, womit μοναζόντων ἀειπαρθένων χηρῶν λαικῶν gemeint sind, sieht wie eine sekundäre Vereinfachung aus (2).

e. in der voraufgegangenen Bitte für die Kirche hat das Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium mit dem Satz τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν δώρησαι eine ganz offenkundige Anleihe beim anaphorischen Fürbittgebet gemacht. Denn der Satz findet sich genau so bereits im PapStr. Damit hätte unser Fall eine eindeutige Parallele.

(1) Eine gleichartige Verwendung von pleroma findet sich *ApKo* 8,13 = BRIGHTMAN a.a.O. 23.

(2) Der Vollständigkeit halber sei hier auch der Text erwähnt den Paul E. KAHLE, *Bala'izah* 1 (London 1954) 408-11. Es handelt sich aber nicht um einen Text aus dem anaphorischen Fürbittgebet, noch um eine solchen aus dem Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium, sondern um einen Text aus der eigentlichen Enarxis. Das beweisen deutlich die einleitenden Worte: ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε κτλ.

4. Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas offenbaren hier von neuem ihre Nähe zum byzantinischen Ritus, wenn sie vor diese Bitte für die Hierarchie die völlig dem byzantinischen Brauch entlehnte (1) Fassung einschieben: ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι κύριε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἡμῶν τοῦδε (2) ὃν χάρισαι ταῖς ἁγίαις σου ἐκκλησίαις ἐν εἰρήνῃ σῶον ἔντιμον ὑγιᾶ μακροημερεύοντα καὶ ὀρθοτομοῦντα τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας.

12. DIE BITTE FÜR DIE EIGENE STADT

Wie die Übersicht in OrChr 47 (1963) 49-52 dartut, ist diese Fassung eine eindeutige Entlehnung aus der gr Jak. Folgende Einzelheiten seien noch einmal hervorgehoben:

1. Nur der gr Jak ist es eigentümlich, die eigene Stadt mit der Wendung ἡ ἁγία σου τοῦ θεοῦ πόλις bzw. ἡ ἁγία τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ πόλις zu bezeichnen; eben weil nur sie die in Jerusalem beheimatete Liturgie ist. Wenn nun gr Mark ausgerechnet diese Kennmarke an der Stirn trägt, ist damit die Frage der Abhängigkeit sogleich entschieden.

2. Freilich wurde sich der Redaktor der gr Mark — im Gegensatz zum Redaktor der koptischen Patriarchenweihe (3) — sofort klar, daß er nun wegen der anderen Ortsverhältnisse seine eigene Stadt noch einmal ausdrücklich nennen mußte. So fügte er zu dem Text der gr Jak das καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ταύτης wieder hinzu.

3. Genau wie die gr Jak als Weiterbildung der Keimzelle auch der Kaiserstadt durch den Ausdruck ἡ βασιλεύουσα gedenkt, so tut es die gr Mark.

4. Ebenso bietet gr Mark die für die gr Jak charakteristische Schlußwendung εἰρήνης καὶ ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν.

In diesem Zusammenhang müssen wir auch die Fassung dieser Bitte im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium in den griechischen Zeugen ein Wort gönnen. Bislang war die Lage gewöhnlich so, daß wir in den Fassungen der Fürbitten nach dem Evangelium die Keimzelle für die Fassung der Bitten im anaphorischen Raum erblicken konnten. Das ist hier nun durchaus nicht der Fall. Denn

(1) Vgl. BRIGHTMAN a.a.O. 336.
(2) *Vat. gr.* 2281 fügt hier auch den Erzbischof ein.
(3) Vgl. O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Rite of the Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria*, in *Publications de la Société d'archéologie copte* (Le Caire 1960) 44.

die Fassung im Rahmen der Fürbitten nach dem Evangelium geht auf eine Erweiterung zurück, welche wir am besten in der gr Greg greifen können, wie die Übersicht in OrChr 47 (1963) 51 f. dartut. Der Redaktor der gr Mark hat die Fassung der gr Greg benutzt (1) und sie in seinem Sinn weiter ausgebaut: durch die Ergänzungen:

a) τὴν ταπεινὴν καὶ ἐλεεινὴν καὶ φιλόχριστον πόλιν ταύτην.

b) ὁ θεὸς ἀφ' ἡμερῶν πονηρῶν.

c) ὡς καὶ Νινευὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐφείσω ὅτι ἐλεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων εἶ καὶ ἀμνησίκακος ἐπὶ κακίας ἀνθρώπων. σὺ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου σου Ἠσαΐου εἶπας· ὑπερασπιῶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτὴν δι' ἐμὲ καὶ διὰ Δαυεὶδ τὸν παῖδά μου· διὸ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθὲ ὑπεράσπισαι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης διὰ τὸν μάρτυρα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Μάρκον τὸν ὑποδείξαντα ἡμῖν ὁδὸν τῆς σωτηρίας· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς κτλ.

13. Die Bitte für die Bedrängten

nach dem Evangelium		während der Anaphora		
diak	priester	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas	gr Jak
ΠΡΟCΕΥΞΑCΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΘΛΙΒΟΜΕΝΩΝ	memento Domine eorum qui tribulationibus et angustiis sunt afflicti. libera eos ex omnibus afflictionibus eorum.	μνήσθητι κύριε πάσης ψυχῆς χριστιανῆς θλιβομένης καὶ καταπονουμένης	μνήσθητι κύριε πάσης ψυχῆς χριστιανῆς θλιβομένης	μνήσθητι κύριε πάσης ψυχῆς χριστιανῆς θλιβομένης καὶ καταπονουμένης,
		ἐλέους θεοῦ καὶ βοηθείας ἐπιδεομένης	ἐλέους θεοῦ, βοηθείας ἐπιδεομένης	ἐλέους καὶ βοηθείας σου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιδεομένης
		καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς τῶν πεπλανημένων	καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς τῶν πεπλανημένων	καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς τῶν πεπλανημένων.
			καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν φυλακαῖς.	

(1) *Vat. gr.* 2281 und *Pegas* weichen im einzelnen etwas von der Fassung des *Vat. gr.* 1970 ab. Für uns sind jedoch diese Varianten ohne Bedeutung.

Beurteilung

Zwischen der Fassung im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium und der im Rahmen der Anaphora bestehen keine wörtlichen Beziehungen. Dagegen ist die Verwandtschaft mit der Fassung in der gr Jak offensichtlich. Die Entlehnung bei der gr Jak steht also außerhalb jeglichen Zweifels. Die Ergänzung, welche Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas aufweisen, scheint ebenfalls aus der gr Jak zu stammen; vgl. Patrologia Orientalis 26, 186 und 210. Die Vorlage, auf welche Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas zurückgehen, ist mit dem Text der gr Jak etwas freier umgegangen.

14. Die Bitte für die Gefangenen

Da die griechische Fassung des priesterlichen Fürbittgebetes nach dem Evangelium diese Bitte nicht kennt, bleiben als Fassungen, welche zu berücksichtigen sind, nur übrig:

1. aus dem bohairischen Bereich

   a. die priesterliche Fassung im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium,

   b. die dazu gehörige, noch in griechischer Sprache erhaltene diakonale Wendung,

2. die Fassung im griechischen anaphorischen Färbittgebet. Da aber diese Fassung in zwei ganz verschiedenen Gestalten auftritt und die eine dieser Gestalten engste Beziehungen zur Fassung dieser Bitte in der gr Jak aufweist, müssen wir auch letztere mithinzuziehen. So gewinnen wir folgende Übersicht:

nach dem Evang. diak.	nach dem Evang. priest.	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	gr Jak
ΠΡΟϹΕΥΞΑϹΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΩΝ	memento Domine captivorum	μνήσθητι κύριε	μνήσθητι κύριε πλεόντων ὁδοιπορούντων ξενιτευόντων χριστιανῶν.	μνήσθητι κύριε πλεόντων ὁδοιπορούντων ξενιτευόντων χριστιανῶν τῶν ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ φυλακαῖς, τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίαις καὶ ἐξορίαις, τῶν ἐν μετάλλοις καὶ βασάνοις καὶ πικραῖς δου-
		τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ	καὶ τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίαις καὶ ἐξορίαις καὶ ἐπὶ ξέναις καὶ πικραῖς	
om	om			

nach dem Evang. diak.	nach dem Evang. priest.	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	gr Jak
		ὄντων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν.	δουλείαις ὄντων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν.	λείαις ὄντων πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν.
om	om	δὸς αὐτοῖς εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐναντίον πάντων τῶν αἰχμαλωσάντων αὐτούς.	δὸς αὐτοῖς εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐναντίον πάντων τῶν αἰχμαλωσάντων αὐτούς.	om
om	om	om	om	εἰρηνικῆς ἐπανόδου ἑκάστου αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα.
om	libera eos omnes.	om	om	om

Beurteilung

1. Als Keimzelle für die Fassung im gr anaphorischen Fürbittgebet der Mark diente sicher eine Wendung, die ähnlich wie die heute noch im priesterlichen Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium übliche gestaltet war.

2. Unter dem Einfluß späterer griechischer Bildungen formte sie sich aber im ersten Teil um zu der Gestalt μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ ὄντων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν. An diesen Teil wurde noch ein zweiter angehängt, für welchen ich bislang noch keine Quelle entdecken konnte: δὸς αὐτοῖς εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐναντίον πάντων τῶν αἰχμαλωσάντων αὐτούς.

3. die Fassungen, welche uns Vat. gr. 2281 und Pegas bieten, scheinen unter einem Einfluß der Fassung der gr Jak entstanden zu sein.

15. Die Bitte der Liturgen für sich selbst

Der Text ist offenkundig eine Anleihe bei der gr Jak, wie die Gegenüberstellung erhärtet:

gr Jak	gr Mark
μνήσθητι κύριε κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου καὶ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου	μνήσθητι κύριε ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς [1] καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀναξίων δούλων σου καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐξάλειψον ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος θεός.
καὶ ἐπίσκεψαί με ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ ῥῦσαι καὶ ἀθώωσόν με ἐκ τῶν καταδιωκόντων με, κύριε κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπλεόνασεν ἐν ἐμοὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὑπερπερισσεύσει σου ἡ χάρις.	συμπάρεσο ἡμῖν λειτουργοῦσι τῷ παναγίῳ σου πνεύματι.

Vor συμπάρεσο hat Vat. gr. 1970 — und nur er — eine Bitte des eigentlich zelebrierenden Liturgen für sich selbst eingeschoben; er hat sich dabei des obigen Textmaterials bedient:

Bitte in der Mehrzahl	Bitte in der Einzahl
μνήσθητι κύριε ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀναξίων δούλων σου καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐξάλειψον ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος θεός	μνήσθητι κύριε καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου ἐξάλειψον ὡς φιλάνθρωπος θεός

16. Die Bitte für die eigene Gemeinde

Mit dieser Bitte lenkt das anaphorische Fürbittgebet wieder in die Reihenfolge der Fürbitten nach dem Evangelium ein, wo diese Bitte sich sogleich an die Bitte für den Patriarchen anschließt. Wenn das anaphorische Fürbittgebet zwischen die Bitte für die Hierarchie und diejenige für die eigene Gemeinde die Bitten für

[1] Dieses ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς dürfte aus dem zweiten Teil des Textes der *gr Jak* übernommen sein.

die eigene Stadt, für die Bedrängten, für die Gefangenen und die Bitte der Liturgen für sich selbst eingeschoben hat, scheint daraus hervorzugehen, daß der Redaktor Wert darauf legte, daß die Bitte für die eigene Gemeinde den Schluß bildete.

Zu diesem Gleichklang in der Reihenfolge gesellt sich eine weitgehende Übereinstimmung im Wortlaut:

nach dem Evangelium		anaphorisch
Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 1970. Vat. gr. 2281, Pegas, Messanensis
τὰς ἐπισυναγωγὰς (1) ἡμῶν κύριε εὐλόγησον.	τὰς ἐπισυναγωγὰς ἡμῶν κύριε εὐλόγησον.	τὰς ἐπισυναγωγὰς ἡμῶν κύριε εὐλόγησον.
om	om	τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν τέλεον ἐκρίζωσον ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου. τὸν σατανᾶν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ πονηρίαν (2) σύντριψον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν (3). τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου κύριε ὡς πάντοτε (4) καὶ νῦν ταπείνωσον, γύμνωσον αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. δεῖξον αὐτοῖς ἐν τάχει τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῶν (5), τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ (6) τὰς μαγγανίας (7) καὶ τὰς πανουργίας (8) ἃς ποιοῦσι καθ' ἡμῶν ἀπράκτους ποίησον.

(1) *Pegas* συναγωγάς statt ἐπισυναγωγάς.

(2) *Vat. gr.* 2281 und *Pegas* πονηρὰν δύναμιν statt πονηρίαν.

(3) *Pegas* add ἐν τάχει hinter ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν.

(4) *Vat. gr.* 2281 und *Pegas* und *Messanensis* om ὡς πάντοτε.

(5) *Vat. gr.* 2281 om αὐτῶν hinter ἀσθένειαν; *Pegas* add τὸν φόβον κατάργησον; *Vat. gr.* 2281 add. τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν κατάργησον.

(6) *Messanensis* om καὶ vor τὰς μαγγανίας.

(7) *Pegas* add αὐτῶν hinter μαγγανίαν.

(8) *Messanensis* om καὶ τὰς πανουργίας.

nach dem Evangelium		anaphorisch
Vat. gr. 2281 = Pegas	Vat. gr. 1970	Vat. gr. 1970 Vat. gr. 2281, Pegas Messanensis
δὸς ἡμῖν αὐτὰς ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακάριόν σου θέλημα.	δὸς αὐτὰς ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἅγιόν σου θέλημα.	om
om	οἴκους εὐχῶν, οἴκους εὐλογιῶν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς δούλοις σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα δώρησαι.	om
ἐξεγέρθητι κύριε καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί σου, καὶ φυγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω πάντες οἱ μισοῦντες τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. τὸν δὲ λαόν σου τὸν πιστὸν ποίησον ἐπ' εὐλογίαις (5) χιλίας χιλιάδας καὶ μυρίας μυρίαδας	ἐξεγέρθητι κύριε καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί σου, φυγέτωσαν πάντες οἱ μισοῦντες τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. τὸν δὲ λαόν σου τὸν πιστὸν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον εὐλόγησον, ποίησον αὐτὸν εἰς χιλιάδας καὶ μυριάδας	ἐξεγέρθητι κύριε καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί σου καὶ φυγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω (1) πάντες (2) οἱ μισοῦντες τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον (3) τὸν δὲ λαόν σου τὸν πιστὸν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον ποίησον (4) ἐπ' εὐλογίαις χιλίας χιλιάδας καὶ μυρίας μυριάδας,
ποιοῦντας τὸ θέλημά σου τὸ ἅγιον.	om	ποιοῦντας τὸ θέλημά σου τὸ ἅγιον (6)
om	καὶ μὴ κατισχύσῃ θάνατος ἁμαρτίας καθ' ἡμῶν μηδὲ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου.	om
χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς κτλ. (7)	χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς κτλ.	

(1) *Messanensis* om εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω.
(2) *Pegas* πάντοτε statt πάντες.
(3) *Messanensis* om τὸ ἅγιον.
(4) *Vat. gr.* 1970 om ποίησον.
(5) Die Lesart ἐπ' εὐλογίαις durfte wohl die ursprüngliche sein. Zu übersetzen wäre vielleicht: « mache sie zu Segensfülle, zu tausendmal tausend und zehntausendmal zehntausend ».
(6) *Pegas* add ναὶ κύριε; *Messanensis* add εὔσπλαγχνον καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον.
(7) Die Fassung dieser Bitte im Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium in der *äg Bas* stellt eine noch entwickeltere Stufe dar; die Fassung im *Papyrus von Der Balyzeh* eine Kürzung.

Beurteilung

1. Aus der Übersicht ergibt sich, daß allen Fassungen ein gewisser Textblock gemeinsam ist. Dieser besteht aus den Sätzen nr. 1 und 5.

2. Dieser Textblock darf als Keimzelle für die weitere Entwickelung angesehen werden.

3. Diese Entwickelung ist in scharf ausgeprägter Weise in doppelter Richtung verlaufen: die eine Gestalt ist dem anaphorischen Fürbittgebet eigentümlich, die andere den Fürbitten nach dem Evangelium. Gleich nach dem ersten Satz setzt die Entwickelung ein. Die anaphorische Fassung nimmt eine Bitte um Ausrottung des Götzendienstes und um Überwindung der Macht des Satans auf. Diese Wendungen zeigen starke Berührungen mit dem Gebet für die Katechumenen:

anaph	Katechumenen [1]
τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν τέλεον ἐκρίζωσον ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου	τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν τέλεον ἐκρίζωσον ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν.
und	
τὸν σατανᾶν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ πονηρίαν σύντριψον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν.	ἀπέλασον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ ἐνεργήματα τοῦ διαβόλου. . . σύντριψον τὸν σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐν τάχει

Die Unterschiede ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου im Verhälnis zu ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν und ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν im Verhältnis zu ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν scheine mir deutlich dafür zu sprechen, daß diese Wendungen im Gebet für die Katechumenen ursprünglich waren und bei der Übernahme ins Gebet für die Gemeinde umgemünzt wurden. Die gleiche Quelle — oder doch wenigstens die durch die gleiche Quelle angerufene Ausdruckswelt für die Abwehr des Teufels

(1) Nach Assemani, *Cod. Liturgicus* 7, 2, 126 f. ins Griechische rückübersetzt.

— hat zu der Formulierung τὸν σατανᾶν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ πονηρίαν σύντριψον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν geführt.

Die nicht-anaphorische Fassung nimmt auf:

1. in allen Zeugen: als Ergänzung zur ersten Bitte: δὸς ἡμῖν αὐτὰς ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον (καὶ μακάριόν) σου θέλημα.

2. Darüber hinaus hat Vat. gr. 1970 noch folgende Ergänzungen:

a. gleich im Anschluß an die eben namhaft gemachte Ergänzung: οἴκους εὐχῶν, οἴκους εὐλογιῶν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς μεθ'ἡμᾶς δούλους σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας δώρησαι.

b. am Schluß des Ganzen hat Vat. gr. 1970 noch die Entlehnung καὶ μὴ κατισχύσῃ θάνατος ἁμαρτίας καθ' ἡμῶν μηδὲ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου angefügt. Da alle anderen Zeugen diesen Zusatz nicht kennen, erscheint er schon aus diesem Grunde sekundär. Hinzu kommt die Tatsache, daß dieser Satz genau mit einem Satz aus dem anaphorischen Fürbittgebet übereinstimmt (1). Das legt den Schluß nahe, daß dieser Satz sekundär aus dem anaphorischen Fürbittgebet hier eingedrungen ist.

17. Die Entlehnungen aus dem 1. Klemensbrief

Diese Bitte für die Gemeinde wird weiter geführt durch eine Reihe von Kurzsätzen, welche z.T. aus dem 1. *Klemensbrief* entlehnt sind. Die Übersicht in OrChr 47 (1964) 44 gibt in dieser Hinsicht den erwünschten Aufschluß über die Zusammenhänge. Der Redaktor des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes der gr Mark scheint sich bei dieser Anleihe einer bereits in Ägypten bestehenden Gewohnheit angeschlossen zu haben. Er hat aber die Reihe der Sätze, welche die Vorlage ihm bot, durch Umstellungen, Auslassungen, Ergänzungen nach eigenem Gutdünken selbständig gestaltet.

Aus den Darlegungen in OrChr 47 (1963) 45 ging des weiteren hervor, daß die Fassung dieses Zitates in der by Bas nicht die Quelle für die Fassung in der gr Mark sein kann. Der Strom verläuft vielmehr umgekehrt. — Von dieser Erkenntnis aus läßt sich jetzt auch die Frage beantworten, welche wir oben bei der Behand-

(1) Brightman a.a.O. 126, Z. 24 f.

lung der Bitten für den Kaiser in der Schwebe lassen mußten. Bei dem Satz λάλησον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ wird der Strom in der gleichen Weise verlaufen sein wie hier; d. h. der Redaktor des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes der by Bas wird bei der gr Mark sich umgesehen haben.

18. Die abschließende Begründung

Als Überleitung zum Sanctus existierte auf ägyptischem Boden schon in der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh. folgende Wendung: σὺ γὰρ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι (1). Diese Wendung weist sich durch ihren Inhalt klar als für diese Funktion bestimmt aus.

In gleicher Funktion wurde sie auch in die Anaphora der gr Mark aufgenommen.

19. Zusammenfassung

Aus den Untersuchungen ergibt sich:

1. die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes bietet PapStr.

2. diese Gestalt ist stark erweitert worden. Quellen für diese Erweiterungen sind gewesen:

a) das Fürbittgebet nach dem Evangelium.

b) die daraus entlehnten Texte sind jedoch wiederum durch anderes Textgut erweitert worden;

c) auch die gr Jak hat einige Texte (2) beigesteuert.

Diese Schichten hatte man bislang noch nicht so gesehen.

H. Engberding O.S.B.

(1) Funk a.a.O. 2, 172.

(2) So wird auch im anaphorischen Fürbittgebet der *gr Mark* deutlich, was an anderen Stellen dieser Anaphora zu beobachten ist; vgl. Brightman a.a.O. 125, Z. 24 f.; 125, Z. 29-126, Z. 1; 131, Z. 26-132, Z. 3.

A Monophysite Epistle

ፀወን ፡ ነፍስ "The Consolation of the Soul"

The coming of the Portuguese to Ethiopia in the 16th century was an important political and religious event for the history of the country ([1]). Politically it freed Christian Ethiopia from the Moslem occupation of Mohammed Grañ. Religiously it established contact between Monophysite Ethiopia and Catholic Portugal. Indeed, the Jesuites became interested in Ethiopia and undertook missionary activity, trying to convert the Ethiopian rulers and the people to Catholicism ([2]). They partially succeeded. King Zä-Dəngəl (1603) and Susenyos (1606-1632) became converts to Catholicism. Needless to say, the religious leaders of the Ethiopian church were not inactive. They opposed Catholicism by producing religious writings proving the superiority of the monophysite belief and the fallacies of the Catholic church ([3]). Among those writings is the one published here. The author of the writing in Nəwayä Mäsqäl ([4]) who emigrated to Egypt, and from there sent his epistle to King Zä-Dəngəl ([5]).

This epistle known as **ፀወን ፡ ነፍስ** "the consolation of the soul" is preserved in a unique manuscript, Eth. 119, of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris ([6]). E. Cerulli published the text with an Italian translation in his *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI-XVII*, vol. 2, Città del Vaticano, 1960, p. 105-135.

([1]) A. H. M. Jones and E. Monroe, *A history of Abyssinia*, 1935, p. 81 ff.

([2]) *Op. cit.* p. 88-101.

([3]) I. Guidi, *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, 1932, p. 70 ff.

([4]) The name of the author appears in the beginning of Chapter II; see p. 469, n. 4.

([5]) E. Cerulli, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI-XVII*, vol 2°, p. IV, and p. 125, n. 2.

([6]) H. Zotenberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (gheez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1877, p. 141.

I reexamined the text with my students, Abraham Demoz, Haylu Fullas and Walter Müller, in a seminar and arrived at a different translation of several passages. Furthermore, since one misses a commentary in Cerulli's edition attempting to interpret the arguments of the Ethiopian writer, I thought it advisable to reedit the text with an English translation and a brief commentary in the footnotes for the benefit of those who are interested in the history of the Ethiopian church. The Geez text published in this article is based on the manuscript and does not reproduce Cerulli's text that differs occasionally from the manuscript. The identification of the Biblical and New Testament passages made by Cerulli was, of course, extremely helpful in the present edition.

The summary of the main arguments as given by E. Cerulli, *op. cit.*, pp. IX-X is reproduced here for the benefit of the reader.

First Objection

Jesus in asking Mary and Martha about Lazarus, " Ubi posuistis eum "? (John XI, 34) makes manifest the human nature which is coexistent with the divine one in Him. If His human nature had been totally united with His divine one, he would not have needed to ask about that which He would have known through the divine insight.

But, as our Monophysite author replies, Jesus had said before when He was still in Galilea, " Lazarus mortuus est " (John XI, 14). His question " Ubi posuistis eum "? (John XI, 34) was an act of humility and at the same time He wished to evade a possible later accusation by the Jews that He knew, by magic arts, Lazarus' place of burial.

Second Objection

The birth of Jesus from the Virgin, the Transfiguration, and the Resurrection are proofs of His divine nature. But the prodigies by themselves cannot prove the annulment in Christ of the human nature, because wonders were performed also, for example, by Moses and the Apostle Peter, who had, on the contrary, only a human nature.

To such an objection by the Missionaries, Nəwayä Mäsqäl answers that Moses and Peter did not perform wonders by their

own capacity for performing miracles but rather these wonders were accomplished through them by God, whereas Jesus acted by means of His own divinity. Thus, the shining glory seen on the face of Moses at his descent from Sinai was not other than an attenuated reflection of the divine splendor, and only a small garment was sufficient to cover it when he spoke to the Israelites; whereas at the Transfiguration of Jesus " Resplenduit facies eius sicut sol " (I Corinthians XV, 28) being He the creator of the sun.

Third Objection

The passage of Saint Paul, " Ipse Filius subiectus erit ei, qui subiecit sibi omnia ", cannot seem to be explained by the Monophysite doctrine.

Our author, instead, explains this passage from Paul by referring it to the act of humility done by the Son when He willingly accepted the Incarnation and also by referring it to that which He will accomplish when He accepts His Last Coming at the end of time. He then lists from the Gospel the passages in which the Father glorifies the Son and that particular one, " et mea omnia tua sunt et tua mea sunt et clarificatus sum in eis " (John XVII, 10), all passages, which interpreted literally, could even make one believe that they were acts of subordination by the Father toward the Word. Instead, as in that passage by Saint Paul to which can be given the opposite value of subordination of the Word to the Father, it can be clearly interpreted within the dogma of " union and equality " of the Three Persons.

Fourth Objection

Jesus said on the Cross, " Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me "? (Matthew XXVIII, 46). Such words appear as proof of the coexistance of a human nature in Him.

Nəwayä Mäsqäl replies citing first the passage from the First Epistle to Timothy where Saint Paul calls Christ " Beatus et solus potens, Rex regum et Dominus dominantium " and then, the other corresponding passages of the Scriptures which (obviously) declare the divine nature of the Incarnated Word.

Fifth Objection

Having denied then the distinction in Christ between the works accomplished by His human aspect and those accomplished by His divine aspect, our author replies to another later objection by the Missionaries; and that is, to the allusion that Jesus' human nature can be verified in the passage by Saint Matthew about the final Day of Judgement: " De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli coelorum, nisi solus Pater " (Matthew XXIV, 36). Nǝwayä Mäsqäl opposes this interpretation principally with another passage from the same Gospel, " Omnia mihi tradita sunt a Patre meo, et nemo novit Filium nisi Pater; neque Patrem quis novit nisi Filius " (Matthew XI, 27), a passage which therefore excludes the fact that the date known by the Father is unknown to the Son.

TEXT

(f. 49r) መልእክት ፡ ዘተፈነወት ፡ እምነ ፡ ብሔር ፡ ርሑቅ ፡ ትብጻ
ሕ ፡ ኀበ ፡ እግዚእየ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ። እመንገለ ፡ ሃይማኖቶሙ ፡
ርትዕት ፡ እስመ ፡ ቆሙ ፡ ምስሌነ ፡ ወተሰምዩ ፡ ያዕቆባውያነ ። ወአልበ
ሙ ፡ ክልእ ፡ ዘይጼውዕዎ ፡ ስመ ፡ ዘእንበሌክሙ ፡ በቅዳሴ ፡ ወበስባሔ ።
ዝኒ ፡ አኮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትርድዕዎሙ ፡ በጊዜ ፡ ጸብእ ፡ አው ፡ ከመ ፡ ትሚጥ
ዎሙ ፡ እምፂዋዌ ። አላ ፡ ባሕቱ ፡ እስመ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ትኩል ፡ ዓም
ደ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ ወቀኖና ፡ ዘወረደ ፡ እምሰማየ ፡ ሕጎሙ ፡ ለሐዋርያት ።
ወበእንተዝ ፡ ኢየሐድጉ ፡ ብሂለ ፡ ኢታፍልስ ፡ እግዚኦ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡
ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ወጽጽስና ፡ ግብጽ ፡ እለ ፡ ይለብሱ ፡ ኤፉደ ፡ ቅድሳት ፡ ሐ
ዲስ ፡ ወይትመረገዙ ፡ መስቀለ ። ወኢየሐድግዋ ፡ ለብሂለ ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ቃ
ል ፡ ኀበኒ ፡ ተዜወዉ ፡ ወለእመኒ ፡ ተሠይጡ ፡ እስመ ፡ ተደፍነ ፡ ውስ
ተ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ልቦሙ ፡ ወርቀ ፡ ሃይማኖታ ፡ ፍቁር ። ወፈድፋደሰ ፡ በእ
ንተ ፡ ነገሥታቲሃ ፡ ርቱዓነ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ባሕርያውያት ፡ ዘኢይሠየጡ ፡
በንዋየ ፡ ዓለም ። ወፀሓያት ፡ ዘኢይጸልሙ ።

ወእምነ ፡ እሉኒ ፡ ነገሥታተ ፡ ሠናያነ ፡ ዝክር ፡ ወኅሩያነ ፡ ተስፋ ።
በዘመጠወ ፡ ክሳዶ ፡ ለሰይፍ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሃይማኖቱ ። ወበዘጐየ ፡ እንዘ ፡
ይገድፍ ፡ መንበሮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትልዎ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ምሉአ ፡ ምልክና ፡
ዘጐየ ፡ እምገጸ ፡ ሄሮድስ ። እስመ ፡ ሰምዖ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ዘያፈቅረኒ ፡
ይትልወኒ ። ለሐዋርያኒ ፡ ቀርነ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ አጽምአ ፡ አመ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ከ
(f. 49v)ልሐ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ዘሰ ፡ አፍቀሮ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ ጸላኢሁ ፡ ለእ
ዚአብሔር ። ወበእንተዝ ፡ ተንሥአ ፡ ፩ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ አበ ፡ ነገሥታት ፡ እ
ዱመ ፡ ዜና ፡ እምይሰነአው ፡ ምስለ ፡ መሐመድ ፡ ነቢየ ፡ ሐሰት ፡ ወን
ጉሠ ፡ ሕስዋን ፡ እንበለ ፡ ይንሣእ ፡ ስንቀ ። ወባሕቱ ፡ ረሰየ ፡ ስንቆ ፡ ኅ
ብስተ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ወስቴሁኒ ፡ ደሞ ፡ እስከ ፡ በጽሐ ፡ ኀበ ፡

ብሔረ ፡ ባዕድ ። ወኢረከበ ፡ እንከ ፡ ፀሩ ፡ ዘይዴግኖ ። ወሰወሮ ፡ እግ
ዚአብሔር ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይርአይ ፡ ገጾ ፡ ወኢትደንግፅ ፡ ልቡ ፡ ወይኅጣእ ፡
እድወኒ ፡ ትፍሥሕተ ፡ በኃጢአ ፡ ዚአሁ ።

ዝኒ ፡ ነገርየ ፡ ኢኮነ ፡ ሕስወ ፡ እስመ ፡ የአምርዎ ፡ ኵሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡
የአምርዎ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ በአሐቲ ፡ ጠባይዕ ፡ እስከ ፡ ተኰለቀ ፡ ሎቱ ፡
ስምዓ ፡ ዘትንእስ ፡ እምስምዓ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ በግዓ ፡ ፋሲካ ። ዘሦዓ ፡ ርእሶ ፡
ከመ ፡ አምላኩ ። ባሕቱ ፡ በእደ ፡ ካልእ ፤ ወኮነ ፡ መሥዋዕተ ፡ ኅሩየ ፡
ወእጣነ ፡ ሥሙረ ። ዝኩኒ ፡ ዘሞተ ፡ በሰላም ፡ ወተቀብረ ፡ ኀበ ፡ አሐ
ቲ ፡ ደብር ፡ መሠረተ ፡ አስኬማ ፡ ክፍል ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ እምክፍለ ፡ ገፋዕያ
ን ፡ ወተገፋኢ ።

ወበእንተዝ ፡ እምአመ ፡ ሰምዓት ፡ ወለተ ፡ መርዓተ ፡ [እግዚአብ
ሔር ፡] ሰቀለት ፡ ልባ ፡ በአየረ ፡ ፍቅሮሙ ፡ ለነገሥታቲነ ፡ ርቱዓነ ፡ ሃይ
ማኖት ። እንዘ ፡ ትነድድ ፡ በፍቅር ፡ ትስእል ፡ ወታስተበቍዕ ፡ በእንተ ፡
ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ወንጉሣ ፡ ኀበ ፡ አርትዖ ፡ እግሮሙ ፡ ቀዊመ ፡ በምድረ ፡ አ
ሚን ፡ ርቱዕ (f. 50r) ፡ ኢይንስኮሙ ፡ አርዌ ፡ ጸዋግ ፡ አጻማዊ ፡ ምሉአ ፡
ሕምዝ ። ዘነሰኮ ፡ ለ፩ ፡ ሕፃን ፡ ዘይነብር ፡ በዕለተ ፡ ሳብዕ ፡ ወኢያብጽ
ሐ ፡ ዓቅመ ፡ ዘሕገ ፡ ሳምኒት ። ርእዩ ፡ በግብር ፡ ወአስተሐይጹ ፡ በአንክ
ሮ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ፍቅረ ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ብርህት ፡ ከመ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወጽድልት ፡
ከመ ፡ ወርኅ ። ወመደንግፅት ፡ አምጣነ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢ
ይ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡ ምክር ፡ እንተ ፡ ትሔውጽ ፡ ከመ ፡ ጎህ ፡ ኀበ ፡ መሳክዊነ ፡
እንዘ ፡ ተኃድጎሙ ፡ ለበዓለ ፡ ፩ ፡ ወለበዓለ ፡ ፬ ፡ ነገሥታት ፡ እለ ፡ ይከ
ይድዎ ፡ ለወርቅ ፡ ከመ ፡ እብን ፡ ወለዲባጋትኒ ፡ ወለሐሪራት ፡ ይሬስይ
ዎ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቈጽለ ፡ ገዳም ። ወታአድዎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡ ለፈ ፡ ወ
ለፈ ፡ ከመ ፡ የዓዱ ፡ ሐመር ፡ በውሣጤ ፡ ነፋስ ፡ መልዕልተ ፡ ባሕር ፡
ወኢየዓግታ ፡ ልጐተ ፡ ጸዋልዕ ። ወኢይመይጣ ፡ አረፍተ ፡ አውሎ ፡
እስከ ፡ ትበጽሕ ፡ ኀቤነ ፡ በፍቅር ፡ ወተፋቅሮ ። እስመ ፡ ባቲ ፡ ሕገ ፡ ፍ
ቅር ፡ ከመ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ታፈቅር ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ድንግልናሃ ፡ እምነ ፡ ባዕል ፡
መዓስብ ፡ ምሉአ ፡ ቂም ፡ ወተስናን ። እስመ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ርእሰ ፡ መለያ
ልያት ፡ አስተጻመረነ ፡ ምስሌሃ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ይኩኑ ፡ ክልኤሆሙ ፡
አሐደ ፡ ሥጋ ። ዛቲሰ ፡ ትትረጎም ፡ ኀበ ፡ ነፍስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሃይማኖት ።

በእንተዝ ፡ ነያ ፡ አፍቀረት ፡ ንዴተነ ፡ ለእለ ፡ አልብነ ፡ ብሩረ ፡ ፀዓዳ ፡ ወልብሰ ፡ ቀይሐ ። እስመ ፡ ሰምዓቶ ፡ ለንጉሣ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ብፁዓን ፡ ነዳያን ፡ በመንፈስ ። ዓዲ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ኢይሕድግ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ብእሲቶ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ትዘሙ ። (f. 50ᵛ) ወሐዋርያኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ኢትትፈለጥ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ እምታ ። ወእመሰ ፡ ተፈልጠት ፡ ትንበር ፡ በከ ፡ ወይስጥቁ ፡ ገጸ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ መርአዊሃ ፡ ዘማዊ ። መልአከ ፡ ገሃነም ፡ ይስዳ ፡ ዘአፍቀረቶ ፡ ለፍቁሩ ፡ ምሉአ ፡ ግማኔ ፡ ወርኵስ ። እሙንቱሰ ፡ ነገሥታት ፡ ያጌብርዋ ፡ ወይብልዋ ፡ አወለት ፡ ንዒ ፡ ንሥኢ ፡ እምኔነ ፡ ወርቀ ፡ ወብሩረ ፡ ወአልባሰ ፡ ብዙኃ ። ንሕነ ፡ ንሔይሰኪ ፡ እምነ ፡ ምትኪ ፡ ነዳይ ፡ እምንዋየ ፡ ዓለም ። ወይእቲሰ ፡ ሡናይተ ፡ ስም ፡ ወስን ፡ ዘተወልደት ፡ እማኅፀነ ፡ ሳራ ፡ መናኒተ ፡ ክብሩ ፡ ለአቤሜሌክ ፡ ትቤ ፡ ይኄይሰኒ ፡ ምትየ ፡ ወልደ ፡ አብርሃም ፡ ዘብዕለ ፡ በተስፉ ፡ ወተባረከ ፡ እምእግዚአብሔር ፡ ብፁዓ ፡ ብፅዓን ። ወበዛቲ ፡ ተዓቅቦ ፡ ትሜንን ፡ ነገሮሙ ፡ ወትገድፍ ፡ ምክሮሙ ፡ ትቀንጽ ፡ በአእጋረ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ ወትሰርር ፡ በአክናፈ ፡ አሚን ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ንጉሥነ ፡ ወትእንቱ ። ለእለ ፡ ኢወጽኡ ፡ እምአንቀጸ ፡ ሕጋ ፡ ትሰፍሕ ፡ ወተአትብ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዶርሆ ፡ ኀበ ፡ እጐላቲሃ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢየሐውጸሙ ፡ ዓርዌ ፡ ሰባሪ ፡ ዘሰበረ ፡ ልበ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ በበትረ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ አመ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ሤጠ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ። ወባሕቱ ፡ ኢፈጸመ ፡ ተስፉሁ ፡ ወኢርእየ ፡ ረባሐ ፡ ሤጠ ፡ ርዴሁ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ። እስመ ፡ ተፈጸመ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ኃጥእ ፡ አስተጋብአ ፡ ወርቀ ፡ ወነሥእዎ ፡ ጻድቃን ፡ ወኢሐደገ ፡ ስመ ፡ ለስሙ ። ዝኩኒ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ ተሐንቀ ፡ ወሞተ ፡ በግብት ፡ ወነሥእዎ ፡ ኃጥአን ፡ ወአኮ (f. 51ʳ) ፡ ጻድቃን ፡ ከመ ፡ ተበህለ ፡ አሜን ።

ክፍል ፡ ፪ ።

ወለስምየኒ ፡ ዘመሠረታ ፡ ንዋይ ፡ ወጠፈራ ፡ መስቀል ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘአርኀወት ፡ ኀዋኀዊሁ ፡ እስከ ፡ ቦኡ ፡ ውስቴቱ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ በእንተዝ ፡ አድኃርከዋ ፡ እምተበኵሮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትትኀበእ ፡ በውሣጤ ፡ ቀለም ። ከመ ፡ ይትኀብኡ ፡ ሕሱማን ፡ ገጽ ፡ በማእከለ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወልብስ ፡ ወእማሔኒ ፡ ዘተርፈት ። ዝኒ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕፀፅየ ፡ እስመ ፡ የ

ዓግተኒ ፡ ኀፍረት ። ኀድጉሰ ፡ ከመ ፡ እፈኑ ፡ ክታበ ፡ ኀቤክሙ ፡ እም ኢአከልኩ ፡ እፁር ፡ ክታበ ፡ እምእደ ፡ ካልእን ፡ ለአቅርቦ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ፩ ፡ ዘ ይንእስ ፡ እምወዓልያኒክሙ ። ወባሕቱ ፡ ነያ ፡ አብሐተኒ ፡ ፍቅርክሙ ፡ ኀጥእተ ፡ ሚን ፡ ወቅያሜ ፡ ከመ ፡ አእዝዛ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡ ክርታስ ፡ ህየንቲየ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትስዓም ፡ መንጦላዕተ ፡ አፍአ ፡ ወውሣጤ ፡ እስከ ፡ ትወርድ ፡ ኀ በ ፡ ገጸ ፡ ሰኰና ፡ እግዚእየ ፡ ሥዑነ ፡ ሕግ ፡ ትዕርግ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ደብ ረ ፡ አብራክ ፡ ዘይሰግድ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ መስቀላዊ ፡ እስመ ፡ ተምህረ ፡ እ ምኔሁ ። እንዘ ፡ ትብል ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይዕቀብክሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ ትብሉ ፡ የአክለኒ ። ወያግኒ ፡ ጸላእተክሙ ። እፎ ፡ ሀሎክሙ ። አንሰ ፡ ሀሎኩ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ በገዘየ ፡ እንበለ ፡ እሤኒ ፡ እምኖላዊ ፡ አህርው ፡ ወባሕቱ ፡ እትፌሣሕ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘሰማዕኩ ፡ ዳኅናክሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ። ባሕቱ ፡ ቱሱሕ ፡ በኀዘን ፡ በእንተ ፡ (f. 51v) ወለትክሙ ፡ ዘትመስል ፡ ኪያክሙ ፡ ዘሐወጸ ፡ እደ ፡ ነኪር ። በእንተዝ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይናዝዝክሙ ። አሜን ።

ክፍል ፡ ፫ ።

ምክንያተ ፡ ፈንዎትየሰ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘሰማዕኩ ፡ ሶበ ፡ አገበሩክሙ ፡ ኀጡአነ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ወትንሣኤ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትስዓሩ ፡ ሕገ ፡ ፈጣሪ ። ወትንሥ ቱ ፡ ቀኖና ፡ ሐዋርያት ። እመሰ ፡ ኢኮነ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ እምኢነበቡ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ። ሰዓርዋ ፡ ለሰንበት ። ለምንት ፡ ትሰምዕዎሙ ፡ ለእሉ ፡ አብ ዳን ። ቦኑ ፡ ርኅቡ ፡ ደቂቅክሙ ፡ ወትእይንትክሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትግበሩ ፡ ዘ ንተ ። ስፍነ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ ጕንደየት ፡ ምስለ ፡ ነገሥታት ፡ ወጻድቃን ፡ ብሩ ሃን ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይለብሱ ፡ ኪያሃ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሜላተ ፡ አሚን ፡ ዮርዳኖሳዊ ፡ እለ ፡ አብርህዋ ፡ ለኢትዮጵያ ፡ እስከ ፡ አንሥኡ ፡ ሙታነ ፡ ዘኢይትኄ ለቁ ። ወዓዲ ፡ ለመንግሥትኒ ፡ ዘሖረት ፡ ኀበ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ካልእን ፡ አግብ እዋ ፡ በጸሎቶሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እደዊሆሙ ፡ ለነገሥት ፡ እለ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ በተ ሰዶ ፡ ወበስኢለ ፡ ፍተታት ። እስከ ፡ አንበሩ ፡ አክሊለ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ርእሶ ሙ ፡ ዘትትረአይ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ በላዕሌክሙ ። ወበእንተዝ ፡ ተመሐሉ ፡ ወ ተከየዱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ወአብያታር ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩኖሙ ፡ አሐደ ፡ መስ ንቅተ ፡ ወርስተ ። ባሕቱ ፡ ይእዜሰ ፡ ኢንሬኢ ፡ እስመ ፡ ፈለሰ ፡ ኵሉ ፡

ቃል ። ዝኒ ፡ ኢኮነ ፡ ሐሰተ ፡ እስመ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ ብዙኃ ፡ መንክራተ ፡ ዘ
ይትረአይ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ወይትነበብ ። ዘንተ (1) ፡ ዘገብሩ ፡ በሥዒረ ፡
ሰንበትኑ ፡ (f. 52r) አው ፡ በአቂቦታ ። በነሢተ ፡ ሕግኑ ፡ አው ፡ በገቢ
ር ። አንሰ ፡ ይመስለኒ ፡ ስምዐየ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በዓቂበ ፡ ሕግ ፡ ዳእሙ ።

ወበእንተዝ ፡ እመሰ ፡ ትሁብኒ ፡ ራትዓ ፡ ፈታሔ ፡ ዘኢይትሐየጥ ፡
በንዋይ ፡ ወይፈርሃ ፡ ለዕለተ ፡ ፍትሕ ፡ ዘትሰድድ ፡ ወትመትር ፡ በሰይ
ፈ ፡ ኢገቢእ ። እምበጻሕኩ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ ከመ ፡ እስምዖሙ ፡ ወእትፋትሐ
ሙ ፡ በጽድቅ ፡ እመ ፡ ያመጽኡ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ስምዓ ፡ እምወንጌል ፡ ዘይሔ
ስዉ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ አኃዊሆሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ብ
ሂለ ፡ ይሥዕር ፡ ሕገነ ፡ ወሰንበተነ ፡ ወበእንተዝ ፡ ሰቀልዎ ። ወእሙን
ቱኒ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ይእዜ ፤ ንሥዓራ ፡ ለሰንበት ፡ ዘአምጽአት ፡ ስቅለተ ፡ ላ
ዕሌሁ ፡ ተመሲሎሙ ፡ ዘይቀንኡ ፡ ሎቱ ። እመሰ ፡ ነዓሉ ፡ ወንክህድ ፡
ንስምዖ ፡ ለዮሐንስ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ዘብህልዎ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ አኮ ፡ ዘይስዕር ፡ ሰ
ንበተ ፡ ባሕቲቶ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ አባሁ ፡ ይሬስዮ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወያዔሪ
ርእሶ ፡ ምስለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወበእንተዝ ፡ ሰቀልዎ ። ይደሉኑ ፡ ክ
ሂደ ፡ አብ ፡ በሞተ ፡ ወልድ ። ሐሰ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ከመዝ ።

አአምር ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይትመጥውዋ ፡ ለሲኖዶስ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይጸልእዎ
ሙ ፡ ለጸሐፍቲሁ ፡ አማልክተ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያሰምኩ ፡ በሊቃውን
ት ፡ እለ ፡ ይመልኡ ፡ ወየሐጽፁ ። አነሂ ፡ አሰምክ ፡ በእለ ፡ ወሀበኒ ፡
ፈጣሪየ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ዘኪያክሙ ፡ ሰምዓ ፡ ኪያየ ፡ ሰምዓ ። በዝኒ ፡
ኢይትቃወሞሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይበሉኒ ፡ ኀፋሪ ።

(f. 52v) ንግድፍ ፡ ክልኤነ ፡ ንባበ ፡ አግብርቲሁ ፡ ዘቀዳሚ ፡ ወዘ
ደኃሪ ፡ መዋትያን ። ንግባእ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ እስትንፋሰ ፡ መለኮት ።
ወሰበ ፡ ሞኡኑ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ እሜጡ ፡ ክሳድየ ። ወባሕቱ ፡ እስመ ፡ ተፈ
ጻመ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ መንሱትሰ ፡ ኢይረክበክሙ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ እምሰብእ ። ወ
በእንተዝ ፡ ኢትስምዕዎሙ ፡ እግዚእየ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይሜህሩ ፡ በጽሚት ።
ዝኒ ፡ ዘጸሐፍኩ ፡ አኮ ፡ ከዊንየ ፡ ጠቢበ ፡ እስመ ፡ ለእላአ ፡ ልሳን ፡ አነ ።
ባሕቱ ፡ ሰማዕኩ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ እስመ ፡ መንፈሰ ፡ ነቢያት ፡ ይትኤዘዝ ፡ ለነ

(1) The manuscript repeats ዘንተ

ቢያት ። ወእግዚእነሂ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እዘዝ ፡ ለስሙ ፡ ኢታስተሐቅሩ ፡ አሐደ ፡
እምእሉ ፡ ንኡሳን ፡ [እብለክሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ መላእክቲሆሙ ፡ በሰማያት] ፡
ወትረ ፡ ይሬዕዩ ፡ ገጸ ፡ አቡየ ። በእንተዝ ፡ ፈተውኩ ፡ ቀዊመ ፡ ምስለ ፡
እሉ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትሰምዑኒ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፬ ።

ወበእንተኒ ፡ እለ ፡ ይነብቡ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወይብልዎ ፡ ክል
ኤ ፡ ጠበይዕ ፡ ወክልኤ ፡ ፈቃድ ፡ ሶበ ፡ አስጠሞሙ ፡ ቀላየ ፡ ዕበድ ፡ ወ
አጽለሞሙ ፡ ዑረተ ፡ ዝንጋኤ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘይቤላ ፡ ለማርታ ፡ ወለማርያ
ምኒ ፡ አይቴ ፡ ቀበርክምዎ ፡ ለአልዓዛር (1) ፡ እንበይነዝ ፡ ሰመይዎ ፡ ት
ሑተ ። እሉሰ ፡ ቈላፋን ፡ ይረውጹ ፡ በአፍራሰ ፡ ቀለም ፡ እንበለ ፡ ልጓ
ም ፡ ወኢይሬዕዩ ፡ ግበባተ ፡ ወስጥቀታተ ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ በምድረ ፡ መጻሕፍ
ት ፡ እስከ ፡ ተሰብሩ ፡ ወተሐጕሉ ። እመሰ ፡ ትሰምዓኒ ፡ ኢዘትትቃወ
መኒ (2) ፡ በዝንቱ ። ስምዓኒ ፡ እንከሰ ፡ ወአውጽእ ፡ እምእዘኒከ ፡ (f. 53r)
ጸብረ ፡ ግማኔ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትብህለ ፡ አርህብ ፡ አፉከ ፡ ወእመልእ ፡ ለከ ።
ሶበሰ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ይሬእዩ ፡ አይ ፡ ይረቅቅ ፡ ወይርኅቅ ፡ እምእግረ ፡ ሥጋ ፡
ወነፍስ ፡ እምሰምዕዎ ፡ ዘይቤሎሙ ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ ፡ ቀዊሞ ፡ በገሊላ ፡
ዘትርኅቅ ፡ እምቢታንያ ፡ ምሕዋረ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ አው ፡ ይበዝኅ ፡ አ
ልዓዛር ፡ ሞተ ። መትልወ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ አንሰ ፡ እትፌሣሕ ፡ እስመ ፡ ኢሀ
ሎኩ ፡ ህየ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትእመኑ ። ናሁ ፡ ተጠየቀ ፡ ከመ ፡ የአምር ፡ ኵሎ ፤
ዘየአምሮ ፡ አቡሁ ። ወዘይቤኒ ፡ አይቴ ፡ ቀበርክምዎ ፡ ዝኒ ፡ በእንተ ፡
አይሁድ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይቤልዎ ፡ በብዔል ፡ ዜቡል ፤ ሶበሰ ፡ አርትዓ ፡ ሐ
ዊረ ፡ ኀበ ፡ መቃብር ፡ እንበለ ፡ መሪሕ ፡ እምብህሉ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቀተሎ ፡
በምትሐት ። በምንትኬ ፡ አእመረ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ በገሊላ ። በእንተዝ ፡
ገዶፈ ፡ አእምሮ ።

(1) Ms. ለአልዓለዘር
(2) Ms. አዘትትቃወመኒ

ክፍል ፡ ፰ ።

አንሰ ፡ አነክር ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘይቤለኒ ፡ ፩ ፡ እምደቂቀ ፡ ልዑን ፡ ለባሴ ፡ ሰፋ·ድል ፡ በኑ ፡ ትሰምዮ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ መለኮተ ። ወእቤ ፡ እወ ፡ እሰምዮ ። ይቤለኒ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምንት ፡ ታወጽአ ፡ እምሰብእናሁ ። ወእቤሎ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጽአ ፡ እምሕቱም ፡ ማኅፀን ። በደብረ ፡ ታቦርኒ ፡ አርአየ ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ ፡ ሥነ ፡ መለኮቶ ። ወድኅረኒ ፡ ወጽአ ፡ እምኅቱም ፡ መቃብ[ር] ፡ ወቦአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዕፅው ፡ ኆዋኅው ። ዘንተ ፡ ዘይገብር ፡ ሰብእኑ ፡ አው ፡ መለኮት ። ውእቱኒ ፡ አግብአ ፡ ሊተ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ኢበርሃኑ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ለሙሴ ፤ ኢወጽአኑ ፡ ጴጥ(f. 53v)ሮስ ፡ እምነ ፡ ቤት ፡ ዝጉሕ ፤ ትሰምዮሙኑ ፡ መለኮተ ። አነሂ ፡ ተሰጠውክዎ ፡ ዘይቤ ። አኮኑ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይቤልዎ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ገልብብ ፡ ለነ ፡ ገጸከ ፡ ወኢይቤልዎ ፡ አባለከ ፡ ውእቱኒ ፡ ያጸልማ ፡ በንስቲት ፡ ብልባሌ ። ተዓውቀኬ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢወረደ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ቀርነቡ ፡ አው ፡ መልዕልተ ፡ ርእሱ ። ወለእግዚእነሰ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሉቃስ ፡ አብርሃ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ከመ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወልብሱኒ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ከመ ፡ መብረቅ ። ዝኒ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሰማዕያን ። ውእቱሰ ፡ ፈጣሪሁ ፡ ለፀሐይ ፡ ሐሰ ፡ ሉቱ ፡ ይትመሰሎ ። ዓዲ ፡ ስምዖ ፡ ለዝኩ ፡ ረድእ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ጴጥሮስሰ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ወጽአ ፡ መሰሎ ፡ ሕልመ ፡ ዘየሐልም ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ሐደጎ ፡ መልአክ ፡ በአፍአ ፡ ገብአ ፡ ልቡ ። ናሁ ፡ ተጠየቀ ፡ ከመ ፡ አውጽአ ፡ መልአክ ፡ እግዚእነ ። እንበይነዝ ፡ ተኃፍረ ፡ ዝኩ ፡ ቈላፍ ፡ ወኃጥአ ፡ ተሰጠዎትየ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፱ ።

እመሰ ፡ ኢትትሐከዩ ፡ ሰሚዖትየ ፡ እስመ ፡ እትኴነን ፡ ምስለ ፡ እሉ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘይቤሉ ፡ ነሚአሙ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እምጳውሎስ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ወልድኒ ፡ ይገኒ ፡ ለዘአግነየ ፡ ሎቱ ። ዝኒ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ትስብእቱ ። ፍትሑ ፡ ማእከሌነ ። ዘንተሰ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘተልእከ ፡ ለአቡሁ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ወይመጽእሂ ፡ ዳግመ ። ኅድጉሰ ፡ ለአቡሁ ፡ ለአግብርትኒ ፡ ተትሕተ ፡ እስከ ፡ ሐጸበ ፡ እግር ፡ ወጊዜኒ ። ተሰነአሎሙ ፡ ለአግብርት ፡ ይቤ ፡ አንሰ ፡ አሐ

ውር ፡ ኀበ ፡ አብ ፡ [እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ አብ] ፡ የዓብየኒ ። ናሁ ፡ እምይእ
ዜሰ ፡ ተመዋዕኩ ፡ እስሕት ፡ ምስ(f. 54r)ለ ፡ ስሑታን ፡ ወእሳተፍ ፡ መ
ርገሞሙ ፡ ወእወርድ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገሃነም ፡ ምስለ ፡ ልዮን ። ወባሕቱ ፡ ሐ
ሰ ፡ ሊተ ፡ እበሎ ፡ ለአምላኪየ ፡ ይትለአክ ። መነ ፡ እረክብ ፡ ማእምረ ፡
በያኔ ፡ እንበሌክሙ ።

ባሕቱ ፡ ስምዑኒ ፡ በአፍቅሮ ፡ እንዘ ፡ አወጽአሙ ፡ ለእሉ ፡ እምአ
ብ ፡ ወአገንዮሙ ፡ ለወልድ ። አአንተ ፡ ዘትትፋትሐኒ ፡ አስተሐይጽ ፡
ወለቡ ፡ ዘእብለከ ፡ ረሲ ፡ ልበከ ፡ መጽሔተ ። ወሶበ ፡ ከልእዎ ፡ አይሁ
ድ ፡ ስባሔ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ አቡየ ፡ ዘይሴብሐኒ ። ነቢይኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሰብሕ
ዎ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ኵልክሙ ፡ አሕዛብ ። አስተሐይጽ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ተ
መስሎተ ፡ አብ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሕዝብ ። ዓዲ ፡ አመጽእ ፡ ለከ ፡ ስምዓ ፡ ዘሰ
ምዕዎ ፡ አጽራር ። ይቤ ፡ አባ ፡ ሰብሖ ፡ ለወልድከ ። ወመጽአ ፡ አቡ
ሁ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ሰባሕኩክሂ ፡ ወዓዲ ፡ እሴብሐከ ፡ ካዕበ ። ሶበሰ ፡
ነቢይ ፡ ሠርዓ ፡ ስብሐተ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ያቅርብዎ ፡ ለአክብሮተ ፡ ፈ
ጣሪ ፡ ልዑል ። አብኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሰባሕኩከ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ወዓዲ ፡ እሴብሐከ ፡
ለዝሉፉ ።

እሜልስ ፡ ስምዓ ፡ ለፍጻሜ ፡ ብሂል ፡ እንዘ ፡ እቀውም ፡ በአንቀጸ ፡
ኒቆዲሞስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ድኅረ ፡ መጠወኒ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ይቤ ፡ አባ ፡
ሰብሐኒ ፡ በስብሐትየ ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ ኀቤከ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ይትፈጠር ፡ ዓለም ፡
እስከ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ይብል ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ዘዚአከ ፡ ዚአየ ፡ ውእቱ ። በዛቲሰ ፡ ገጽ ፡
ይመስል ፡ ዘተዋቀሶ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትዋቀሱ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ በአውኅዶተ ፡
ጸባሕት ፡ ወጋዳ ። (f. 54v) አዝንጉአ ፡ ልቡና ፡ ናሁ ፡ በአፍቅሮትከ ፡
ንጻሬ ፡ አፍአ ፡ ቀለም ፡ አምጻእከ ፡ ወአውረድከ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡
ይሰብሖ ፡ ለወልዱ ። እንከሰ ፡ ተዓውቀ ፡ ይንእስ ፡ ሰባሒ ፡ እምተሰባ
ሒ ። ትብልኑ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ አኅሣሤ ፡ ቀለም ፡ ይንእስ ፡ አብ ፡ እምወልድ ።
ሐሰ ፡ ሎቱ ። አንሰ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ እሴብሖሙ ፡ ወአአኵቶሙ ፡ በተዋሕዶ ፡
ወበእሪና ፡ ለ ፫ ፡ አስማት ፡ ዘይሜለሱ ፡ በአካላት ፡ ወይትወሐዱ ፡ በመ
ለኮት ። አአምር ፡ አንሰ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ረከብከ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡ ቃል ፡ ከመ ፡ ትክ
ሕድ ፡ ወተዓብዮ ፡ ለወልድ ፡ እምነ ፡ አብ ። ለቡ ፡ ዘእብለከ ፡ ከመ ፡

ኢትሐር ፡ በአፍአ ፡ ቀለም ፡ እንበለ ፡ ታስተሐይጽ ፡ ውሣጤሁ ፡ በዓይነ ፡ ማእምራን ፡ እንበይነ ፡ ሠንዮትከ ፡ እምሐጕል ።

ክፍል ፡ ፮ ።

አዘትፈቅድ ፡ ትሕንጽ ፡ መቃብሪከ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ገሃነም ፡ ነሢአከ ፡ ሐዊነ ፡ እምነ ፡ ኬንያ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ አምላኪየ ። ወእምነ ፡ ጳውሎስኒ ፡ እብነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትዕፁ ፡ መቃብሪከ ፡ አርአያ ፡ ዘዓፀዉ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ዘኢያንከሎሩ ፡ ከሎራ ፡ መልአክ ፡ ነፋሔ ፡ ቀርን ። በእንተ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ አምላኩ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፤ ትፈቅድኑ ፡ ትጸወዓኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ አንኰርኰር ፡ ለከ ፡ ወአዕርገ ፡ እምነ ፡ ሐጕልከ ፡ ዘኢይትረከብ ፡ ፍጻሜሃ ። ባሕቱ ፡ ኢትፈቅዶ ፡ ለድኂን ፡ በእንተ ፡ ጸሊአተከ ፡ ጽዋዔየ ። አንሰ ፡ ኢየኃድግ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ጸላክኒ ፡ እስመ ፡ (f. 55ʳ) ብየ ፡ ቀኖና ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ አፍቅር ፡ ቢጸከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ነፍስከ ። ናሁ ፡ አስተዳሉ ፡ ሐብለ ፡ ምስሐብከ ፡ ለዓሪግ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ሕይወት ። ስማዕ ፡ ይእዜኒ ፡ ክዊነከ ፡ ጠቢበ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትነብር ፡ በአንቀጸ ፡ ፩ ወ ፮ ፡ ዘጢሞቴዎስ ፡ ስምዖ ፡ ለጳውሎስ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘያስተርኢ ፡ በእድሜሁ ። ዘባሕቲቱ ፡ ኃይል ፡ ወብፁዕ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወአምላከ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ወእግዚአ ፡ አጋእዝት ፡ ዘቦቱ ፡ ብርሃነ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ህልው ። ዘሎቱ ፡ ክብር ፡ ወስብሐት ። አእምር ፡ ወስማዕ ፡ ይእዜ ። እመሰ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ እዝገዝ ፡ ለስሙ ፡ አምላከ ፡ አማልክት ፡ እንከሰ ፡ ይትረከብ ፡ አብ ፡ እንበለ ፡ እበሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ትሑታን ፡ አማልክት ። እንዘ ፡ ያመልኮ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ። ባሕቱ ፡ ሐሰ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ በእንተዝ ። ሶበ ፡ አገበርከኒ ፡ በዕበድከ ፡ እስመ ፡ ነበብኩ ፡ ግሩመ ፡ እወርድ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ገሃነም ፡ ምስሌከ ። እፎ ፡ ያመልኮ ፡ አብ ፡ ለወልዱ ፡ ወልድኒ ፡ ለአቡሁ ። አእምር ፡ ተሠጥዎተከ ፡ ወትብል ፡ ኢይቤኑ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ አምላከ ፡ አማልክት ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ነበበ ፡ ወጸውዓ ፡ ለምድር ።

ስማዕ ፡ ከዕበ ፡ ለእመሰ ፡ ኢገደፍከኒ ፡ ወአነሂ ፡ ኢይገድፈከ ፡ እስከ ፡ እወዲ ፡ እብነ ፡ ማኅረፅ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ክሳድከ ፡ ለአስጥሞ ። ሀለዎኑ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ዘይነብብ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ካልአ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ክርስቶስ ። እመሰ ፡ ነባ

ቢ ፡ ወጸዋኢ ፡ ኮነ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ረዳእከኒ ፡ ወኮንከኒ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ከ
መ ፡ ይኩን ፡ (f. 55ᵛ) ጽዱቀ ፡ ነገርየ ። እምይእዜሰ ፡ አጽንን ፡ ክሳደከ ፡
ለጸዊረ ፡ ማኅረጽ ፡ እስመ ፡ ብከ ፡ ቀኖና ፡ እምኀበ ፡ ፈጣሪ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ይ
ኄይስ ፡ ይስቅሉ ፡ በክሳዱ ፡ ማኅረጸ ፡ አድግ ፡ ወያሥጥምዎ ፡ እምያስ
ኅቶሙ ፡ ለንኡሳን ።

እትመየጥ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ስሕተትከ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ እ
ግዚአብሔር ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ስብሐቲሁ ፡ ለብሰ ፡ ንጉሥየኒ ፡ ወአምላኪየኒ ።
ወበዝንቱ ፡ ትፈቅድ ፡ ታግብአ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ኀበ ፡ አቅርቦ ፡ ጸባሕት ፡
ወጋዳ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሕዝብ ። በእንተዝ ፡ ስምዓኒ ፡ ዘእብለከ ፡ ዘአንበርከዋ ፡
ቀዳሚ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ቃል ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ገጽከ ፡ ዘትቤ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወ
እግዚአ ፡ አጋእዝት ። እመሰ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ ዘትትሜካሕ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ከ
መዝ ፡ ናሁ ፡ አምጻእከ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አብ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡
ቅንየተ ፡ ወሥዕረተ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትሑታን ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ይትኤዘዙ ፡ ለዘየዓ
ቢ ፡ እስመ ፡ ሰመዮ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ። አንተሰ ፡ ኢትትዌከፎ ፡ ለቃ
ልየ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ታሰምክ ፡ በነቢይ ። እንከሰ ፡ ቁም ፡ ቀኒተከ ፡ ወተወልተ
ው ፤ አመጽእ ፡ ለከ ፡ ነቢየ ፡ ዘይጸብአከ ፡ ዘነበበ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብላ ፡ ለኢ
የሩሳሌም ። ናሁ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ ንጉሥኪ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጼዓን ፡ ዲበ ፡ አድ
ግ ። ተአውቀኬ ፡ እንከሰ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ዘቀዳሚ ፡ ወዘደኅሪ ። አብሰ ፡
ኢተጽዕነ ፡ ባሕቱ ፡ ወረደ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ዮርዳኖስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያጠይቅ ፡ መንግሥቶ ፡
ወነበበ ፡ (f. 56ʳ) እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወልድየ ፡ ዘአፈቅር ፡
ወሎቱ ፡ ስምዕዎ ። ዮሐንስኒ ፡ ዘሰሐበ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ኀ
በ ፡ ከዊነ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ዘሰምዓ ፡ እምአፈ ፡ ፈጣሪሁ ፡ አብሰ ፡ ኢይኴ
ንን ፡ አላ ፡ ኵሎ ፡ ኵነኔሁ ፡ አወፈዮ ፡ ለወልዱ ። እምይእዜሰ ፡ እወጽ
እ ፡ እምቤተ ፡ አብ ፡ እንበለ ፡ እጻእ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ወጽኡ ፡ አግብርተ ፡ ዳ
ዊት ፡ እምቤቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይባኡ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ እስመ ፡ ሰ
ምዕዎ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ይኩንክሙ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ወልድየ ።
ወርእይዎ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያጸንን ፡ ክሳዶ ፡ ለመሢሕና ፡ ወልዱ ። በእ
ንተዝ ፡ አርትዑ ፡ ተሊዎቶ ። ወዳዊትሰ ፡ ተርፈ ፡ በተጽናስ ፡ ምስለ ፡
አሐቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ዘለብሳ ፡ እስከ ፡ ተሰለቀቶ ፡ እምስላቅ ፡ ዘይትወለድ ፡
እምሰሐቅ ። ወአነሂ ፡ አርታዕኩ ፡ ሐዲጎቶ ፡ ለአብ ፡ እንበለ ፡ እኅድጎ ፡

እስመ ፡ ኢይትከሀል ፡ ኃዲጎቶ ፡ ከመ ፡ እፈጽም ፡ ትእዛዘ ፡ አብ ፡ ብሂ
ለ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስምዐዎ ። ክርስቶስኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ለረድኡ ፡ አንተሰ ፡ ት
ልወኒ ፤ ኢይቤ ፡ ትረፍ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አቡየ ። ወመትልወ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ዘያፈ
ቅረኒ ፡ ይዕቀብ ፡ ቃልየ ፡ ወይትልወኒ ፡ ወዘዓቀበ ፡ ቃልየ ፡ ይቤ ፡ አነ ፡
ወአብ ፡ ንመጽእ ፡ ኀቤሁ ፡ ወንገብር ፡ ምዕራፈ ። ናሁ ፡ ዘገደፍክዎ ፡
ለአብ ፡ ረከብክዎ ፡ በተለወተ ፡ ወልድ ።

ዓዲ ፡ ነዓ ፡ ትልወኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትብራህ ፡ ጽልመተ ፡ ዓይንከ ፡ ዘአዖ
ራ ፡ ልዮን ፡ በሦከ ፡ ስሕተት ። ንሣእ ፡ ርጢነ ፡ (f. 56v) እምኀበ ፡ ዘይ
ብል ፡ አነ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ዘይመጽእ ፡ ኀበ ፡ አብ ፡ ዘእን
በለ ፡ እንተ ፡ ኀቤየ ። ለእመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ትብልኑ ፡ እረክብ ፡ ካልአ ፡
አንቀጸ ። ስማዕ ፡ ለእመኒ ፡ ከደነከ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወለእመኒ ፡ አሥጠመተ
ከ ፡ ምድር ፡ ይረክበከ ፡ በኃበ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡ ብዊህ ፡
ሊተ ፡ ሥልጣነ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ወምድር ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትበዋህ ፡ ባዕለ ፡ ቤት ፡
ላዕለ ፡ ቤቱ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳ ።

አሰማዕያን ፡ ስምዑ ፡ ዘእቤ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትፍትሑ ። ሀለው ፡ ፫ ፡ ካህና
ት ፡ ዘኢይትናጸሮሙ ፡ ተቃህዎ ፡ ወቅንአት ፡ እንበለ ፡ ፍቅር ፡ ወሰላ
ም ። ፩ ፡ ይቀውም ፡ በየማን ፡ ወ ፩ ፡ በጸጋም ፡ ወሣልሰሙሰ ፡ ይትከሀ
ን ፡ ወትረ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያመጽእ ፡ እምፍሬ ፡ ጻማሁ ፡ ዘወጽአ ፡ እምሐፈ ፡
ገጹ ፡ ወያጸግቦሙ ፡ ለሕዝብ ፡ ወኢይቤሎሙ ፡ አምጽኡ ፡ ቍርባነ ፡ እ
ምንዋይክሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትቅረቡ ። ወባሕቱ ፡ ይቤሎሙ ፡ ኢትትሐከዩ ፡
መጺአ ፤ መሥዋዕተሰ ፡ አነ ፡ እፈዲ ፡ በእንቲአክሙ ። እምድኅረ ፡ ጐ
ንዱይ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ተንሥአ ፡ በቱ ፡ ፩ ፡ ዕልው ፡ ከመ ፡ ይጻልአ ፡ ወከመ ፡
ይትፋቀር ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዘቆመ ፡ በጸጋም ፡ በህድአት ፡ ዘኢይትከሀሎ ፡ ይት
ከሃን ፡ እስመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘተምህረ ፡ ጸዋትወ ፡ ቅዳሴ ። ወዓዲ ፡ አልበ
ቱ ፡ ፍሬያተ ፡ ለአቅርቦ ። እመሰ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ እምኀበ ፡ መኑ ፡ ይነ
ሥእ ፡ ተመጥዎ ። ተዓውቀኬ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይጸልእ ፡ ለድኂን ፡ ወለጥበብኒ ፡
ዘትቤ ፡ ዘበልዓ ፡ ሥጋየ ፡ በ(f. 57r)ሕይወተ ፡ ዘለዓለም ።

ክፍል ፡ ፱ ።

ለምንትኑ ፡ የአርጉ ፡ ቈላፋን ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ከመ ፡ ይንሥኡ ፡ መሥዋዕተ ፡ ወየአምኑ ፡ መስቀለ ፡ ዘኢይበቍዖሙ ፡ ለድኂን ። አንሰ ፡ አነክር ፡ እምጻማሆሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይቤልዎ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ይደክም ፡ እመለኮት ፡ ወኢይትከሀሎ ፡ ይግበር ፡ ተአምረ ፡ ወመንክረ ፡ ወያንሥእ ፡ ምውተ ። እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ መለኮት ፡ ይገብር ፡ ግብረ ፡ መለኮት ፡ ወትስብእት ፡ ግብረ ፡ ትስብእት ። አሰማዕያን ፡ አስተሐይጹ ፡ ነገረ ፡ እሉ ፡ እስመ ፡ ያንእስዎ ፡ እምነ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ወጳውሎስ ፡ ወእምካልአን ፡ አግብርቲሁ ፡ እለ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ በጽዋኤ ፡ ስሙ ፡ ተአምራተ ፡ ወመንክራተ ፡ ብዙኀ ። እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ተንሥእ ፡ አምውት ፡ ይቀንጽ ፡ በጊዜሀ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሀየል ፡ ዝኩ ፡ ዝርወ ፡ ዓፅም ፡ እስከ ፡ ይከውኖሙ ፡ ረድአ ፡ ወመሀሬ ፡ ለካልአን ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ። ወለአጋንንትኒ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ይሰድድዎሙ ። እንበለሰ ፡ ይቶስሑ ፡ ስሞ ፡ ኢይትከሀሎሙ ። እመሰ ፡ ኢይፈቅዱ ፡ ተመጥዎታ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡ ቃል ፡ ምንተ ፡ ይበቍዖሙ ፡ ተመጥዎተ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ዘአዕረቅዎ ፡ እመለኮቱ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፤ ዘኢይክል ፡ የሀብ ፡ ትንሣኤ ፡ ወሕይወተ ። አስተማስሎሙ ፡ አንሰ ፡ ለእሉ ፡ በእለ ፡ ያመልኩ ፡ ጣዖተ ፡ ዘኢይክል ፡ የሀብ ፡ ተሰጥዎ ፡ ወትንሣኤ ። ወለመሥዋ ፡ (f. 57ᵛ) ዕቶሙኒ ፡ ርኩስ ፡ በሥጋ ፡ እንስሳ ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ ተስፋ ። ስምዑኒ ፡ አምክርከሙ ፡ አአዝማደ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ኢትዕርጉ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ይኄይሰክሙ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ ዘ ፻ ፡ ዓመቱ ፡ ዘሰቀልዎ ፡ አኃዊክሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ አምላኩ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ዘ ፴ ፡ ዓመቱ ። ውእቱሰ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ይትወለድ ፡ አብርሃም ፡ ሀሎኩ ። መስቀለኒ ፡ ኢትኅሥሡ ፡ ካልአ ፡ እንበለ ፡ መስቀሉ ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ ዘተሰቅለ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ቍልቍሊተ ፡ እመሰ ፡ ይሤንየክሙ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፲ ።

ናሁ ፡ ትትአነበሱ ፡ ላዕሌየ ፡ ከመ ፡ ታውድቁኒ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ታሐድጉ ፡ ተከልቦትናክሙ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ተአንስሮትየ ። ኢታፈቅሩኑ ፡ ረሲአትየ ፡ እስመ ፡ ታጽሕቡኒ ፡ ኵሎ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ታመጽኡ ፡ ብሂለ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ኀጡ

አ ፡ ምንታዌ ፡ ክርስቶስ ። ስባሔ ፡ ለስሙ ። ወበእንተሰ ፡ ለይእቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ወለኪያሃ ፡ ሰዓት ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘየአምራ ፡ ኢመላእክተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወኢወልድ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ አብ ፡ ባሕቲቱ ። ናሁ ፡ እምይእዜሰ ፡ እገብእ ፡ ምስሌከ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ቤተ ፡ አቡየ ፡ ታራ ። ይኄይሰኒ ፡ ቍልፈትየ ፡ ከማከ ፡ ወለጣዖታቲሁኒ ፡ እትጋነይ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ እሠውዕ ፡ ስብሓ ፡ ሐፃናት ። በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ነበሩ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይበልዑ ፡ ስብሐ ፡ ደቂቆሙ ፡ ዘተርፈ ፡ እምሥዋዕ ፡ ከመ ፡ አንተ ፡ ይእዜ ። እመሰ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ኢየአምር ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ ዘአእመርዎ ፡ ነቢያት ፡ ወአርዳኢሁ ። ጠይቅ ፡ (f. 58r) እመሰ ፡ ትቤለኒ ፡ ምንትኑ ፡ ዘአእመሩ ። ስማዕ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ሄኖክ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በአእላፊሁ ፡ ቅዱሳን ። አስተሐይጽ ፡ ርኁቀታ ፡ ለዘመን ። ቦኑ ፡ ኢየአምር ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ መኑ ፡ አንበቦ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ወከሠተ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ምጽአቶ ። ሀሎኑ ፡ እንበሌሁ ፡ ዘይመጽእ ፡ ካልእ ። ሀሎኑ ፡ ሙሴ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ያመጽእ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ በቀዳሚ ፡ ገብረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሰማየ ፡ ወምድረ ። ናሁ ፡ አንተስ ፡ ታንእሶ ፡ እምፍጡራኒሁ ። ይሜንየከኑ ፡ ዕበድከ ። ለቡ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘአምሮ ፡ ለወልድ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ አብ ። ወአልቦ ፡ ዘየአምሮ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ወልድ ። ወአመ ፡ ይመጽእኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ንዑ ፡ ኀቤየ ፡ ቡሩካኒሁ ፡ ለአቡየ ። ወኢይቤ ፡ ሑሩ ፡ ኀበ ፡ አቡየ ።

እትነሣእ ፡ እምንዋምየ ፡ ይእዜ ። ይመስለከኑ ፡ ዘኃጣዕኩ ፡ ለከ ፡ ነገረ ። አዘታመልከ ፡ ለጳውሎስ ፡ ቀታሊከ ፡ ነጽረኒ ፡ እንዘ ፡ [እ]ሰርር ፡ ከመ ፡ ንስር ፡ ለተጻብኦትከ ፡ ወአንተኒ ፡ አቅም ፡ ትእይንተከ ፡ ከመ ፡ አንበጣ ፡ እመ ፡ ትክል ፡ ቀዊመ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ጽራኅየ ፡ እምተከዕዎ ። ኅድግሰ ፡ ቀሪብ ፡ ኀበ ፡ አጽፋርየ ። ስማዕ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ ምክሐ ፡ ትንሣኤ ። ክርስቶስ ፡ ጥበቡ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ወአእምሮቱ ። ኢይፈቅድ ፡ ተጻልኦተከ ። እፌጽም ፡ ቀኖናሁ ፡ ለነቢይ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ተገኃሥ ፡ እምእኩይ ፡ ወግበር ፡ ሠናየ ። ወአንተኒ ፡ ትረፍ ፡ በቤተ ፡ አብ ፡ ምስሌሁ ። አንሰ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ወጻእኩ ፡ እንበለ ፡ እጻእ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እጸውሮ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ። ወለመዝገበ ፡ አብኒ ፡ ጽዒንየ ፡ በሐመረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ዘይሜኒ ፡ እመስቀለ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ አሐውር ፡ ርኁቀ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ኢይ(f. 58v)ረክበኒ ፡ አብ ። ዝኒ ፡ ጻማ ፡ ወድካም ፡ ዘይወልዶ ፡ ፍር

ሀት ፡፡ እቀውም ፡ ቅድሜሁ ፡ በምንትኑ ፡ የአምረኒ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ከላእክዎ ፡ ጥበቦ ፡ ወአእምሮቶ ፡፡ ዝኒ ፡ በእበድከ ፡ አበድኩ ፡ አንሰ ፡ እጸውሮሙ ፡ በተዋሕዶ ፡ ወለመዝገብኒ ፡ አዓቅብ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይሜጥወኒ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡ አሜን ፡፡ ተአምሩ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ሕግ ፡ እምነ ፡ አድግ ፡ ፀዓዳ ፡ ወንጹሕ ፡ ይኄይስ ፡ ላህም ፡ ዘማዊ ፡ ወጸሊም ፡፡ ናሁ ፡ ፈነውክዋ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡ ባሕርይ ፡ ዘቃበርህ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ዕዉራን ፡ ትኩነኒ ፡ ህየንተ ፡ አምኃ ፡፡ ወባሕቱ ፡ ኢይርአይዋ ፡ አሕርው ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይክድዋ ፡ በሰኰናሆሙ ፡ ርኩስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ተብህለ ፡ ኢትደዩ ፡ ባሕርየክሙ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ አኅርው ፡፡ አትረፍኩ ፡ ነገርየ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘኀጣዕኩ ፡ ክርታሰ ፡ ወጸሐፌ ፡፡ ተዓቀቡ ፡ እምሐሳውያን ፡ ነቢያት ፡ እለ ፡ ይመጽኡ ፡ ኀቤክሙ ፡ በአልባሰ ፡ አባግዕ ፡ ወእንተ ፡ ውስጠሙስ ፡ ተኵላት ፡ ወመሰጥ ፡፡

TRANSLATION

(f. 49r) A message that was sent from a distant country. May it reach my lord, the king of Ethiopia, from those whose faith is orthodox, for they stood with us and were named Jacobites (1). They have no other whose name they call in the liturgy and praise (2), except you. This (they do) not that you may help them in time of war or return them from captivity, but only because over them is set up the pillar of the law and the cannon which descended from heaven (3), the Apostolic Law (4). Because of this they never cease from saying, " O Lord, do not make pass away the kingdom of Ethiopia and the Patriarchate of Egypt both of which wear a new *efod* (5) of sanctity and lean on the cross ". They do not cease from saying these words wherever they are taken in captivity and even if they are sold (as slaves); for the gold of her (Ethiopia's) beloved faith has been implanted in the bottom of their hearts, especially because of her kings, orthodox in their faith, gems that cannot be valued in terms of worldly possessions, and suns that never darken

Among these kings, good in renown and select in hope, there is one who has given his neck to the sword for the sake of his belief (6); another who fled, abandoning his throne, that he may follow the divine (7) Christ who (himself) had fled from the presence of Herod (8). (The king did this) because he heard Him say,

(1) For the Jacobites, see The Catholic Encyclopedia, 2 (1907), p. 282.

(2) Mentioning the name of the reigning monarch is a practice of the Ethiopian church.

(3) Read እምሰማይ instead of እምሰማየ.

(4) Or the *Senodos*, for which see I. Guidi, *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, p. 37-38; C. Conti Rossini, « Il Senodos », in *Rendiconti della Accademia d'Italia*, 1942, p. 41-48.

(5) ኤፎድ ' priestly garment ' from Hebrew אפוד. " New efod " refers to the New Testament.

(6) Probably Galawdewos, (Claudius), 1540-1559, who died fighting against Nūr ibn Muǧāhid, the amir of Harar.

(7) Lit. ' full of divinity '.

(8) According to E. Cerulli (p. 121, n. 3), this was Ləbnä Dəngəl, 1508-1540, who fled from Muḥammad Grañ.

" Let him who loves me follow me " (1). He also listened to the apostle, trumpet of the spirit (2), when he cried (f. 49v) out saying, " He who loves the world is an enemy of God " (3). For this reason a king (4), father of kings (5), of good repute, rather than make peace with Mohammed (6), the false prophet and king of the false ones, set out without taking provisions. Instead, he made of the flesh of Christ his provision in bread and His blood his drink until he arrived in a foreign land. Thus, his enemy who was pursuing him, did not find him. God concealed him that he (the enemy) may not see his face, that his (the king's) heart may not fear and that the enemy (7) may be without joy because of being unable to find him.

This statement of mine is not false, because all those who profess (8) the one Nature of Christ know it (to be true). So much so that it was counted for him (the king) as a martyrdom lesser (only) than the martyrdom of his son, the Pasqual Lamb (9). (He is) the one who sacrificed himself like his Lord, albeit in the hands of others (10). He became a select sacrifice and a pleasant incense. It was the other (11) one who died in peace and was buried in the monastery, the place of origin of the monastic garb (12). (May there be) a share for him (greater) than the share of the oppressor and the oppressed.

Therefore when the daughter (that is, the Faith) of the bride [of God] (that is, the church) heard about this, she suspended her heart in the air of the love of our kings, orthodox in their faith. Burning in love, she prays and intercedes for Ethiopia and her king wherever he directs his steps, standing in the land of true

(1) Mt 10, 38.

(2) I Thes 4, 16 " trumpet of God ".

(3) I Jn 2, 15.

(4) Ləbnä Dəngəl, 1508-1540.

(5) His two sons reigned after him; namely Galawdewos 1540-1559, Minas 1559-1563.

(6) That is, Muḥammad Grañ.

(7) Read **ዐዶውሬ** instead of **እዶውሬ**.

(8) Read **የአምንዎ** instead of **የአምርዎ**.

(9) According to CERULLI, p. 122, the ' Pasqual Lamb ' refers to Christ. It refers rather to Galawdewos who died on Friday before Easter.

(10) That is, by the Moslems and not by the Jews.

(11) That is, Ləbnä Dəngəl.

(12) Däbrä Damo is the burial place of Ləbnä Dəngəl.

faith (f. 50r), that the grim faced, human serpent (1), full of poison may not bite him. It is this serpent who bit the child who lived on the seventh day and would not let him reach the maturity of the law of the eighth (day) (2). See by force and consider in astonishment the love of this daughter, brilliant like the sun, luminous like the moon, and awe inspiring like the law. As the prophet, wise in counsel, says, " She who looks forth as the morning at our windows " (3) while she (the faith) abandons the kings who believe in one (person) and in four (persons) (4), the kings who trample on gold as if it were stone and who treat brocade and silk like leaves of the field (5). She (The Faith) passes by (6) those who are on either side as a ship crosses through a storm on the sea, and yet the whirlpool of the reef does not encircle her. Neither does the rampart of violent wind turn her back until she reaches us in love and affection. For she has the law of love like a woman who loves the husband of her virginity rather than a rich celibate who is full of resentment and controversy. Because Christ, the head of the members of the body (7), has joined us with her, saying, " Let the two of them become one flesh " (3). This is to be interpreted to (mean) (9) " the soul with the faith ".

Therefore, behold, she (the true faith) (10) has preferred the poverty of us who have neither white silver nor red clothing.

(1) Referring possibly to the Catholics.

(2) According to CERULLI, p. 122, n. 4, it refers to the King Ya'qob who succeeded to the throne of Ethiopia in 1597 at the age of seven and was deposed in 1603. The eight (day) refers perhaps also to the circumcision being performed on the eighth day.

(3) Song of Solomon 2, 9; 6, 10.

(4) That is, the monotheists (Moslems, Jews) and Catholics who, according to the monophysites, believe in two natures of Christ in addition ot the Father and Holy Spirit.

(5) That is, those who do not know the value of precious things.

(6) Literally ' she makes pass '. Amend perhaps ታዐድዎሙ to ትዐድዎሙ ' she passes them by "

(7) Col 1, 18.

(8) Mt 19, 5.

(9) Correct ተተሬጉም to ተተረጐም.

(10) In the passage that follows, " she " refers to the orthodox faith and " he " (husband) to the King of Ethiopia. The general idea is that of the unity between the two and the fidelity to be kept by them.

For she heard her King who said, "Blessed are the poor in spirit" (1). He also said, "Let not a man abandon his wife unless she fornicates" (2). (f. 50v) The apostle also says, "Let not a woman separate from her husband" (3). And if she should separate let her remain single and let them keep the hypostasis split (4) until her adultrous husband should come. May the angel of hell take her who loved her beloved (husband) (5) while he is full of pollution and uncleanliness. As for those kings, they put pressure on her and say to her, "O young lady, come take from us silver and gold and much clothing. We are better for you than your husband who is deprived of the riches of this world". And she, who is good in name and in looks who was born from the womb of Sarah (6), who rejected the riches of Abimelech, says, "My husband, descendant of Abraham, who is rich in hope and blessed by God, the most blessed, is better for me". With this precaution she repudiates their words and rejects their counsels; and she jumps with the feet of prayer and flies with the wings of faith over our king and his court (7). She stretches out (her wings) and protects (8) those who do not go out of the gate of her law as a hen (protects) over her chick so that the killer beast (9), who broke the heart of Judas with a stick of gold, when he sold our Lord, may not see them. However he (Judas) did not realize his hope and did not see the profit of his sale (10) of Christ. For that which says, "A sinful prophet gathered gold and the righteous ones took it. He did not leave a renown for his name" (11), was fulfilled on him.

(1) Mt 5, 3.
(2) Mt 5, 32; 19, 9.
(3) Eph 5, 22.
(4) Comparison of husband and wife as the two natures united in Christ. Being separated is interpreted as the splitting of this hypostasis. The unity will be restored when they come together again.
(5) Correct ለፍቁሩ to ለፍቁራ.
(6) Therefore, the legitimate child of Abraham (as against the illegitimate child from Haggar). Possibly also the fidelity of Sarah is compared with the fidelity of the church (Gal 4, 22).
(7) Correct ትእንቱ to ትእይንቱ, for ትዐይንቱ.
(8) Mscr. has ወተአተበ 'she makes the sign (of the cross)'.
(8) The killer beast represents the devil who misled Judas to sell the Lord with rewards of money. Judas here represents the heretics from the Ethiopian points of view.
(10) Lit. 'the profit of the sale of his usury'.
(11) I was unable to identify this passages.

So this Judas hanged himself and died instantly (1). But sinful ones took it (the money) and not (f. 51r) righteous ones as it was said (2). Amen.

Chapter II

As for my name whose first part is an object and last part is a cross (Mäsqäl) (3), since it opened the gates so that the evil people of Babylon entered in it, I delayed it from appearing in the beginning that it may hide in the middle of the writing (4), in the same way that those with an ugly face hide in the midst of people or clothing or excessive salutation. This (I did) because shame about my defect surrounds me. Let alone that I should send a letter to you (the king), I would not be worthy of carrying a letter from others to present it to one of the least of your servants. However, your love, which is free from fraud or grudge has enabled me to command this epistle on my behalf that it may kiss the curtain (of your tent) on the outside and on the inside until it comes down on the foot of my lord (5), deprived of law (6), then go up to the top of the knees of him (the King) who prostrates before the crucified Lord for he is forgiven by Him (7). It (the letter) says (8) " God preserve you until you say, ' I have (lived) long enough ' (9). May he subjugate your enemies. How are

(1) Mt 27, 5.

(2) Mt 27, 6, but the quote is not exact. The expression " sinful ones " is an interpretation of the author in reference to the chief priests who collocted the money that Judas threw.

(3) Lit. "Whose foundation is an object and whose ceiling is a cross ".

(4) This refers to the name of the author ንዋየ፡መስቀል (= " ship of the cross "). Since the ship (ንዋዩ) made it possible for the Catholics (" evil people of Babylon ") to enter Ethiopia, the author is ashamed of the first part of his name and would not reveal it at the beginning of his letter.

(5) Lit. " face of the foot ", i. e. the front or arch of the foot as against the heel.

(6) That is, not adhering to the true Faith.

(7) Despite the fact that the king has been momentarily misled he still can expect forgiveness from the Lord.

(8) From here to the end of the paragraph the letter has a personal tone.

(9) Lit. " It is enough for me ".

you? As for me I am still alive, (however), I am no better than a swineherd. Nevertheless I rejoice to hear you are well until now. But I am confused with sorrow for your daughter (f. 51v) who resembles you and whom the hand of a stranger has visited (1). For this may God console you, Amen.

Chapter III

The reason for my sending (this letter) is what I heard when those who have no righteousness and glory convinced you to violate the law of the creator and to destroy the canon of the apostles. If it were not so, they would not have spoken saying, "Abolish the Sabbath" (2). Why do you listen to those fools? Were the children and your courtiers eager that you should do this? How long has it (the Sabbath) lasted with the kings and luminous saints as they wore it with the purple garment of Jordanic (3) faith? (The saints) who illuminated Ethiopia so that they even raised innumerable people from the dead! Moreover, with their prayers, they returned the kingship which had passed to another dynasty to the hands of the royalty who were living in exile by begging crumbs. As a result they placed on their (the restored kings') heads a crown which can now be seen on you (4). Because of this they (the Kings and the Saints) swore an oath and entered a covenant, as did David and Abyatar (5), to have only one bag of provisions and one heritage, although now we do not see (it) since every word (of the pact) has passed away. This is not false because they (the saints) have performed many wonders which can be seen even now and can be read about.

(1) This apparently refers to the death of Wäyzäro Mäläkotawit, the daughter of the King.

(2) Zä-Dəngəl favored the abolishment of the observance of the Saturday as the Sabbath (see BUDGE, *History of Ethiopia*, vol. 2, p. 378).

(3) That is, the Christians because Christ was baptized in the river Jordan and God father testified that Christ was his Son. See Mt 3, 13-17.

(4) This refers to the restoration of the crown to the "Solomonian" dynasty with the aid of the clergy in 1270.

(5) It refers to the union of the orthodox church and state. Täklä Haymanot from Däbrä Libanos helped in the restoration of the Solomonian dynasty. In return the church received one third of the land and the right to have the *Əčege*, or the head of the church.

Was it then by violating the Sabbath (f. 52r) that they did this or by respecting it? Was it by destroying the law or by obeying it? It would seem to me — Christ be my witness — that it was rather by respecting the law.

Therefore, if you would give me a just judge who could not be corrupted by material possessions and who fears the day of judgement — the day that exterminates and cuts with a sword that does not turn back — I would arrive there soon to hear them and to stand a fair trial with them if they would only cite me evidence from the gospel that disproves (my contention), as did their brothers who spoke against Our Lord saying, " He violates our law and our Sabbath " (1) and crucified him for this reason. Now these (people) say, " Let us abolish the Sabbath that has brought crucifiction over Him " (2) pretending to be zealous for His sake. If we are (inclined) to desert and disown (the true doctrine) let us listen to John who says, " What the Jews said of Him was not only that He violated the Sabbath but also He claims God as His Father and that He made himself equal with God. For this reason they crucified him " (3). So, is it proper to deny the Father because of the death of the Son? (4) Far be it that this should be.

I know that they do not accept the Senodos (5) for they hate its authors, the lords of light, while they rely on scholars who add and detract (from the scriptures). As for me, I rely on those whom my Creator has given me saying (to them), " He who listens to you listens to me " (6). However, I will not attack them on this account lest they call me ungallant.

(f. 52v) Let us both put aside the words of mortals, His servants of earlier or latter(times). Let us return to the Gospel, the breath of Divinity. And when they defeat me on the basis of this, I shall offer my neck (to be slain). Since, however, that which says, " Temptation shall not come to you except from

(1) Mt 12, 2.

(2) They want to abolish the Sabbath whose violation was the cause of his crucification.

(3) Jn 5, 18.

(4) There is no reason to deny the Father because of the death of the Son who healed on the Sabbath (Mark 3, 1-8). Indeed the Sabbath was established by the Father himself and should not be abolished.

(5) See note 4, p. 465.

(6) Lk 10, 16.

man" (1) has come true, do not, my lord (O King) listen to those who teach in secret (2). I wrote this, not because I am skilful, for indeed I am a stutterer, but because I heard that which says, "The spirit of prophets obeys the prophets" (3). Further, Our Lord, glory to His name, says, "Do not despise one of these little ones for I say unto you that their angels in heaven always behold the face of my Father" (4). For this reason have I chosen to stand with these while you listen to me (5).

Chapter IV

As for those who speak concerning Christ saying, "(He has) two Natures and two Wills" (they said so) when the lake of folly drowned them and the blindness of delirium covered them with darkness. For when he said to Martha and Mary, "Where did you bury Lazarus?" (6) because of this they called Him a lesser one (7). These uncircumcised ones run with the horses of writing without bridle and do not see the holes and cracks that are on the surface of scriptures until they get broken and destroyed. If you would only listen to me you would not contradict me in this matter. Listen to me then and take out of your ears (f. 53r) the mud of pollution as it was said, "Make wide your mouth and I will fill it for you" (8). If they could see how subtler and more distant from the way of (9) the flesh and soul He is, they would have heard that He, standing in Galilee which is one day's journey or more from Bethany, said to his disciples, "Lazarus is

(1) The nearest reference is probably Mt 18, 7.

(2) The author urges the King not to listen to those who teach without bringing proof from the Gospel.

(3) I Cor 14, 22.

(4) Mt 18, 10.

(5) The author compares himself to the "little ones" of the quotation.

(6) Jn 11, 34.

(7) Christ's quotation concerning Lazarus gave the Catholics, according to the author, the idea that Christ didn't know about Lazarus and was therefore human, i. e. lesser.

(8) Ps 80, 11 (*Hebrew text* Ps 81, 10). The passage dealing with the mouth was cited as being the closest that came to the author's mind to what he said about ears.

(9) Text has "foot" for "way".

dead " [1], and following this, " I am glad that I was not there so that you may believe " [2]. Behold, then, it is ascertained that He knew all that his Father knew. It is only for the sake of the Jews that he said, " Where did you bury him? ", for they were saying of him, " (He gets his knowledge) by Beel Zebul " [3]. If he had walked straight to the sepulchre without a guide they would have said, " He has killed him by magic. How else could he know while he was in Galilee? " For this reason he refrained from (showing) knowledge.

Chapter V

I marvel at the fact that one of the sons of Leon [4], a wearer of priestly gown [5], said to me, "Do you call Christ divine?" and I said, " Yes, I call Him (thus) ". He said to me, " Why do you take Him out of His humanity? ". I said to him, " Because He came out of a sealed womb. Further at Mount Tabor, He showed His disciples the beauty of His divinity. Later He came out of a sealed sepulchre and entered through a closed gate. Is it divinity that can do this or a human? " Then he countered by saying, " Did not the face of Moses light up? [6] Did not Peter (f. 53v) come out of a closed house? [7] Will you then call them divine? ". I answered him with a quotation, " Is it not true that when the people said to him (Moses), ' Cover your face for us' rather than ' your body ' " [8] he darkened it (the light of his face) with a small piece of cloth? It is clear therefore that (the light)

(1) Jn 11, 14.
(2) Jn 11, 15.
(3) Mk 3, 22.
(4) Leo I (440-456) sent a letter to the Council of Chalcedon (451) in which he maintained that each nature in Christ has its proper function. This idea was accepted by the Council.
(5) That is, hypocrite, because he is a priest only superficially. This meaning of the Geez word is not found in the dictionary.
(6) As did Christ on Mont Tabor. This would then imply that Moses, too, was divine.
(7) For Moses, see Ex 34 : 29-35. In Acts 5 : 18-23, however, Peter and his friends escape prison, with the help of an angel, but the guards find it locked.
(8) Moses indeed covered his face (see Ex 34 : 29-35), but he did it on his own without the people telling it to him.

did not descend over his eyebrow or on his head [1]. As for Our Lord, Luke says, " His face shone like the sun and His garment like the lightning " [2]. This (was said only) for (the understanding of) hearers; for he is the Creator of the sun and far be it that it (the sun) should be compared to Him [3]. Furthermore, listen to this disciple who says, " When Peter came out it seemed to him that he was dreaming a dream and when the angel left him outside, his consciousness returned " [4]. Behold, it is proved that the angel of our Lord took him out [5]. As a result of this, this uncircumcised one was embarrassed and did not know what to answer me.

Chapter VI

If you are not tired of listening to me I would also like to stand trial with those (heretics) regarding what they say quoting the words of Paul who says, " The Son is subjugated to Him (the Father) who subjugated (other things) to Him (The Son) " [6]. This is so because of his humanness. Judge between us (they say). He says this because He served His Father before (by coming to His world) and shall come again. Let alone for the Father even for the servants He lowered Himself to the extent of washing (their) feet [7]. When He bid the servants farewell He said, " As for me, I will go to the Father for the Father is greater than I " [8].

(1) The fact that Moses was able to cover his face with a small piece of cloth is interpreted by the author of this letter as meaning that there was light on his face only below the eyebrows. This was not the case with Jesus, as we shall see below, whose face as well as the whole garment was shining.

(2) Lk 9, 29. The Greek text says " like snow ".

(3) This sentence is to be considered as a parenthetic statement to the fact that in reality the sentence " this face shone like the sun " was said only so that people should understand its imagery. Indeed the sun being a creature can not be compared to the creator.

(4) Acts 12, 7-11. This quotation is a summary of a whole event.

(5) As against Christ who came out of the sepulchre without the help of an angel. See, however, Mt 28, 2.

(6) I Cor 15, 28.

(7) Jn 13 : 5-6.

(8) Jn 14, 28.

Behold then, from this moment on I am defeated, I will err with (f. 54r) those who are in error, I will share their curse and I will descend to hell with Leon [1]. However, far be it from me that I should say of my Lord " He serves " [2]. Whom can I find who is an expert in interpretation other than you? [3].

Nevertheless listen to me with sympathy as I take them (the heretics) out of the (house of the) [4] Father and subjugate them to the Son. O you who stand trial with me observe and understand what I say to you. Make your heart a mirror. When the Jews deprived Him of glory he said, " There is my Father who will glorify me " [5]. Further, the prophet says, " Praise God, all you people " [6]. Observe this comparison of the Father with the people [7]. I also bring you testimony which (my) opponents cite: He said, " Father, glorify the Son " [8]. Then His Father answered [9] saying, " I have praised you and I shall praise you again " [10]. When the prophet decreed (the duty of) glorification on the people that they may present it for the honor of the exalted Creator, (then) the Father said, " I have praised you before and I shall praise you forever " [11].

I will give a third testimony to certify its discussion as I stand at the gate of Nicodemus with Peter [12]. After He gave

(1) This is to be interpreted as a sarcastic remark of the author who means to say that even though Christ said, " The Father is greater than I " it is not because he is lesser than the Father, but merely out of humility.

(2) That is to say, the same way that a servant serves his master.

(3) The author means that the king who is himself a scholar will understand that Christ serving God is not to be taken as a master-servant relatioship.

(4) The author probably means to impress upon his adversaries that the Son is as great as the Father.

(5) Jn 8, 54.

(6) Ps 116, 1 (117, 1).

(7) The parallel between these two passages indicates that the Father as well as the people glorify the Lord, as we will see below.

(8) Jn 17, 1.

(9) Literally " came ".

(10) Jn 12, 28.

(11) This is probably a paraphrase of the preceding quotation (Jn 12, 28).

(12) Reference to Nicodemus in connection with Peter is obscure.

His flesh (1) he said, " O Father, glorify me with my glory which was with you before the world was created " (2) until (the part) which says, " All that is yours is mine " (3). On this page it seems that He was competing with the Father as kings compete because of the scarcity of tribute and gifts (4). (f. 54v) O you, dull of understanding, behold, by your love of looking at the surface of writings (only) you have brought the Father down to the (level of) the people, praising His Son (5). As it is known that he who praises is lesser than the one who is praised, will you then say thus, o you investigator of writings, " The Father is lesser than the Son? " Far be this from Him. As for me, I now praise and thank in unity and equality the three names who are three persons and one divinity. I know that if you found this statement you would deny and make the Son greater than the Father (6). Heed what I say to you that you may not consider only the surface of writings without its inner (meaning) through the eyes of those who know for the sake of your own safety from ruin.

Chapter VII

O you (7) who wish to build your own sepulchre in hell having taken iron from the artisan Christ because of his saying " my God " (8) and (having taken) stone from Paul (9) that you may

(1) Text says " gave me " which does not seem to make sense unless it is a corruption of the passage (John 17, 2) " as thou has given Him power over all flesh that he should give eternal life... ".

(2) Jn 17, 1.

(3) Jn 17, 10.

(4) The passage John 17, 1 to 10 not fully in the text shows Christ claiming authority and glory as do kings among themselves.

(5) See above and n. 7, p. 475.

(6) " This statement " does not necessarily refer to the preceding sentence but to the passage quoted before where the Father praises the Son.

(7) He addresses himself to the Catholics.

(8) See Mt 27, 46. This would imply that Christ is lesser than God.

(9) The same way that iron and stone are used as building materials for the sepulchre, the quotations from the New Testament cited by the heretics are used to prove the validity of their doctrine. However, the

close your sepulchre in the same way that the Jews closed (the sepulchre of Christ) (with) one (stone) that the angel, blower of a trumpet, did not roll over (1). Because of his (Paul's) saying " the Lord of Christ " (2) do you wish to call on me that I may roll it over for you and raise you from your destruction which has no end? (3) However you do not desire salvation because you hate to call on me. Yet I shall not give up just because you hate me (4) for (f. 55^r) there is a law over me which says, " Love your neighbour as yourself " (5). Now I prepare a rope for pulling you upwards to life. Listen now, with understanding, as you sit at the gate of the 27th of Timothy (6). Listen to Paul who says about Christ " who shall appear in his times, who, alone is powerful, blessed, king of kings, lord of lords, master of masters, in whom there is light, who existed before the world, to whom belong honor and glory " (7). Now listen and understand. If Christ, glory to His name, is lord of lords, then the Father is found to be, without my really saying it, with the lower lords worshipping Christ. However, far be this from Him. If you could subjugate me to your folly, I would descend to hell with you for saying (such) a terrible thing. How could the Father worship His Son or the Son His Father? I know the answer you will give. You will say, " Does not the prophet say, ' God, the lord of lords, spoke and called the earth ' " (8).

Listen then, for, if you will not let me go, neither will I let you go until I put a millstone on your neck to drown (you). Does the Father have any other Word that the speaks through except Christ? If then, he who speaks and calls is a lord, behold you are really helping me and becoming a strength for me that my

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same way that these building materials are used only for their own graves, the quoted passages also disprove their doctrine.

(1) መልኣክ is to be corrected to read መልአክ. Contrary to what the epistle says, the angel did roll the stone of the sepulchre (Mt 28, 2).

(2) I Cor 3, 23.

(3) In other words, " do you ask for my help in the correct interpretation of the verse? ".

(4) To correct ጸላከኒ into ጸላእከኒ.

(5) Mt 19, 19.

(6) The reference to 27 Timothy is unclear. See note 7.

(7) I Tim 6, 15.

(8) Ps 50, 1. That is to say, the phrase " Lord of Lords " is applied not only to Christ but also to God.

contention may be (f. 55v) verified (1). Now, therefore, bend your neck to carry a millstone (2) for there is a decree on you from the Creator which says, "It is better that they should hang a millstone around his neck and make him drown rather than that he should mislead the young ones" (3).

Now I turn to your error which is due to the fact that the prophet says "God reigns. He hat put on his glory, my king and my lord" (4). Because of this you want to turn Christ back to the presentation of tribute and gifts along with the people (5). Listen then to what I say to you. (Listen) to the powerful words which I put before you earlier, which say, "King of kings and lord of lords" (6). If Paul, of whom you boast, says this, behold you have brought on God the Father, praise be to Him, subjugation and defeat just as on the lower kings who obey the one who is greater, for he (Paul) has called him (Christ) "king of kings". But you do not accept my word while you rely on the prophet (7). Stand up then, girding yourself, and hold a shield. I will bring for you (a quotation from) a prophet who will contradict you, who spoke to Jerusalem saying, "Behold your king comes riding on an ass" (8). Therefore His (Christ's) former as well as His latter kingship is ascertained. As for the Father, He did not ride (9). He merely descended upon Jordan to affirm His (Christ's) kingship and spoke (f. 56r) saying, "This is my son, whom I love. Listen to Him" (10). John, who traced the course of the Word from

(1) Since "Lord of Lords" applied to Him who spoke and since the speaking is done through the Word (Logos), the Word being Christ, therefore Christ is the "Lord of Lords".

(2) The Geez text has 'millstone of donkey'.

(3) Mt 18, 16.

(4) Ps 92, 1 (93, 1).

(5) Apparently the author attributes to the heretics the interpretation of this passage in which God is called "king and lord" as meaning that all others, including Christ, are lesser and in this quality will bring him tribute and gifts.

(6) See passage quoted above from Ps 50, 1.

(7) See passage cited above Ps 50, 1.

(8) Zach 9, 9. The statement from Zachariah long before Christ's coming proves His former kingship.

(9) Therefore the verse quoted could not possibly refer to the Father.

(10) Mt 17, 5.

before the world (was created) until the incarnation (1) says what he heard from the mouth of his creator, " The Father does not judge anyone, he has committed all judgment to His Son " (2).

As from this moment I go out of the house of the Father, without going out in the sense that the servants of David went out of his house that they may enter into the house of Solomon because they heard him (David) saying " Let Solomon my son be a king for you " (3). They also saw him bending his neck to the Messiah-dignity of his son (4). For this reason they followed him (Solomon) directly. As for David he stayed behind in misery with one maiden whom he lived with until she derided him with a derision born of laughter. And so I abandoned the Father — without (really) abandoning Him, for it is impossible to abandon Him, — that I may perform the command of the Father which says, " Listen to Him " (5). Christ also said to his disciple, " As for you, follow me " (6). He did not say, " Stay with my Father ". And after that (Christ said), "Let him who loves me keep my word and follow me ", and to him who keeps my word he said, " I and the Father shall come and make our abode with him " (7). The Father whom I had left, behold, I found by following the Son (8).

You too come and follow me that may light up the darkness of your eyes which Leon has blinded with the thorn of error. Take medicine (for your eyes) (f. 56v) from that which says, " I am the gate and there is no one that comes to the Father except

(1) Jn 1, 1-14.

(2) Jn 5, 22. This passage, along with the preceding one, in which God the Father invests full authority on His Son shows in the opinion of the author, that He gives Him equal status.

(3) I Kings 1, 34.

(4) I Kings 1, 47-48. While David's bending his neck meant indeed abandoning all his authority to his son, the case of the Father handing authority to Christ does not imply that God the Father lost any authority.

(5) Mt 17, 5.

(6) Lk 5, 27; Mt 8, 22.

(7) Jn 14, 23.

(8) The complete unity between the Father and Son is shown in the above passages where it is stated that following the Son alone without staying with the Father still has as a result the fact that both the Son and the Father will come and make their abode with him who follows the Son.

through me" (1). If it is so then will you say, "I will find another gate?" Listen! Whether the sky covers you or the earth swallows you up he shall find you any place (you go); for he himself says, "Power is given to me (over) heaven and earth" (2) just as the owner of a house is empowered over his own house.

Chapter VIII

O Listeners! Listen to what I say that you may interpret it. There were three priests whom rivalry and jealousy never faced but rather love and peace. One would stand on the right and the other on the left and the third one would always perform the priestly functions while (at the same time) bringing some fruit of his labor that came out of the sweat of his face and satisfy the people. He would not say to them "brings some offering from your possession that you may take communion" (3). He would only say to them, "Do not hesitate to come. As for the sacrifice I will offer it on your behalf". After a long time a heretic arose to be his enemy and to be friendly with the one that stood on the left quietly and who could not perform the priestly functions for he had not learnt the rubrics of the liturgy. Furthermore he did not have any fruits to offer. If it is so then from whom can he (the heretic) receive the communion? It is clear then that he hates salvation and the wisdom which says "He who eats my flesh has (f. 57r) eternal life" (4).

Chapter IX

Why do the uncircumcised ones go up to Jerusalem to take the sacrifice and to pay homage to the cross that is not sufficient to save them? I wonder at their (vain) toil since they say of

(1) Jn 10, 9 and 14, 6.

(2) Mt 28, 18.

(3) Correct ተቀረቡ into ተቈረቡ.

(4) Jn 6, 54. This parable seems to apply to the Holy Trinity represented by the three priests. The one in the middle represents Christ as can be presumed from His statement "as for the sacrifice I will offer it on your behalf". It is also Christ who is the priest (see possibly Mt 20, 26). The heretic who becomes the enemy of this priests and tries to befriend the priest on the left represents the Catholics who, in the opinion of the author, are unfavourable to the Son and give greater prominence to the Father.

Christ — praise be to him — that he is weaker than the divinity and that it is not possible for Him to perform miracles and wonders and to raise the dead since they say that (only) divinity can do an act of divinity and humanity an act of humanity. O listeners, examine their opinion, for they would make Him lesser than Peter and Paul and other of His servants who, by calling His name performed many miracles and wonders. Whenever they said " In the name of Christ, arise O dead one! ", he whose bones were scattered would jump up instantly like a stag and become their disciple and a teacher of others in the name of our Lord. Likewise they would expel evil spirits (1). Unless they add His name, this would not be possible for them. If they (the heretics) are not willing to accept this evidence (2) what use is it for them to accept the flesh of Christ whom they have stripped of his divinity — praise be to Him — and who (as a result of this) would not be able to give resurrection and life. I compare these to those who worship an idol that can not give response or resurrection and their unclear sacrifice (f. 57v) to animal flesh that has no hope (of resurrection). Listen to me. I advise you, O relatives of Pilate, not to go up to Jerusalem. More preferable for you is the flesh of Peter (3), whom your brothers (4) crucified at the age of one hundred (5) as (others crucified) his Lord — praise be to Him — at the age of thirty. He has said indeed, " I have existed before Abraham was born " (6). Do not seek a cross either, other than Peter's cross on which he was crucified upside down, if this is better for you.

(1) Acts 5 : 16.

(2) ቃል (lit. " word ") translated here as " evidence " referring to incidents cited above.

(3) This refers to the above statement " For they would make him lesser than Peter and Paul ".

(4) This refers to the Romans whom he considers as brothers of the Portuguese Jesuits because the seat of their Catholic Faith is in Rome. At the same time he has in mind the Romans of ancient time who crucified Peter.

(5) The precise age of " hundred " is not mentioned in the New Testament.

(6) Jn 8, 58. This remark is parenthetical and merely intended to ensure that his opponents should not deduce the humanity of Christ from the fact that he died at thirty for indeed He existed before Abraham was born.

Chapter X

Behold, you behave like lions toward me in order to make me fall down, while you leave your canine nature on my eagle nature (1). Do you wish to leave me alone for you weary me every time you bring a passage which Christ — praise be to his name — who is free from duality, says, " As regards that day and that hour none other than the Father alone, neither the angels of heaven nor the Son, knows it " (2). Behold, from this moment on I return with you to the house of my father Tara (3). Like you, I prefer my uncircumcised state and I will submit to his idols (4) to such an extent that I will sacrifice the fat of babies, as Solomon says, " The people were eating the fat of their children which was left over from sacrifice " (5), as you do now. If Christ did not know what was it that the prophets and His disciples knew? Investigate! (f. 58r) If you say to me, " What was it that they knew? " listen to what Henoch (6) says, " God shall come with His legion saints " (7). Consider the long lapse of time (since this was said). Did not Christ know? Then who dictated (this) to him (Henoch) and revealed to him His coming? (8) Is there anyone

(1) This probably means that the argument brought by the heretics in this chapter is so strong that it makes lions out of them. Before this argument their nature was that of a dog, that is lower than that of a lion, and they throw their dog nature into the author's eagle nature thus lowering him and trying to overcome him with their lion nature.

(2) Mt 24, 36.

(3) Tara is Teraḥ, the father of Abraham.

(4) The author now takes a sarcastic attitude before refuting the argument of the above cited quotation. He means to say that the argument seems so strong that he is ready to give up his true belief and become one of the heretics whom he calls uncircumcised. As such they belong to the family of Tarah the idolator and the uncircumcised.

(5) Deut 28, 53.

(6) Here he quotes Henoch as one of the prophets.

(7) See Henoch 38, 1-2 or another passage.

(8) Having established, to his own satisfaction, that Henoch knew about the coming of Christ, the author asks who could have informed Henoch about this if not God, that is Christ. Therefore Christ knew about the day of coming. However, the author in bringing proof only about the coming of Christ evades the question at issue which is the day and hour of Christ's coming.

else that will come beside Him? Did Moses, when he traced the origin of the world (1), say (2), " In the beginning God created heaven and earth? " (3) Behold you would make Him lesser than His Creatures (4). Is your folly better for you? Pay attention to that which says, " There is no one that knows the Son except the Father and threre is no one who knows the Father except the Son " (5). When He comes he will say, " Come to me you who are blessed by my Father " (6) and he will not say, " Go to my Father ".

Now I will wake from my sleep. Did you think that I could not find an answer to you? O you who worship Paul, your killer (7), watch me as I soar like an eagle (8) to fight you. Set up your army like locusts (and see) if you can (at least) resist from being confused at my cry, to say nothing of approaching my talons. Listen to what Paul, the pride of resurrection (9), says, " Christ is the wisdom and knowledge of the Father " (10). I do not wish to fight you. I will obey the law of the prophet which says, " Refrain from evil and do good " (11). As for you, stay in the house of the Father with Him. As for me, I have gone out, without (really) going out, taking Christ — praise be to him — with me (12). As for the treasure of the Father (13), I will load it on

(1) Its literal translation " after he brought the world " creates difficulties.

(2) One would rather expect " Didn't Moses say? ".

(3) Gen 1, 1.

(4) Since Moses, a prophet, but yet a mere creature, knew about an event as important as the sequence of creation, how is it possible that Christ-God would not know about His own coming?

(5) Mt 11, 27. Since the relationship between the Father and the Son is so close, there is no doubt that whatever the Father knows the Son knows it too. Consequently, the Son must have known about His coming.

(6) Mt 25, 34.

(7) The heretics who like to bring quotations from Paul will be refuted below by the very same Paul who is thus considered as their " killer ".

(8) For the author's eagle-like nature see above.

(9) This qualification refers to the fact that Paul often speaks about resurrection.

(10) I Cor 1, 30.

(11) I Thes 5, 21-22.

(12) He refers here to the idea expressed above (Ch. VII).

(13) That is, the true doctrine.

a ship of the cross (1) which is better than the cross of Peter (2) and go a long way to (a place) (3) where the Father can not (f. 58v) find me (4). This is toil and labor that fear breeds (5). I shall stand before Him (the Father) (6). How will he know me then since I have deprived him of his wisdom and knowledge? (7) This (I said because) I became a fool due to your folly. (In reality) I will carry them (the Father and the Son) in unity. As for the treasure I will keep it until He Himself gives it to me. Amen.

You know that in the law a black adultrous cow is better than a white clean donkey (8). Behold I send this pearl (letter) that lights up the eyes of the blind that it might serve as a gift from me. However, do not let the swine (9) see it lest they trample it under their unclean feet as it was said, " Do not put your pearls before swine " (10). I curtail my discussion since I could not find any more paper or writer. Beware of false prophets that will come to you in the clothing of sheep while inside they are ravening wolves (11).

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(1) This is the name of author. See note 4, p. 469.

(2) This refers to the belief of the Roman church that it believes itself the spiritual heir of Peter.

(3) This refers to the author's exile into Egypt brought about by fear as noted in the next sentence.

(4) He means that in Egypt where the monophysite faith is dominant the Father is not given predominance over the Son and, therefore, He will not have power over the author. As we will see later, however, the denial of " wisdom and knowledge " to the Father was merely brought about by following the line of his opponents.

(5) See note 3.

(6) That is, on the Day of Judgement.

(7) This refers to the above quotation " Christ is the Wisdom and knowledge of the Father ".

(8) While the reference of the " black adulterous cow " is not clear the cow seems to refer to the king, and the donkey to the Jesuits. A donkey's meat is never eaten, whether the donkey is pure or impure.

(9) That is, the Jesuits.

(10) Mt 7, 6.

(11) Mt 7, 15.

La Collection d'Apophthegmes

du manuscrit 4225 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg

Naguère J. Oestrup avait attiré l'attention sur deux manuscrits arabes chrétiens de bonne antiquité, provenant du Couvent du Mont-Sinaï, et actuellement conservés à la Bibliothèque Universitaire et Régionale de Strasbourg (1). A la description et à l'analyse assez détaillée du contenu de ces deux manuscrits, Oestrup avait ajouté d'intéressantes observations d'ordre paléographique et grammatical.

Arrivés alors depuis peu à Strasbourg ces deux manuscrits n'y avaient pas encore reçu de cote particulière, aussi dans l'étude citée sont-ils désignés seulement *Codex A* et *Codex B*.

Dans le catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg, publié sous la direction de Ernest Wickersheimer, on ne trouve qu'une analyse très sommaire de ces deux manuscrits, reprise d'ailleurs de l'étude d'Oestrup. La seule nouveauté est que le *Codex A* porte la double cote: *4226 = arabe 151*, et le *Codex B*: *4225 = arabe 150* (2).

L'actuel *Strasbourg 4225*, nous l'appellerons **S** dans la suite de cette étude, qui d'après son colophon remonte à l'année 288 de l'hégire (= 900-901 de l'ère chrétienne) (3), contient aux feuillets

(1) J. OESTRUP, *Über zwei arabische Codices sinaitici der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek*, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgendlandischen Gesellschaft*, LI (1897), pp. 453-471.

(2) E. WICKERSHEIMER, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*. tome XLVII: *Strasbourg*, Paris 1923, pp. 746-748.

(3) J. OESTRUP, *art. cité*, pp. 454-455.

62r-130r une série d'Anecdotes religieuses, signalée génériquement par Oestrup [1] comme: « Eine Reihe von kleinen, erbaulichen Anekdoten; (unter verschiedenen Überschriften gehen bis F. 130; Sie sind nach dem Inhalte geordnet منحل البكا , منحل السكوت , منحل قتال الزنا, und so weiter, einige finden sich in den *Apophthegmata Patrum*, bei Migne, P.G. 65) ».

Il s'agit bien en effet d'une collection d'*Apophthegmata Patrum*, mais plutôt qu'à la collection alphabétique à laquelle renvoyait Oestrup, c'est à la collection systématique — du type des Livres V et VI des *Vitae Patrum* de l'édition Rosweyde-Migne [2] — que la série des Apophthegmes de **S** doit se rattacher.

Bien que le nombre des pièces de cette collection très abrégée ne soit pas très élevé: 423, le classement de celles-ci offre assez de caractéristiques propres par rapport à la collection systématique grecque normale reconstituée récemment par J.-C. Guy [3], pour mériter une étude spéciale.

La comparaison de **S** avec la collection grecque peut en effet apporter à l'histoire du développement de cette dernière, une contribution d'un intérêt singulièrement rehaussé par l'antiquité du manuscrit de Strasbourg. C'est donc une description précise de la collection qu'il contient que nous présentons ici.

Afin de ne pas alourdir le tableau des concordances de ces 423 apophthegmes, il semble préférable de donner d'abord une analyse complète de la collection; il sera ainsi plus facile de noter au fur et à mesure, les particularités qu'elle offre et de mettre davantage en relief et le caractère spécial de cette collection, et les problèmes qu'elle peut poser à propos de l'histoire des collections systématiques des *Apophthegmata Patrum*.

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 458.

(2) Migne, *P.L.* LXXIII, coll. 855-988 et 993-1022.

(3) Jean-Claude Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (= *Subsidia Hagiographica*, n° 36), Bruxelles 1962, pp. 126-181. Nous nous référerons constamment à cet ouvrage capital pour notre étude. Sans vouloir donner aux conclusions du Rév. Père Guy un caractère définitif, qu'il n'a pas voulu leur accorder lui-même, il est tout à fait légitime de prendre comme point de comparaison ses descriptions et de conserver en particulier la numérotation qu'il a adoptée. Cité simplement *Recherches*.

Analyse de la collection.

La collection d'apophthegmes s'ouvre (f. 62^{r}) par le titre suivant [1]:

منجل سيرة الابآ القديسين وكلامهم النافع ومنجل الذين كانوا يرو⟨ا⟩ الغايب وعزه (cod. وعظه) ليدرك الانسان بها رضا الله.

Sur la vie des saints pères et leurs dires utiles, et sur ceux qui voyaient l'Invisible et sa force, afin que grâce à cela l'homme arrive à plaire à Dieu.

Les apophthegmes se suivent de manière continue. Quelques sous-titres en interrompent parfois la succession. Ceux-ci correspondent de très près aux titres qui dans la collection grecque marquent le début de chaque chapitre.

Dans la présente analyse, comme dans le tableau qui suivra, nous renvoyons à la collection systématique reconstituée par J.-C. Guy: le chiffre romain indique le chapitre, et le chiffre arabe le numéro de l'apophthegme à l'intérieur du chapitre [2].

Pour plus de clarté, nous divisons l'ensemble de la collection de **S** en trois parties, et même quand il n'y a pas de sous-titre dans le texte arabe, nous indiquons une nouvelle section chaque fois que dans le texte grec correspondant commence un nouveau chapitre.

Ière Partie.

1. nn. 1-5 [sans titre] = chap. XX, *Περὶ πολιτείας ἐναρέτου.*
Rien d'autre à remarquer que l'interversion des nn. 2 et 3 par rapport aux témoins grecs.

2. nn. 6-32 [sans titre] = chap. XXI, *Ἀποφθέγματα τῶν ἐν ἀσκήσει γηρασάντων ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὴν εἰς ἄκρον αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν δηλοῦντα.*

(1) Cette étude a été rendue possible grâce à l'amabilité de la Direction de la Bibliothèque Universitaire et Régionale de Strasbourg qui a consenti à communiquer à la Bibliothèque Vaticane une reproduction sur microfilm de ce manuscrit 4225; nous lui en sommes très reconnaissant.

(2) Cf. plus haut page 486, note 3.

3. nn. 33-44 [sans titre] = chap. XVIII, *Περὶ διορατικῶν.*
Rien à remarquer d'autre que le déplacement du n. 37 qui devrait se trouver normalement à la suite du n. 44.

4. nn. 45-64 [sans titre] = chap. I. *Παραίνεσις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων εἰς προκοπὴν τελειότητος.*

5. nn. 65-67 [sans titre] = chap. XVIII.

Bien qu'à l'intérieur des cinq sections jusqu'ici examinées les pièces se trouvent, à part les deux exceptions signalées, dans le même ordre que dans les témoins grecs, dans aucun de ceux-ci par contre (pas plus que dans la collection latine de Pélage-Jean) [1] on ne trouve la succession de chapitres XX, XXI, XVIII en début de collection. L'interpolation du chapitre I entre deux sections du chapitre XVIII (lesquelles d'ailleurs se présentent dans l'ordre inverse) est une autre particularité de **S**. Y a-t-il une explication possible à cette originalité? Pour inhabituelle qu'elle soit, cette présentation n'est peut-être pas l'effet de la fantaisie du compilateur ou d'un hasard fortuit. Il faut remarquer immédiatement que dans l'ordre que suivent d'ordinaire les collections systématiques, le groupe des chapitres II à XVII forme un tout où chaque chapitre est consacré à une vertu particulière. Le chapitre I concerne les attitudes nécessaires au moine qui veut progresser dans la vie monastique; quant aux chapitres de la fin (XVIII-XXI), ils s'attachent avant tout à montrer le résultat auquel sont parvenus les grands ascètes qui sont présentés comme des modèles à imiter. Le rédacteur de la collection de **S** (ou de celle qui en fut le modèle) n'a-t-il pas cherché intentionnellement à grouper au début de son recueil les chapitres d'ordre plus général qui montrent au moine le but à atteindre ainsi que l'attitude qui doit être la sienne dans la poursuite de son idéal. Ayant de cette manière capté l'intérêt de son lecteur, il peut tout naturellement l'introduire à la méditation des chapitres II-XVII où il apprendra la pratique de chacune des vertus dont se compose la vie monastique. Cette hypothèse n'explique pas les perturbations des groupes nn. 33-34 et 65-67 qui encadrent le chapitre I, mais elle a du moins l'avantage de trouver une raison logique à cette présentation. Le titre initial ne la confirme-t-il pas d'ailleurs quand il énumère le contenu de la collection

[1] MIGNE, *P.L.*, LXXIII, coll. 855-988 et 993-1022. Cité **PJ**.

dans un ordre qui correspond exactement à celui que nous retrouvons par l'analyse; et en particulier quand il précise: *ceux qui voyaient l'Invisible,* ne rappelle-t-il pas le titre du chapitre XVIII: *Περὶ διορατικῶν.*

IIe Partie.

6. nn. 68-78 [sans titre] = chap. II, *Ὅτι δεῖ τὴν ἡσυχίαν πάσῃ σπουδῇ μεταδιώκειν.*

7. nn. 79-97, منجل النوح ⟨و⟩ البكا ورقة القلب [1], *Sur les pleurs et les lamentations et la dureté de cœur* = chap. III, *Περὶ κατανύξεως.*

Rien d'autre à remarquer que l'adjonction en fin de chapitre du n. 97 qui fait normalement partie du chap. XV.

8. nn. 98-121, منجل الامساك والحنجرة و اللسان والغضب والنوم وغير ذلك, *Sur la tempérance, le gosier, la langue, la colère, le sommeil, etc.* = chap. IV, *Περὶ ἐγκρατείας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ βρωμάτων ταύτην παραληπτέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς ψυχῆς κινημάτων.*

La présence du n. 110 (= Poemen 38), en cette place, n'apparait dans aucun des autres témoins.

9. nn. 122-136, منجل قتال الزنا, *Sur le combat de l'impureté* = chap. V, *Διηγήματα διάφορα πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς πορνείας ἐπανισταμένων ἡμῖν πολέμων.*

Il faut noter ici la présence du n. 130 qui provient du chap. XV, le déplacement du groupe nn. 131-133 qui devrait se trouver avant n. 127, ainsi que la succession des nn. 134-136 en ordre inverse par rapport aux témoins grecs.

10. nn. 137-143, منجل المسكنة, *Sur la pauvreté* = chap. VI, *Περὶ ἀκτημοσύνης, ἐν ᾧ ὅτι δεῖ τὴν πλεονεξίαν φυλάττεσθαι.*

11. nn. 144-174, منجل الصبر والتجبر الروحاني الذي يغلب الضجر, *Sur la patience et la force spirituelle qui vainc le découragement* = chap. VII, *Διηγήματα διάφορα πρὸς ὑπομονὴν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἡμᾶς ἀλείφοντα.*

(1) Ces sous-titres rubriqués dans **S** n'étaient pas toujours très lisibles sur notre reproduction. M. le prof. Belguedj, lecteur d'arabe à l'Université de Strasbourg, a eu l'obligeance de contrôler sur l'original la première lecture que nous en avions faite; qu'il veuille bien trouver ici l'expression de nos plus vifs remercîments.

12. nn. 175-181, منجل انه لا ينبغي للراهب ان يعمل خير ويظهره الى مدحة, *Sur le fait que le moine ne doit pas faire le bien et le faire voir pour en être loué* (c'est-à-dire: *par ostentation*) = chap. VIII, *Περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ποιεῖν πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν.*

13. nn. 182-189, منجل الدينونة, *Sur le jugement* = chap. IX, *Ὅτι φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ τοῦ μηδένα κρίνειν.*

Il faut remarquer ici la perturbation dans l'ordre des nn. 186-189 par rapport aux autres témoins.

14. nn. 190-261, منجل الديقرسيس الذي هو افراز الخير من الشر, *Sur la « diacrisis » qui est le discernement du bien du mal* = chap. X, *Περὶ διακρίσεως.*

Il faut remarquer le déplacement du n. 196 (= Macaire 23b) et du n. 201 ici attribué à Poemen (= Sarmatas 1) par rapport aux autres témoins.

15. nn. 262-302, منجل انه ينبغي للراهب ان يكون منتبه في جميع اعماله, *Sur le fait que le moine doit être vigilant dans toutes ses actions* = chap. XI, *Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν πάντοτε νήφειν.*

16. nn. 303-310, منجل ان يكون الراهب يصلي في كل حين, *Sur le fait que le moine* [*doit*] *toujours prier* = chap. XII, *Περὶ τοῦ ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθαι.*

17. nn. 311-313, منجل قبول الغربا (cod. قبول), *Sur la réception des étrangers* = chap. XIII, *Ὅτι φιλοξενεῖν χρὴ καὶ ἐλεεῖν ἐν ἱλαρότητι.*

18. nn. 314-319, منجل الطاعة, *Sur l'obéissance* = chap XIV, *Περὶ ὑπακοῆς.*

19. nn. 320-360, منجل لاتضاع, *Sur l'humilité* = chap. XV, *Περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης.*

Il faut noter la présence du n. 329 (= Poemen 162) qui n'apparait en cette place dans aucun autre témoin.

20. nn. 361-362 [sans titre] = chap. XVI, *Περὶ ἀνεξικακίας.*

21. nn. 363-365, منجل الحب, *Sur la charité* = chap. XVII, *Περὶ ἀγάπης.*

Au terme de l'analyse de cette deuxième partie (sections 6-21): chapitres II-XVII de la collection systématique normale, force nous est de constater tout d'abord que **S** présente une col-

lection systématique très abrégée, elle ne comprend en effet que 298 pièces alors que parmi les témoins complets connus, la collection la plus brève **PJ**, n'a pas moins de 578 pièces, presque le double, pour la partie correspondante.

Dans l'évolution de la collection sytématique, J.-C. Guy a constaté trois états successifs (1). Il est légitime, malgré les nombreuses omissions de **S**, de rechercher auquel de ces états il peut correspondre (2). Comme c'est l'examen des fins de chapitre (où apparaissent le mieux les pièces additionnelles) qui a permis à J.-C. Guy de distinguer ces trois *états*, nous porterons en premier lieu notre attention sur les fins de chapitre de **S**, en les comparant avec **PJ**.

Chapitre	S	PJ	Chapitre	S	PJ	Chapitre	S	PJ
II	29	29	VIII	31	32	XIV	29	29
III	44	45	IX	19	18	XV	106	112
IV	73	85	X	173	192	XVI	28	28
V	45	46	XI	125	125	XVII	24	29
VI	26	26	XII	16	18			
VII	56	57	XIII	8	16			

En notant pour chaque chapitre la dernière pièce de **S** et de **PJ**, nous remarquons que **S** ne se termine jamais par une pièce non contenue dans **PJ** (3). De plus dans 10 cas sur 16 la fin des chapitres coïncide, à une pièce près, dans les deux témoins. Cette coïncidence, répétée dans les deux tiers des cas exclut la supposition que le compilateur de **S** ait pu éliminer systématiquement des fins de chapitre plus développées que dans **PJ**. Il faut donc en conclure que **S** correspond à l'*état a* de la collection systématique.

Il faut ajouter cependant, en étendant la comparaison entre **S** et **PJ** au contenu des chapitres, que, en plus évidemment des

(1) Cf. *Recherches*, pp. 182-187.

(2) Les chapitres de la collection systématique qui correspondent à notre première Partie, offrent trop de divergences suivant les témoins. Aussi n'avons-nous pas posé cette même question à propos de notre première Partie, où l'on a d'ailleurs constaté l'absence totale de pièces du chap. XIX.

(3) Le chap. IX semblerait faire exception, mais il faut noter que IX, 19 est la suite de IX, 17 avec lequel il ne forme dans certains témoins qu'une seule pièce.

deux pièces (nn. 110 et 329) qui ne se trouvent dans aucun autre témoin connu, et mis à part les nn. 97 et 130 dont on parlera dans la troisième partie, il y a 31 pièces de **S** qui n'existent pas dans **PJ** (1). Loin d'infirmer la conclusion précédente d'après laquelle **S** serait un témoin de l'*état a*, cette constatation montre que **PJ** (le seul témoin de l'*état a* étudié par J.-C. Guy) n'est sans doute qu'un témoin déjà abrégé de ce premier *état*, et que **S** dérive d'une source qui en serait un témoin plus complet que **PJ**; et s'il n'existe plus actuellement, en grec, de collection de ce type, le témoignage de **S** n'en est que plus précieux pour l'étude de l'évolution de cette partie de la collection systématique.

IIIe Partie.

22. nn. 366-423 [sans titre].

On pouvait considérer notre collection achevée avec le n. 365. En fait le chapitre XV interrompu par les nn. 361-365, reprend avec le n. 366 = XV, 116. Mais s'agit-il vraiment d'une reprise après une interruption? Il s'agit plutôt d'une addition à la collection terminée avec la fin de la seconde partie, car le compilateur de **S** (ou de son modèle) a fait appel à partir du n. 366 à une nouvelle source. Si jusque là nous avons reconnu en **S** un témoin de l'*état a*, il n'en est plus question pour cette troisième partie. Et pourtant c'est bien encore avec la collection systématique qu'il est en relation; mais on se trouve devant la collection systématique arrivée à l'*état c*. C'est précisément avec XV, 116 (notre numéro 366) que commence dans le manuscrit *C 30 Inf.* de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne (nous l'appellerons désormais **H** comme l'a fait J.-C. Guy) l'addition au chapitre XV, caractéristique de cet *état c*.

Comme l'ordre des pièces de **S** et de **H** est loin d'être identique il convient de comparer minutieusement ces deux manuscrits pour faire apparaître très clairement la relation qui existe entre eux.

Nous procéderons en trois temps:

a) nn. 366-385. Le plus simple est d'avoir recours à un tableau. Dans la première colonne on indique les pièces de **S**, dans la seconde celles de **H** (avec leur numéro d'ordre dans le

(1) Nous signalerons dans le tableau descriptif, à l'aide d'une astérisque (*) devant le numéro d'ordre, les 35 pièces de la seconde partie de **S** qui sont omises par **PJ**.

chap. XV), et dans la troisième les pièces complémentaires du Coislin 126 dont une partie a été éditée par Nau (= **N**), et selon la numérotation de J.-C. Guy ([1]).

S	H	N	S	H	N
366	116	565	375	123	—
367	117	566	376	124	590
130	118	582	377	—	—
97	119	583	378	—	—
368	—	584	379	—	—
369	—	585	380	—	—
370	—	586	381	125	—
371	120	587	382	126	—
372	—	—	383	127	—
373	121	588	384	128	—
374	122	589	385	—	591

De l'examen de ce tableau, il résulte avec évidence que les trois séries mises en regard progressent dans un sens rigoureusement identique. **S** est la plus complète, et les nn. 372 (= IV, 104), 377, 378, 379 (= VIII, 28) ([2]) et 380 (= Tithoès 6, ici anonyme) n'ont

([1]) Cf. *Recherches*, pp. 168, 68-70.

([2]) Cette pièce **S** 379 qui manque en **N** se trouve pourtant dans d'autres témoins de la collection alphabético-anonyme, mais à une place différente. C'est ainsi par exemple que dans le *Sinaï 448* (**J**) elle est affectée du numéro 672 (cf. Guy, *Recherches*, pp. 95, 145), en un lieu parallèle à la lacune qui existe en **N** entre les numéros 644 et 645. Nous avons contrôlé directement son existence dans le *Vatican grec 1599* au f. 274ᵛ, c'est-à-dire en même place que dans **J**. Cette constatation ne s'oppose pas à notre démonstration. Bien que très probablement **N** ait possédé primitivement (c'est-à-dire dans les feuillets perdus entre les actuels numéros 644 et 645) **S** 379, il reste légitime de supposer que la collection-source dont nous allons parler a bien contenu, aussi, entre les pièces **N** 590 et 591, **S**. 379. Il faut bien tenir compte en effet du fait que dans la section où apparait **J** 672, on rencontre un certain nombre de doublets.

Il nous paraît utile de donner le texte de cette pièce puisque l'incipit diffère assez notablement des correspondants grecs: حدثوا عن الرهبان المصريين انهم كانوا اذا عرفوا الناس بفضل سر عملهم ما كانوا يحسبوه لهم فضل بل خطية. *On a raconté au sujet des moines égyptiens que si l'on apprenait la vertu cachée de leur action, ils ne se l'imputaient pas à eux-*

pas de correspondant dans les deux autres séries. Mais dans tous les autres cas, **S** s'accorde toujours avec au moins un des deux autres manuscrits. Quant à XV, 118 et XV, 119, on se rappelle comme ils ont été introduits l'un, n. 130, dans le chap. V, l'autre, n. 97, à la fin du chapitre IV. Ces deux déplacements n'ont pu avoir lieu que lorsque le compilateur de **S** a utilisé sa deuxième source pour donner un complément à sa première rédaction. Quelle était cette source nouvelle? Deux réponses sont possibles: ou bien il s'agit directement d'une collection systématique dans l'*état c* (où seul le chapitre XV a reçu une si longue addition finale), ou bien de la source où cette dernière a elle-même puisé, à savoir une section de la collection alphabético-anonyme. Mais dans l'un ou l'autre cas, cette collection-source devait contenir toutes les pièces communes à **S** et à chacun des deux témoins **H** ou **N**; on ne voit pas comment dans l'hypothèse contraire les additions se seraient faites selon un ordre rigoureusement identique dans des manuscrits indépendants l'un de l'autre.

b) nn. 386-394. Nous procédons comme pour la tranche précédente avec la même disposition du tableau.

S	H	N	S	H	N
—	129	519–520	389	133	532
—	130	527	390	—	533
—	131	528	391	—	534
386	—	529	392	—	535
387	132	530	393	—	536
388	—	531	394	134	537a

Comme précédemment, il est clair que les trois séries progressent encore dans le même sens. Cette fois, c'est **N** qui est le plus

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mêmes [comme] une vertu, mais [comme] un péché. Nous donnons le texte grec d'après le Vatican grec 1599, f. 274v; ce manuscrit qui n'a pas été retenu par J.-C. Guy, présente une parenté assez étroite avec le *Coislin 126* (**N**) et le *Sinaï 448* (**J**), comme l'a bien fait remarquer Mgr. Paul Canart dans sa longue et intéressante recension de l'ouvrage du R. Père Guy (cf. *Le Muséon* LXXVI [1963], p. 496): *Ἔλεγον περὶ τῶν Σκητιωτῶν ὅτι εἰ κατελάμβανε τις τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, οὐκέτι ὡς ἀρετὴν εἶχον αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἁμαρτίαν.* C'est avec le même incipit que la pièce est publiée dans Paul Evergétinos, *Συναγωγὴ τῶν Θεοφθόγγων ῥημάτων..* 6e édition, tome 3, Athènes 1964, *ὑπόθεσις ΚΣΤ', Η'*, 20, p. 311.

complet, mais si **S** n'a pas de correspondant à XV, 129-131, il n'a rien omis de la dernière tranche **N** 529-537a. Et à la question posée de savoir quelle était la seconde source de **S**, la réponse déjà donnée reçoit une confirmation solide, **N** contenant ici toutes les pièces de **S** et de **H**.

c) nn. 395-423. Le manuscrit **H** s'est terminé avec XV, 134 = N. 537 a. Le manuscrit **S** est donc seul a être mis en parallèle avec la collection alphabético-anonyme. Utilisons une fois de plus un tableau.

S	N		S	N	
395-398	537b–540		408–415	546–553	
399		*Euloge*	416		596
400–402	542–544		417	554	
403-404		559–560	418		16
405		*Longin*	419–422	555–557	
406-407		562–563	423		*Epiphane*

Si la tranche nn. 386-394 n'était pas la suite de la précédente nn. 366-385, par rapport à la série **N**, alors que **S** n'a plus désormais l'appui de **H** pour la dernière tranche nn. 395-423, il est manifeste que cette tranche nn. 395-423 est bien la suite de nn. 386-394 par rapport à **N**. Comment pourrait-elle l'être mieux, puisque n. 395 = **N** 537b la pièce dont n. 394 (= **N**. 537a) était le début. Le tableau montre clairement que pour ce qui est de **N**, la suite 537-557 n'est interrompue que par la groupe **N**. 559-563 venu s'insérer à la place de **N** 545 omis, et par l'interpolation de **N**. 596 et **N**. 16 venant encadrer **N**. 554. Reprenant encore la question de la source de **S** pour cette tranche, il n'est plus nécessaire de supposer une collection systématique comme intermédiaire, laquelle n'aurait laissé aucune trace pour cette tranche dans le manuscrit **H**.

Il suffit seulement de supposer l'existence de la section de la collection alphabético-anonyme utilisée à un certain stade d'évolution comme finale du chapitre XV. C'est un dérivé de cette finale que présenteraient de manière différente et indépendante, et le manuscrit **S** et le manuscrit **H**. Que cette finale ait été plus abondante que ces deux témoins, deux constatations vont encore nous obliger à l'admettre. Etant donnée la régularité de la progression entre **S** et **N**, on serait bien en droit d'attendre **N** 541 à la suite de

n. 398. En fait, le n. 399 est attribué à Euloge comme l'est **N.** 541 (1), mais il s'agit d'un tout autre récit. Le même cas se reproduit un peu plus loin: entre les nn. 404 et 406 (= **N.** 560 et 562), au lieu de trouver **N.** 561 (2) attribué à Longin, nous avons affaire à n. 405 qui est un autre récit du même ascète. C'est dire que le dossier de ces deux vieillards était plus fourni dans la collection-source de **S**, et une fois de plus le compilateur aura fait son choix même dans les pièces nominatives, éliminant à son gré, ou retenant ce qui lui plaisait, et c'est ainsi qu'il a conservé le n. 423 attribué à Epiphane et qui ne se trouve dans aucune autre collection jusqu'ici analysée.

Conclusion

L'analyse précédente a montré que **S** contient dans un ordre de chapitres différent des autres témoins, et sous une forme très abrégée, une collection systématique d'*Apophthegmata Patrum*. Il se termine, à l'inverse, par une très longue section, qui jusqu'à présent, ne trouve de parallèle partiel que dans un manuscrit grec du XIIe siècle (**H**), témoin du dernier *état* de développement de la collection systématique. **S** datant du début du Xe siècle, il nous permet de reconnaître au moins deux siècles plus tôt, ne fût-ce que pour le chap. XV, l'existence de cet *état c.* Par répercussion, cette

(1) Pour bien montrer la diversité de ces deux pièces du dossier d'Euloge, nous donnons le texte de N. 541 d'après le *Vatican grec* 1599, f. 220r: *Ἔλεγεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Εὐλόγιος ὁ τοῦ Ἐννάτου ὅτι ἦν τις ἀδελφὸς οἰκῶν εἰς τὰ Κελλία καὶ ποιήσας ἔτη κ' σχολάζων τῇ ἀναγνώσει νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἀναστὰς ἐν μιᾷ ἐπώλησε τὰ βιβλία ὅσα ἐκέκτητο καὶ λαβῶν τὸ μηλωτάριον αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐσωτέραν ἔρημον. Ὑπαντήσας δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰσαὰκ λέγει αὐτῷ· ποῦ πορεύῃ, τέκνον; καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ἀδελφὸς λέγων αὐτῷ· ἔχω εἴκοσι χρόνους Πάτερ ἀκούων μόνον τοὺς λόγους τῶν βιβλίων· ἄρτι θέλω λοιπὸν ἄρξασθαι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὅπερ ἤκουσα ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων ποιῆσαι. Καὶ ποιήσας αὐτῷ εὐχὴν ὁ γέρων ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν.*

(2) De même, nous donnons le texte de **N.** 561, toujours d'après le *Vatican grec 1599*, f. 224r: *Εἶχε δὲ ὁ ἀββᾶς Λογγῖνος κατάνυξιν πολλὴν ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ καὶ τῇ ψαλμῳδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ἐν μιᾷ ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ· ἀββᾶ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πνευματικὸς κανὼν τὸ κλαίειν ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὸν μοναχόν; καὶ λέγει ὁ γέρων· ναί, τέκνον, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κα<νὼν> ὃν χρήζει ὁ Θεός· ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐποίησε τὸν ἄν<θρωπ>ον ἐν κλαυθμῷ ἀλλ' εἰς χαρὰν καὶ εὐφροσύνην ἵνα δοξάζῃ αὐτὸν καθαρῶς καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοι· ἀλλὰ πεσὼν εἰς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ὁ ἄν<θρωπ>ος ἐδεήσθη τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ· ὅπου γὰρ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐκεῖ οὐ χρεία κλαυθμοῦ.*

constatation permet de remonter également l'âge de la section de la collection alphabético-anonyme qui en est la source. Quand par ailleurs on pense que c'est une version que nous présente **S**, on mesure d'autant plus le poids de son témoignage, puisqu'il autorise à conclure à un âge plus ancien encore pour la constitution de l'état des collections qu'il représente, dans leur langue originale.

Nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de montrer quel apport précieux pouvait fournir la tradition arabe pour l'histoire des collections monastiques (1); l'étude du manuscrit **S** fournit une preuve supplémentaire de l'utilité de cette tradition pour éclairer la question du rapport entre la collection systématique et la collection alphabético-anonyme des *Apophthegmata Patrum*, ainsi que le problème de la structure de chacune d'elles tout au long de leur développement.

Bibliothèque Vaticane.

Joseph-Marie Sauget

APPENDICE

Au cours de l'analyse qui précède, on a vu que parmi des 423 pièces qui composent la collection **S**, toutes ont été repérées soit dans la collection systématique, soit dans la collection alphabético anonyme (2), à l'exception des nn. 377, 378, 399, 405 et 423. Avant de passer à la description détaillée de **S**, nous donnerons, pensant rendre service en cela à qui devra analyser des collections similaires, le texte arabe et une traduction française de ces cinq pièces que nous croyons nouvelles.

n. 377

وقال ايضا: ان كنت تريد تخدم الله بهذا الجسد مثل ملاك فليكون لك صلاة في قلبك في السر رفان نفسك تصير قبل الموت مثل الملاك.

(1) Cf. J.-M. Sauget, *Le Paterikon du ms. Mingana Christian Arabic 120 a*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XVIII (1962), pp. 402-417.

(2) Bienqu'il n'existe encore aucun texte publié des pièces de la collection alphabético-anonyme qui font suite à celles éditées par F. Nau, leur repérage peut être facilité grâce aux indicatifs donnés par J.-C. Guy, *Recherches*, pp. 68-70, qui renvoie lui-même aux descriptions des pièces similaires du *Berlin 1624*, faites par W. Bousset, in *Apophthegmata. Studien zur Geschichte der ältesten Mönchtums*, Tübingen 1923, pp. 114-116.

n. 378

وقال ايضا: مثل الذي يريد يصفي الذهب ان كان مرة يقد النار * تحته ومرة يطفيه ما ينتفع بشي ' كذلك النفس ان صليت مرة تحرص ومرة تسترخي فانها لا تنتفع ولا تفلح.

n. 399

قال انبا اولوجيوس لتلميذه: يا بني عود نفسك قليل قليل تضيق بطنك بالصوم لان بطن الانسان انما يشبه زق يابس فعلى قدرما تمرنه وتملاه تزداد شبعه ' كذلك البطن الذي يحشا اطعمة كثيرة فان انت بعلت فيه قليل ضاق وصار لا يطلب منك الا قليل.

n. 405

اخ كان ساكن في قلية على حده قريب من انبا النجينس وكان قد وقع في خطية كبيرة فكان ربما يانيه من ذلك خبث النفس. فكان اذا لم يدري ايش يعمل كان يقول لنفسه: الذي كان قد كان. فكانت تجيبه حسبته وتقول: ولكنك بئسما صنعت, ولكن قد كان ما كان.

n. 423

قال انبا بفانيوس لتلاميذه عند خروج نفسه: اجعلوا بالكم يا اولادي واسمعوا كلام بفانيوس الخاطي, لا تشتهوا متاع الدنيا وانتم تزدادوا متاع كثير. ولا تبغضوا احد من الناس وانتم تحبوا من الله. ولا تدينوا احد من الاخوة وليس يقوا عليكم وجع شيطاني. تحفظوا من جميع لذات العالم التي تحرك الجسد والفكر. وتكونوا تعرفوا بالصحة انها زيادة من الشيطان. انه ربما يكون الجسد هادي وفكر هولا الذين ليس لهم تحفظ يهتم بالامور الباطلة. فاذا كان فكركم منتبه ابدا يذكر الله فان صراع العدوا يهون عليكم.

n. 377

Il dit encore (1): Si tu veux servir Dieu avec ce corps comme un ange, aie une prière [pure] (2) dans ton cœur, dans le secret, alors ton âme dès avant la mort, deviendra comme un ange.

n. 378

Il dit encore (3): De même que celui qui veut purifier l'or, si tantôt il allume du feu dessous et tantôt il l'éteint, cela ne lui est d'aucune utilité; de même l'âme, si tantôt elle prie avec ardeur et tantôt tombe dans la négligence, cela ne lui sert de rien et reste sans profit (4).

(1) Cette formule se rencontre habituellement dans les pièces qui suivent immédiatement une autre où le nom de l'auteur est exprimé. Comme le numéro précédent, n. 376 = **N**. 590 est anonyme, il est impossible de découvrir le nom du vieillard a qui on a pu l'attribuer. Cette remarque vaut également pour le numéro suivant.

(2) Cette addition est probable, grâce au parallélisme avec une pièce très voisine du *Vatican arabe* 77, f. 99r: وقال ايضا ان كنت تحب ان تخدم الله بهذا الجسد مثل ملاك فتكون (كذا) لك صلاة نقية في قلبك سرا.

(3) Cette pièce et les suivantes, à l'exception du n. 405, se retrouvent également dans le *Vatican arabe* 77. Nous nous contenterons ici d'indiquer ces parallèles, car d'une part il est encore prématuré de donner une édition critique des versions arabes des apophthegmes, et d'autre part nous aurons l'occasion de revenir sous peu sur ce manuscrit. Disons cependant que le *Vatican arabe* 77, *Paterikon* très abondant, mais de date récente: 1684, (cf. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*. I, [*Studi e Testi*, 118], Città del Vaticano 1945, p. 380), contient deux collections d'apophthegmes. La première (ff. 64v-112v) dans laquelle nous avons relevé 456 pièces, est assez composite. Néanmoins nous avons pu en dégager une longue section (ce seraient d'après notre analyse provisoire, les nn. 23-274, soient 252 pièces) qui se présente comme un abrégé de la collection de **S**, mais dans une recension (ou version?) différente.

(4) On peut rapprocher la seconde partie de cette pièce de **N** 444; nous en donnons le texte d'après le *Vatican grec 1599*, f. 191v: *Ἔιπεν γέρων· Μοναχὸς ἐὰν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας κοπιᾷ, καὶ πάλιν χαυνοῦνται καὶ πάλιν κοπιᾷ, καὶ πάλιν ἀμελεῖ, ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐδὲν ποιεῖ οὐδὲ κτᾶται ὑπομονήν*. Cette pièce est publiée dans Paul Evergetinos, *Συναγωγὴ*. . . , 5e édition, tome I, Athènes 1957, *ὑπόθεσις ΚΗ'*, 18, p. 254.

n. 399

L'abbé Euloge dit à son disciple: ô mon fils, habitue-toi peu à peu à rétrécir ton ventre par le jeûne, car le ventre de l'homme ressemble à une outre sèche: à mesure que tu assouplis celle-ci et que tu la remplis, tu en augmentes la capacité. De même le ventre de celui qui se remplit d'une nourriture abondante: si tu mets en lui peu de chose, il se rétrécira et il n'exigera de toi que peu de chose.

n. 405

Un frère habitait solitaire une cellule dans le voisinage de l'abbé Longin; il était tombé dans de grands péchés et souvent à cause de cela son âme tombait dans le trouble. Lui ne sachant que faire, disait à son âme: ce qui est arrivé est arrivé; mais sa conscience lui répondait: en tous cas tu as mal agi, même si ce qui est arrivé est arrivé.

n. 423

L'abbé Epiphane (1) dit à ses disciples au moment de sa mort: Prêtez attention, ô mes enfants, et écoutez les paroles du pécheur Epiphane; ne désirez pas les biens du monde et vous serez comblés de biens nombreux. Ne haïssez personne parmi les hommes, et vous serez aimés de Dieu. Ne jugez personne parmi les frères, et aucune passion diabolique ne l'emportera sur vous. Gardez-vous de tous les plaisirs du monde qui excitent le corps et la pensée. Sachez en vérité qu'ils sont une séquelle du démon. [Et] souvent, le corps étant dans le calme, la pensée de ceux qui ne prennent pas garde se préoccupe des choses vaines. Si votre pensée est toujours attentive au souvenir de Dieu, la lutte contre l'ennemi vous sera plus facile.

(1) Si cette pièce ne se trouve, à notre connaissance, dans aucune collection jusqu'ici connue, le texte grec s'en trouve dans la *Vita Sancti Epiphani*, in *P.G.* 41, col. 108, ll. 35-52.

Tableau descriptif des 423 apophthegmes

Les numéros d'ordre renvoient à notre numérotation des pièces de S.

La seconde colonne indique le feuillet où se trouve la pièce.

La troisième colonne renvoie à la collection systématique reconstituée par J.-C. Guy, donc en utilisant sa numérotation, cf. *Recherches*, pp. 126-181.

La quatrième colonne renvoie à la collection alphabético-anonyme, décrite par J.-C. Guy, *Recherches*, pp. 19-36 pour les pièces nominatives, ibid., pp. 68-70 pour les compléments anonymes (N). Quand dans le texte le nom du vieillard n'est pas indiqué, nous le faisons figurer entre parenthèses ⟨ ⟩.

L'astérique qui accompagne certains numéros d'ordre indique, comme nous l'avons annoncé, cf page 492 note 1, les pièces de S qui sont omises par PJ.

Numéro d'ordre	Feuillet	Collection systématique	Collection alphab. - anonyme
1	62^r	XX, 8	Or 2
2	62^{rv}	XX,11	N. 146
3	62^v	XX, 9	Or 3
4	62^v-63^r	XX,12	N. 132 C
5	63^r	XX,13	N. 132 D
6	63^{rv}	XXI, 5	N. 90
7	63^v (1)	XXI, 6	N. 91
8	63^v (2)	XXI, 7	—
9	63^v (3)	XXI,10	N. 94
10	63^v (4)	XXI,11	N. 95
11	63^v (5)	XXI,12	N. 96
12	63^v (6)	XXI,13	N. 97
13	63^v (7)	XXI,14	P. 48
14	63^v (8)	XXI,15	N. 98
15	63^v (9)	XXI,16	N. 99
16	63^v (10)	XXI,17	N. 100
17	63^v (11)	XXI,18	N. 101
18	63^v (12)	XXI,19	N. 102
19	64^r (1)	XXI,21	—
20	64^r (2)	XXI,22	N. 103
21	64^r (3)	XXI,23	N. 104
22	64^r (4)	XXI,24	N. 105
23	64^r (5)	XXI,25	N. 106
24	64^r (6)	XXI,26	N. 107
25	64^r (7)	XXI,28	N. 108
26	64^r (8)	XXI,30	N. 110
27	64^r (9)	XXI,34	N. 115
28	64^r (10)	XXI,35	N. 116
29	64^{rv}	XXI,37	N. 118
30	64^v (1)	XXI,38	N. 119
31	64^v (1)	XXI,40	N. 121
32	64^v (3)	XXI,42	N. 123

Numéro d'ordre	Feuillet	Collection systématique	Collection alphab. - anonyme
33	64v (4)	XVIII,17	Moïse 1
34	64v-65r	XVIII,21	Poemen 183
35	65-67r	XVIII,26	Paul le Simple
36	67r (1)	XVIII,28	Synclétique 18
37	67r (2)	XVIII,47	N. 88
38	67rv	XVIII,29	N. 359
39	67v (1)	XVIII,30	N. 360
40	67v (2)	XVIII,35	N. 364
41	67v-68r	XVIII,38	N. 366
42	68r	XVIII,40	N. 367
43	68rv	XVIII,42	N. 85
44	68v-69r	XVIII,44	N. 389
45	69r (1)	I, 1	Antoine 3
46	69r (2)	I, 2	Antoine 6
47	69r (3)	I, 3	Grégoire 1
48	69r (4)	I, 4	⟨Evagre 6⟩
49	69rv	I, 6	Zacharie 1
50	69v	I,13	Jean Colobos 34
51	69v-70r	I,14	Joseph le Thébain 1
52	70r	I,15	Cassien 5
53	70rv	I,18	Nisthérôos 2
54	70v (1)	I,20	Poemen 35
55	70v (2)	I,23	Poemen 60
56	70v (3)	I,24	Poemen 66
57	70v-71r	I,25	Pambo 8
58	71r (1)	I,26	Sisoès 43
59	71r (2)	I,28	⟨Euprépios 4⟩
60	71r (3)	I,29	⟨Euprépios 5⟩
61	71r (4)	I,30	⟨Euprépios 6⟩
62	71r (5)	I,31	N. 253
63	71rv	I,32	N. 225
64	71v	I,34	N. 330
65	71v-72v	XVIII, 3	Arsène 33
66	72v-73v	XVIII, 4	Daniel 7
67	73v-74r	XVIII, 5	Daniel 8
68	74rv	II, 1	Antoine 10
69	74v (1)	II, 2	Antoine 11
70	74v (2)	II, 3	Arsène 1
71	74v (3)	II, 4	Arsène 2
72	74v (4)	II,19	Moise 6
73	74v (5)	II,23	Nil 9
74	74v (6)	II,24	Poemen 43
75	74v-75r	II,25	Poemen 59
76	75r (1)	II,26	Sisoès 3
77	75r (2)	II,28	N. 133
78	75rv	II,29	N. 134
79	75v (1)	III, 3	Arsène 41 a
80	75v (2)	III, 4	Ammonas 1
81	75v-76r	III, 5	⟨Evagre 1⟩
82	76rv	III, 6	Elie 1
83	76v (1)	III,15	Théophile 5
84	76v (2)	III,17	Jacques 3

Numéro d'ordre	Feuillet	Collection systématique	Collection alphab. - anonyme
85	76v (3)	III,18	Macaire 12
86	76v-77r	III,20	Macaire 34
87	77r (1)	III,24	Poemen 26
88	77r (2)	III,28	Poemen 50
89	77rv	III,33	Silvain 2
90	77v	III,34	Synclétique 1
91	77v-78r	III,38	N. 135
92	78r	III,39	N. 136
93	78rv	III,40	N. 138
94	78v (1)	III,41	N. 139
95	78v (2)	III,42	N. 140
96	78v (3)	III,44	N. 141
*97	78v-79v	XV,119	N. 583
98	79v (1)	IV,3	Arsène 15
99	79v (2)	IV,7	Agathon 15
100	79v (3)	IV,8	Agathon 11
101	79v-80r	IV,10	Achille 3
102	80r (1)	IV,13	Dioscore 1
103	80r (2)	IV,16	Helladios 1
104	80r (3)	IV,17	Zénon 6
105	80v (1)	IV,19	Théodore Eleu. 2
106	80v (2)	IV,22	Isaac des Cellules 4
107	80v (3)	IV,24	Isidore 2
108	80v (4)	IV,28	Longin 2
109	80v (5)	IV,30	Macaire 16
*110	80v (6)	—	Poemen 38
*111	80v-81r	IV,36	Poemen 42
112	81r (1)	IV,39	Poemen 57
113	81r (2)	IV,47	Sisoès 5
114	81r (3)	IV,50	Synclétique 3
115	81r (4)	IV,52	Tithoès 2
116	81r (5)	IV,54	Hyperéchios 2
117	81r (6)	IV,55	Hyperéchios
118	81r (7)	IV,57	Hyperéchios 3
119	81r (8)	IV,59	Hyperéchios 4
120	81rv	IV,60	Hyperéchios 5
121	81v (1)	IV,73	N. 152
122	81v (2)	V, 9	Poemen 62
123	81v (3)	V,13	Sarra 1
124	81v-82r	V,16	N. 164
125	82r	V,19	N. 167
126	82rv	V,26	N. 172
127	82v	V,35	N. 182
128	82v-83r	V,36	N. 183
129	83rv	V,37	N. 184
*130	83v-84v	XV,118	N. 582
131	84v-85r	V,27	N. 173
132	85rv	V,31	N. 179
133	85v-86r	V,32	N. 180
134	86rv	V,45	N. 174
135	86v-87r	V,44	N. 191
136	87rv	V 40	N. 187

Numéro d'ordre	Feuillet	Collection systématique	Collection alphab. - anonyme

Numéro d'ordre	Feuillet	Collection systématique	Collection alphab. - anonyme

137	87^v	VI, 3	Arsène 20
*138	87^v-88^r	VI,11	Isaac des Cellules 12
139	88^r	VI,17	Synclétique 5
140	88^{rv}	VI,22	N. 263
141	88^v	VI,24	N. 260
142	88^v-89^r	VI,25	N. 261
143	89^r	VI,26	N. 262
144	89^{rv}	VII, 1	Antoine 1
145	89^v (1)	VII, 3	Ammonas 3
146	89^v (2)	VII, 4	Bessarion 6
*147	89^v (3)	VII, 5	Benjamin 5
148	89^v-90^r	VII, 9	Théodore de Phermé 2
149	90^r (1)	VII,11	Théodore de l'Ennaton 2
150	90^r (2)	VII,16	Matoès 1
151	90^r (3)	VII,18	Poemen 13
152	90^r (4)	VII,20	Poemen 44
*153	90^{rv}	VII,21	Paul le Grand
154	90^v (1)	VII,27	Hyperéchios
155	90^v (2)	VII,28	Hyperéchios
156	90^v-91^r	VII,29	N. 192
157	91^r (1)	VII,30	N. 297
158	91^r (2)	VII,32	N. 193
159	91^r (3)	VII,33	N. 194
160	91^{rv}	VII,34	N. 195
161	91^v (1)	VII,35	N. 196
162	91^v (2)	VII,36	N. 197
163	91^v-92^r	VII,37	N. 198
164	92^r (1)	VII,41	N. 202
165	92^r (2)	VII,43	N. 204
*166	92^{rv}	VII,44	N. 374
167	92^v (1)	VII,45	N. 205
168	92^v (2)	VII,46	N. 206
*169	92^v (3)	VII,47	N. 376
170	92^v-93^r	VII,49	N. 208
171	93^v (1)	VII,50	N. 209
172	93^v (2)	VII,51	N. 210
173	93^v-94^r	VII,54	N. 213
174	94^r	VII,56	N. 214
175	94^{rv}	VIII, 1	Antoine 14
176	94^v (1)	VIII, 2	Antoine 15
177	94^v (2)	VIII,11	Théodore de Phermé 9
178	94^v-95^r	VIII,12	Sérapion 4
179	95^r	VIII,18	Poemen 63
180	95^{rv}	VIII,24	Synclétique S 3
181	95^v (1)	VIII,31	N. 320
182	95^v (2)	IX, 5	Isaac de Thébain 1
183	95^v (3)	IX, 8	Joseph de Panépho 2
184	95^v-96^r	IX, 9	Poemen 64
185	96^r (1)	IX,13	Pior 3
186	96^r (2)	IX,15	N. 11
187	96^{rv}	IX,18	N. 255
*188	96^v (1)	IX,17+19	N. 327

96^{v} (2)	IX,14	Paphnuce 1
97^{r} (1)	X, 4	Antoine 16
97^{r} (2)	X, 8	Arsène 12
97^{r} (3)	X,11	Agathon 1
97^{rv}	X,13	Agathon 8
97^{v} (1)	X,14	Agathon 10
97^{v} (2)	X,16	Agathon 19
97^{v} (3)	X,47	Macaire 23 b
97^{v} (4)	X,22a	Daniel 4a
97^{v} (5)	X,23	Daniel 6
97^{v}-98^{r}	X,24	Euprépios 7
98^{r} (1)	X,25	⟨Evagre⟩
98^{r} (2)	X,52	Poemen
98^{r} (3)	X,40	Joseph de Panépho 4
98^{rv}	X,45	Longin 1
98^{v} (1)	X,48	Macaire 36
98^{v} (2)	X,49a	Matoès 4
98^{v}-99^{r}	X,51	N. 391
99^{r}	X,57	Poemen 12
99^{rv}	X,58	Poemen 15
99^{v} (1)	X,59	Poemen 20
99^{v} (2)	X,60	Poemen 21
99^{v} (3)	X,61	Poemen 31
99^{v}-100^{r}	X,62	Poemen 86
100^{r} (1)	X,67	Poemen 118
100^{r} (2)	X,72	Poemen 25
100^{r} (3)	X,75	Poemen 27
100^{rv}	X,76	Poemen 29
100^{v} (1)	X,77	Poemen 177
100^{v} (2)	X,78	Poemen 91
100^{v} (3)	X,81	Poemen 28
100^{v} (4)	X,85	Poemen 151
100^{v}-101^{r}	X,86	Poemen 45
101^{r} (1)	X,87	Poemen 149
101^{r} (2)	X,88	Poemen 58
101^{r} (3)	X,91	Poemen 67
101^{r} (4)	X,92	Moïse 12
101^{rv}	X,93	Poemen 168
101^{v}	X,95	N. 383
101^{r}-102^{r}	X,96	N. 662
102^{r} (1)	X,97	N. 384
102^{r} (2)	X,98	Sisoès 6
102^{rv}	X,101	Synclétique 10
102^{v}	X,102	Synclétique S 10
102^{r}-103^{v}	X,103	Synclétique 13
103^{r} (1)	X,105	Synclétique 15
103^{r} (2)	X,109	Hyperéchios
103^{rv}	X,111	Anonyme
103^{v} (1)	X,113	N. 247
103^{v} (2)	X,115	N. 248
103^{v} (3)	X,116	N. 249
103^{v} (4)	X,118	N. 446
103^{v}-104^{r}	X,119	N. 251
104^{r} (1)	X,121	N. 252

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243	104^{r} (2)	X,123	N. 218
244	104^{r} (3)	X,125	N. 219
245	104^{r} (4)	X,127	N. 221
246	104^{rv}	X,135	N. 222
247	104^{v}-105^{r}	X,136	N. 223
248	105^{r}	X,148	N. 226
249	105^{rv}	X,149	N. 227
250	105^{v} (1)	X,152	N. 230
251	105^{v} (2)	X,154	N. 231
252	105^{v} (3)	X,155	N. 232
*253	105^{v} (4)	X,157	Anonyme
*254	106^{r} (1)	X,158	Anonyme
255	106^{r} (2)	X,159	N. 386
*256	106^{r} (3)	X,162	N. 236
*257	106^{r} (4)	X,163	N. 237
258	106^{r} (5)	X,166	N. 239
259	106^{r} (6)	X,167	N. 240
*260	106^{r} (7)	X,169	N. 387
261	106^{r} (8)	X,173	N. 244
262	106^{v} (1)	XI, 4	Arsène 9
263	106^{v} (2)	XI, 5	Arsène 10
264	106^{v} (3)	XI, 8	Agathon 2
265	106^{v} (4)	XI, 9	Agathon 29b
266	106^{v} (5)	XI,10	Agathon 3
267	107^{r} (1)	XI,13	Alonios 1
268	107^{r} (2)	XI,15	Bessarion 11
269	107^{r} (3)	XI,18	⟨Evagre 4⟩
*270	107^{r} (4)	XI,40	Jean Colobos 12
271	107^{r} (5)	XI,46	Isidore 4
272	107^{r} (6)	XI,56a	Amoun de Nitrie 2a
273	107^{rv}	XI,59	Poemen 65
274	107^{v} (1)	XI,60	N. 647
275	107^{v} (2)	XI,63	Poemen S 18
276	107^{v}-108^{r}	XI,65	Pierre le Pionite 2
277	108^{r} (1)	XI,67	Tithoès 3
278	108^{r} (2)	XI,69	Silvain 11
279	108^{r} (3)	XI,70	Silvaiu 6
*280	108^{r} (4)	XI,71	Sérapion 3
281	108^{r} (5)	XI,72	Synclétique S 5
282	108^{rv}	XI,74	Synclétique S 7
283	108^{v}	XI,76	Hyperéchios 7
284	108^{v}-109^{r}	XI,78	Orsisios 2
285	109^{r} (1)	XI,81	N. 266
286	109^{r} (2)	XI,91	N. 264
287	109^{r} (3)	XI,92	N. 265
*288	109^{rv}	XI,93	N. 651
289	109^{v} (1)	XI,94	N. 267
290	109^{v} (2)	XI,95	N. 268
*291	109^{v} (3)	XI,96	N. 473a
*292	109^{v} (4)	XI,99	N. 269
293	109^{v} (5)	XI,101	N. 270
294	109^{v}-110^{r}	XI,102	N. 271
295	110^{r} (1)	XI,103	N. 272
296	110^{r} (2)	XI,104	N. 273

Numéro d ordre	Feuillet	Collection systématique	Collection alphab. - anonyme
297	110^{r} (3)	XI,108	N. 276
*298	110^{rv}	XI,109	Olympios 1
299	110^{v}-111^{r}	XI,111	N. 278
300	111^{r} (1)	XI,115	N. 279
*301	111^{r} (2)	XI,116	N. 403
302	111^{rv}	XI,125	N. 378
303	111^{v} (1)	XII, 1	Arsène 30
304	111^{v} (2)	XII, 2	Agathon 9
305	111^{v}-112^{r}	XII, 4	N. 664
306	112^{r} (1)	XII, 5	N. 665
307	112^{r} (2)	XII, 6	Epiphane 3
308	112^{r} (3)	XII,11	Macaire 19
309	112^{rv}	XII,15	Anonyme
310	112^{v} (1)	XII,16	N. 379
311	112^{v} (2)	XIII, 6	Poemen 51
*312	112^{v} (3)	XIII, 7	Poemen 69b
313	112^{v}-113^{r}	XIII, 8	N. 283
314	113^{r}	XIV, 3	Arès 1
315	113^{rv}	XIV, 4	Jean Colobos 1
316	113^{v}	XIV,21	N. 388
317	113^{v}-114^{r}	XIV,23	N. 291
318	114^{r}	XIV,29a	N. 296
319	114^{rv}	XIV,29b	Rufus 2b
320	114^{v} (1)	XV, 2	Antoine 4
321	114^{v} (2)	XV, 3	Antoine 7
322	114^{v} (3)	XV, 5	Arsène 3
323	114^{v} (4)	XV, 6	Arsène 4
324	114^{v}-115^{r}	XV, 7	Arsène 6
325	115^{r} (1)	XV,10b	Arsène 40b
326	115^{r} (2)	XV,10c	Arsène 41b
327	115^{rv}	XV,19	Zacharie 3
328	115^{v} (1)	XV,20	Zacharie 5
*329	115^{v} (2)	—	Poemen 162
330	115^{v} (3)	XV,31	Théophile 1
331	115^{v} (4)	XV,34	Jean Colobos
332	115^{v}-116^{r}	XV,35	Jean Colobos 22
333	116^{r} (1)	XV,36	Jean des Cellules 2
334	116^{r} (2)	XV,41	Matoès 2
335	116^{r} (3)	XV,48	Poemen 49
336	116^{r} (4)	XV,49	Poemen S 4
337	116^{r} (5)	XV,50	Poemen 36
338	116^{r} (6)	XV,51	Poemen 73
*339	116^{r} (7)	XV,52	Poemen
340	116^{rv}	XV,53	Poemen 41
341	116^{v} (1)	XV,56	Poemen 167
342	116^{v} (2)	XV,60b	Pistos 1b
343	116^{v} (3)	XV,65	Sisoès 13
344	116^{v} (4)	XV,66	Synclétique S 9
345	116^{v} (5)	XV,67	Hyperéchios
346	116^{v} (6)	XV,68	Hyperéchios
347	116^{v}-117^{r}	XV,73	N. 331

Numéro d'ordre	Feuillet	Collection systématique	Collection alphab. - anonyme
348	117^r (1)	XV,74	N. 300
349	117^r (2)	XV,76	N. 302
350	117^r (3)	XV,78	N. 304
351	117^r (4)	XV,79	N. 305
352	117^r (5)	XV,81	P. 263
353	117^r (6)	XV,86	N. 309
354	117^{rv}	XV,97	N. 381
355	117^v (1)	XV,98	P. 279
356	117^v (2)	XV,99	N. 321
357	117^v (3)	XV,103	N. 323
*358	117^v (4)	XV,104	N. 329
359	117^v (5)	XV,105	N. 324
360	117^v (6)	XV,106	N. 325
361	117^v-118^r	XVI,16	N. 336
362	118^r (1)	XVI,28	N. 339
363	118^r (2)	XVII, 1	Antoine 32
364	118^r (3)	XVII, 2	Antoine 9
365	118^r (4)	XVII,24	N. 353
366	118^{rv}	XV,116	N. 565
367	118^v-119^r	XV,117	N. 566
368	119^r	—	N. 584
369	119^{rv}	—	N. 585
370	119^v	—	N. 586
371	119^v-120^r	XV,120	N. 587
372	120^r	IV,104	Anonyme
373	120^{rv}	XV,121	N. 588
374	120^v	XV,122	N. 589
375	120^v-121^r	XV,123	Anonyme
376	121^r (1)	XV,124	N. 590
377	121^r (2)	—	Anonyme
378	121^{rv}	—	Anonyme
379	121^v (1)	VIII,28	J. 672
380	121^v (2)	—	〈Tithoès 6〉
381	121^v (3)	XV,125	Anonyme
382	121^v (4)	XV,126	Anonyme
383	121^v-122^r	XV,127	Anonyme
384	122^r (1)	XV,128	Anonyme
385	122^r (2)	—	N. 591
386	122^{rv}	—	N. 529
387	122^v-123^r	XV,132	N. 530
388	123^r	—	N. 531
389	123^{rv}	XV,133	N. 532
390	123^v (1)	—	N. 533
391	123^v (2)	—	N. 534
392	123^v (3)	—	N. 535
393	123^v (4)	—	N. 536
394	123^v-124^v	XV,134	N. 537a
395	124^v	—	N. 537b
396	124^v-125^r	—	N. 538
397	125^r (1)	—	N. 539
398	125^r (2)	—	N. 540
399	125^r (3)	—	Euloge —

Numéro d'ordre	Feuillet	Collection systématique	Collection alphab. - anonyme
400	125^r (4)	—	N. 542
401	125^{rv}	—	N. 543
402	125^v (1)	—	N. 544
403	125^v (2)	—	N. 559
404	125^v (3)	—	N. 560
405	125^v (4)	—	—
406	125^v (5)	—	N. 562
407	125^v-126^r	—	N. 563
408	126^r (1)	—	N. 546
409	126^r (2)	—	N. 547
410	126^{rv}	—	N. 548
411	126^v	—	N. 549
412	126^v-127^v	—	N. 550
413	127^v-128^v	—	N. 551
414	128^v (1)	—	N. 552
415	128^v (2)	—	N. 553
416	128^v-129^r	—	N. 596
417	129^r (1)	—	N. 554
418	129^r (2)	—	N. 16
419	129^r (3)	—	N. 555
420	129^{rv}	—	N. 556a
421	129^v	—	N. 556b
422	129^v-130^r	—	N. 557
423	130^r	—	Epiphane

Trials Before a Single Judge in the Eastern Canon Law

The section *De iudiciis* in the Latin Code is not rich in commentaries and literature. The same is true on a much larger scale for the Eastern Code. Fourteen years have passed since the promulgation of the *Motu proprio* " *Sollicitudinem Nostram* ", on January 6th, 1950 (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 42, pp. 5-120), treating the administration of justice in eastern ecclesiastical courts, yet, until now there have appeared only a few descriptions (¹) of the *Motu proprio* and two commentaries on it: F. Galtier's, *Code oriental de procédure ecclésiastique*, published in Beyrouth in 1951, and F. Roberti's *De processibus*, 4th edition, first volume, issued in Vatican City in 1956. It is to be noted that F. Galtier composed his book somewhat in a hurry to meet the most pressing needs of the ecclesiastical courts in the Near East and it is, therefore, rather jejune. F. Roberti is dealing primarily with the Latin Code, and explains in his first volume

(¹) HERMAN E., ' Adnotationes ad Litteras Apostolicas motu proprio datas: De iudiciis pro Ecclesia Orientali ', *Revista Española de Derecho Canónico* 5 (1950) 1045-1064; HERMAN E., ' De novissima lege processuali Ecclesiae Orientalis, edita motu proprio " de iudiciis " ', *Monitor ecclesiasticus* 75 (1950) 599-620; PRIETO-LOPEZ J., ' Los canones del derecho procesal de la Iglesia Latina comparados con los de la Iglesia Oriental ', *Revista Española de Derecho Canónico* 7 (1952) 743-796; TOBIN J. Th., ' Trials-Eastern and Latin ', *The Jurist* 12 (1952) 66-91 and 190-231; ARNOLD Fr., ' Der Codex für die Orientalische Kirche. Das Prozesrecht ', *Oestereichische Archiv für Kirchenrecht* 1 (1950) 165-180; BARTOCCETTI V., ' Annotationes in " De iudiciis " pro Ecclesia Orientali ', *Apollinaris* 24 (1951) 99-101; DELCHARD A., ' Motu proprio " Sollicitudinem Nostram " du 6 jan. 1950 promulguant les canons sur la procédure judiciaire pour l'Eglise Orientale ', *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 72 (1950) 418-419.

of the new edition only 225 canons of the *Motu proprio*, i.e. rather less than half.

However, in the field of canonical procedure the new Eastern Code presents many and important developments, valuable for any canonist in the East and in the West, and it deserves therefore closer investigation. It is not only the law at present in force in the Eastern Churches, but also, one dares to say, an excellent first draught of the future section *De iudiciis* in a new Latin Code. This Eastern Code contains sections that are quite new, such as *De compromisso in arbitros* (cans. 98-122), *De iudicio contentioso coram unico iudice* (cans. 453-467), and others, especially cans. 544-567 on criminal trials. These innovations are based on the latest ideas on canonical procedure and will, doubtless, have a great impact on its further development. They demand serious investigation to provoke at least discussion on these topics and so to pave the way to a complete understanding of canonical procedure of the new Eastern Code.

The present article confines itself to the canons on trials before a single judge in the Eastern Church and is intended to supplement F. Galtier's commentary. In the first place, it notes some differences between the Latin and Eastern Codes concerning the competence of collegiate and non-collegiate (single judge) tribunals. In the second place, there are explained the new fundamental principles on which the section on the single judge in the Eastern Code is based, and, finally, an indication is given of the sources of this section as a whole and, as far as possible, of each canon in particular.

The competence of the collegiate tribunal and of the single judge, be he a priest, local hierarch (ordinary of place), or a patriarch, is defined in the *Motu proprio* cans. 46 and 47, which correspond to *C.I.C.* can. 1576. In the Eastern Code there is no mention of the tribunals composed of five judges to which in *C.I.C.* are reserved criminal matters involving the most serious punishments: collegiate tribunals in the East are always constituted of three judges only. The second difference between the two codes is that in the East the matters reserved to collegiate tribunals are considerably more numerous than in the West, and therefore the competence of the single judge is correspondingly restricted. The trials which *C.I.C.* reserves to a collegiate tribunal are the following:

(i) trials on the validity of Sacred Orders and on the obligations flowing from them (for the obligations cf. Roberti, op. cit., no. 123; in the Eastern Code, can. 46, it is stated explicitly "*et oneribus eidem adnexis*");

(ii) trials concerning the bond of marriage, with the exception of the so-called exceptional cases (the Eastern Code states this explicitly by the words "*firmo can.* 498", which corresponds to *C.I.C.* can. 1990 dealing with such cases);

(iii) trials on the rights or temporal goods of a cathedral church;

(iv) trials dealing with crimes that involve as punishment deprivation from an irremovable benefice, excommunication of any sort, deposition, perpetual deprivation of the ecclesiastical dress, or degradation.

As far as criminal trials are concerned the eastern canon has the same enactments, though couched in eastern legal terminology. In regard to civil cases, however, it reserves to the collegiate tribunal also trials dealing with:

— separation of spouses,

— personal status,

— legitimacy of birth,

— legitimation of children,

— the rights, especially concerning dowry or alimony, which depend on the validity of marriage,

— the right of foundation or the patronage belonging to a moral person,

— property worth more than ten thousand golden francs, that is more than about 3,168,000 Italian lire (1).

Other cases may be dealt with by a single judge. However, the Eastern Code reserves to the local hierarch and also to his vicar general (*syncellus*) endowed with a special power to this effect, the right to transmit even these cases, if difficult and involved, to a collegiate tribunal. Moreover, the Eastern Code contains a new canon (can. 47) which permits the local hierarch to do this for any case whatsoever, when both parties request it (2). In this connection also can. 404 no. 10 of the Eastern Code

(1) Cf. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 55 (1963) 656.

(2) The last condition is not prescribed in *C.I.C.* can. 1576 § 2.

is noteworthy. It excludes right of appeal in trials treated by a single judge concerned with property not exceeding 200 golden francs in value, that is about 63,000 Italian lire [1].

Two reasons for the restriction of the competence of a single judge in the Eastern Code are pointed out in F. Galtier's work (p. 66). (i) In the Near East such cases are within the competence of the ecclesiastical courts because of the *Personal Statutes* for Christian communities [2]. The sentences there decreed are transmitted to the civil authorities and in some cases are simply recognised while in others they must be completed by the civil judge. Since sentences issued by a collegiate tribunal are more likely to satisfy public opinion and the civil authorities, the competence of the single judge in the ecclesiastical courts was consequently restricted. (ii) The second reason is the new much abridged and simplified procedure in these trials, prescribed in the Eastern Code. It seemed good to reduce the number of cases to be treated in this abbreviated manner.

The Church with the restriction of the competence of the single judge in the Eastern Code affirmed again its preference for collegiate tribunals. In fact, several judges can give a more adequate consideration to a case than a single judge can, mutual consultation avoids error, the judges are less liable to be influenced by public opinion or overawed by personalities. These and similar reasons gain advantage in the mind of the ecclesiastical legislator, though he recognises the circumstances which are in favor of a single judge: his unique position brings with it a high

(1) This prescription seems to have some relation to the proposals for the correction of the Italian Civil Code, put forward by M. Berri in his article ' Qualche rimedio per migliorare il funzionamento del processo civile ' printed in *Rivista trimestrale di Diritto e Procedura civile*, 1955, no. 4, pp. 1212-1216. He wanted to extend the competence of the *giudice conciliatore* to cases dealing with values of 100,000 lire, and to abolish right of appeal in all cases involving about 60,000 lire, since " *se si conservassero tutti i gradi* [of the procedure] *il costo del processo supererebbe di gran lunga quello sostanziale del bene conteso* " (p. 1214).

(2) In Egypt the ecclesiastical tribunals in many of these matters are no longer competent. From 1955 on they must be treated before a civil judge, who is obliged to apply the *Personal Statutes* binding the persons involved in the case. Cf. for this Masson J., ' Canon du Statut Personel des Coptes Orthodoxes ', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 28 (1962) 53.

sense of responsibility; he is in touch with all the parties involved in the case; he provides a method both speedy and economical; it is often easier to find one competent judge than several. This last reason is a decisive factor in some Missions, where by a special indult of the Holy See the single judge has almost the same competence in matrimonial cases as a collegiate tribunal. It must be noted, however, that the new Eastern procedure in trials before a single judge has nothing to do with the procedure prescribed for some Missions, which is substantially that enacted in the Latin Code for both collegiate and non-collegiate tribunals (1).

In making the preliminary draught of the *Motu proprio* " *Sollicitudinem Nostram* ", Fr. A. Coussa, at that time Secretary of the Commission for the Preparation of the Eastern Code of Canon Law (2), later Cardinal, received substantial assistance from some outstanding Italian laymen, professors in the faculty *utriusque iuris* of the Lateran University in Rome. Thus Prof. Pio Ciprotti, at the request of Fr. A. Coussa, produced his well known *Osservazioni sul testo del " Codex iuris canonici "* (Vatican City, 1944), from which many suggestions and texts passed into the Eastern Code (3). Similarly, Prof. Corrado Bernardini did

(1) About the indults for missions cf. BUIJS L., ' De tribunalibus ecclesiasticis praesertim in Missionibus ', *Bibliographia missionaria* 27 (1963) 129-131. In the Indult for Africa from May 5th, 1933, there is written: " *quoad substantiam iudicii serventur ea quae iure communi praescripta sunt* ".

(2) The Commission was instituted on July 17th, 1935. Cf. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 27 (1935) 306-308 and *Oriente cattolico*, Vatican City, 1962, p. 41.

(3) Thus, for instance, the canons on *De compromisso in arbitros* (cans. 98-122) are taken entirely from *Osservazioni* pp. 119-127, (2nd edition was issued in Salamanca in 1950: *Observaciones al texto del Codex Iuris Canonici*), except for a few omissions and additions mostly from the Civil Code of Procedure of the Vatican City State of 1946; cans. 194-195 on trials about alimony are found in *Osservazioni* on pp. 72-73. The above information was kindly furnished by Prof. Pio Ciprotti himself. About *De compromisso in arbitros* he wrote in a letter of June 12th, 1964: " *Non credo che per redigere una disciplina dettagliata del compromesso in arbitri vi siano stati dei motivi propri della Chiesa Orientale, ma solo motivi tecnici* (*cioè di tecnica legislativa*) *che valgono egualmente per la Chiesa Latina; a meno che non si sia ritenuta necessaria una tale disciplina completa del compromesso per i paesi in cui vige il sistema dello statuto personale* ". This seems worth quoting here because it is valid also for the canons on a single

much preliminary work on the canons concerning the procedure of a single judge and on the new canons for the criminal matters; his suggestions had previously had a great influence on the Code of Civil Procedure of the Vatican City State (1).

Some think that the simplified procedure for trials before a single judge was introduced in the Eastern Code in view of the special conditions in which the Catholics of the oriental rite in the Near East live. In fact, it is said that in many places the Christians are few among numerous Moslems and it is not easy to set up ecclesiastical courts in rigorous accordance with the law. A less solemn procedure, therefore, was prescribed for cases of minor importance. However, this explanation hardly explains why the competence of a single judge was curtailed. One may seriously suppose that the real reason, valid for both Churches, Latin and Eastern, was the wish to have a more perfect code than the section *De iudiciis* in the *Codex iuris canonici*, which, nevertheless, is basic for the *Motu proprio* " *Sollicitudinem Nostram* ". The Eastern Code of procedure is much better ordered, more accurately worded, and has new sections, which are the very best product of the latest ideas on procedural law. The most modern among these sections are the canons on trials before a single judge.

One of the important changes in the Eastern Code is the reintroduction of some oral trials. In the Latin Code, all trials, criminal or not, whether treated before a collegiate tribunal or a single judge, are conducted exclusively by means of written documents. Actually even what is called *discussio causae* is carried out " *communicatis vicissim inter partes defensionum scripturis* " (can. 1865 § 1), that is by an interchange of written records. A brief oral discussion of the case is exceptional and is left to the discretion of the judge when one or both parties request it (can.

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judge. It is a pleasant duty to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Pio Ciprotti for valuable suggestions, the letter, and permission to publish it in this note.

(1) To Prof. Corrado Bernardini very special thanks are due for this information, which he gave me personally. For his work concerning the Civil Code of Procedure of the Vatican City State cf. *Motu proprio* of Pius XII of May 1st, 1946 (printed as an introduction to the new Vatican Code, p. viii, in the *Ordinamento Giudiziario e Codice di Procedura Civile dello Stato della Città del Vaticano*, Vatican, 1946).

1866 § 2). In the Eastern Code there is no substantial change from the Latin Code (cf. cans. 389 and 390 of the Eastern Code) in civil trials before a collegiate tribunal. But there are great innovations for criminal cases and for civil trials treated before a single judge.

In criminal matters the oral discussion is of the greatest importance, since it immediately precedes the sentence (can. 571 § 1) and is the only discussion which is admitted. V. Bartoccetti, the well known re-editor of Cardinal Lega's books on procedural law, wrote in this regard: " *Evidens est in redactoribus* [of the *Motu proprio " Sollicitudinem Nostram "*] *tendentia adoptandi normas, potiores saltem, in Codicibus Procedurae Poenalis cultarum Nationum vigentes. Innovatio maximi momenti videtur ' oralitas discussionis ' causae criminalis, non modo ut subsidiaria discussioni scriptae sed uti unica forma admissa, sicut evenit in laicis tribunalibus. Quod sane conforme est traditioni constanti Ecclesiae eiusque iuris, acceptandi nempe quantum res sinit, normas pacifice vigentes in Codicibus civilibus quae repraesentant quodammodo ' opinionem iuris communem ', quae raro fallitur, cuique sicuti consensui universali, valde deferendum est* " (1).

Yet in criminal matters no new proofs may be produced in such a discussion, since can. 568 of the *Motu proprio* states categorically: " *in discussione orali novae probationes colligi nequeunt* ". It seems right to say that in criminal matters the discussion is oral, but not the procedure. In fact, in these cases the proofs have to be produced in the previous inquiry (cans. 513-520 and 555-563) and put into writing. The oral discussion serves only to understand evidence in a better way.

Different is the new procedure in civil cases with a single judge. True, even in these cases the oral discussion is formally distinguished from the production of evidence, but both take place in the same hearing: " *in audientia probationes colliguntur* " (can. 461) and then " *proceditur in eadem audientia ad discussionem oralem* " (can. 462). It may be said, it seems, that the *acta et probata* (can. 462) on which the sentence must be based (can. 393 § 2; *C.I.C.* can. 1869 § 2) mean in these cases not only written records signed by the parties or witnesses, but also whatever was said

(1) BARTOCCETTI V., ' Annotationes in " De iudiciis " pro Ecclesia Orientali ', *Apollinaris* 24 (1951) 101.

in the oral discussion. The admission of new evidence in this discussion is not prohibited and the sentence may follow immediately (can. 463).

In the modern European continental theory the oral system in procedural law allots to written documents only two subsidiary roles. Firstly, they are to supply the judge with the necessary preparatory material of the case (*quaestiones in facto et de iure*), but are not essential as the basis of the decision. That is, the *acta et probata*, on which the sentence is to be based need not be written documents, signed by witnesses, the parties etc., as is the case in the written procedure, in which the principle " *quod non est in actis non est in mundo* " is strictly applied. Secondly, the written documents serve as records of the trial for later consultation, if necessary. Of course, in every contemporary legal procedure there is a good deal of writing and the *Motu proprio* can. 56 § 1 (*C.I.C.* can. 1585 § 1) makes it clear that throughout canonical trials a notary must be present to put into writing everything of importance " *adeo ut nulla habeantur acta, si non fuerint ab eo subscripta* ". With this in view, M. T. Zanzucchi says very well that oral procedure applies the following fundamental principle: prevalence of the spoken word as the means of expression in the procedural activity tempered by writings as a preparation only and as records of the trial (1).

For a long time the Church followed the ancient Roman procedure, which was strictly oral. However, the Lombards brought from Germany the formalistic procedure, from which a few important institutions (*probationes legales* among them) have been accepted into ecclesiastical trials (2). Thus the so-called Romano-canonical procedure was formed. True, also German trials were originally oral, but not in their intrinsic structure. They were oral because of illiteracy and the custom of treating judicial matters in public assemblies. When this usage was abandoned, when writing was more widely used and notaries were introduced into the courts, the procedure became written. The chief reason for

(1) Zanzucchi M. T., *Il nuovo diritto processuale civile*, vol. I, Milan, 1942: " *prevalenza della parola come mezzo di espressione delle attività processuali, contemperata con l'impiego di scritture di mera preparazione e documentazione* " (p. 77).

(2) Cf. Roberti, op. cit., 4-5.

this was, it seems, the necessity for the judge to form his sentence not on the ground of his own moral certainty about the evidence, but on the legal evaluation of it on the basis of the law (*probationes legales*). It was therefore less essential for him to treat personally with the litigants. It was enough to consider the written records of their depositions collected by someone else, usually the notary delegated by the judge, and assess them according to the canons (1).

The Romano-canonical procedure was encumbered with a variety of formalities and it was long and protracted. This is why Pope Clement V in many cases allowed a procedure " *simpliciter et de plano, ac sine strepitu iudicii et figura* " (*Clem.* 1,1,2), that is, a simplified procedure, which he determined more in detail in the Constitution *Saepe* of 1306 (*Clem.*, 5, 11, 2). Yet, also this simplified procedure remained substantially written, It was in use together with the solemn procedure until the publication of the *Codex iuris canonici* (2).

Many European nations imitated Romano-canonical procedure (3) until the French Code of January 1st, 1807, in which more place was given to the spoken word, even though it imposed a substantially written procedure. In Germany the principles of oral procedure were proclaimed in the Diet of December 27th, 1848, but they were not introduced until the Code of October 1st, 1879. Really the reaction to the written procedure had already begun in the 18th century (4), but it was the German jurists of the 19th century who won the battle. From the beginning of the 20th century, however, the primacy in this field passed to Italians, whose voluminous works on procedural law present today the very best doctrine on the European Continent. This doctrine strongly influenced the Italian Code and the Code of Civil Procedure of the Vatican City State of 1946. Through these two Codes it influenced also the new Code *de iudiciis* of the Eastern Church.

(1) Cf. CHIOVENDA J., *Istituzioni di diritto processuale civile*, vol. I, 2nd edition, Naples, 1940, p. 127.

(2) For the innovations following the Constitution *Saepe* cf. ROBERTI, op. cit., pp. 8-11.

(3) Cf. CHIOVENDA, op. cit., pp. 101-104.

(4) For the authors of this reaction cf. CHIOVENDA, op. cit., vol. II, section I, 2nd edition, Naples, 1936, pp. 383-384.

It will be useful to give a brief description of the Code of Civil Procedure of the Vatican City State [1] in order to understand better the new sections on the single judge in the Eastern Code of canon law. The civil procedure in the Vatican Code may be outlined as follows.

Within three days of the reception of the plaintiff's plea, the presiding judge orders the defendant to present a written answer (art. 229) in thirty days' time [2]. A few days later the same judge determines the day for the preliminary hearing of the tribunal (art. 237). The summons must be presented to the parties at least ten days before the hearing (*ib.*): they may still present (at least three days before, art. 238) new written replies. During all this time the presiding judge must try to persuade the parties to settle the dispute by transaction (art. 244) or arbitration. After the preliminary session, in which the object of the dispute and the proofs to be adduced are determined and all exceptions are treated (artt. 245-246), there begins the procedure preparatory to the oral discussion. This procedure requires some time and is carried out by a delegated judge (*judex instructor*). During this period the proofs are collected. This should be done as soon as possible [3], but it is this period which is usually the longer. When all the proofs have been produced the presiding judge determines the day for the oral discussion (art. 257), which in certain cases may be postponed, but never for more than twenty days (art. 259). To this hearing the parties, witnesses, interpreters etc. are summoned to be present. The hearing takes place before the same judges as at the preliminary hearing (art. 265) and the procedure is oral. A single session may suffice (artt. 266 no. 7, 271). The publication of the sentence and a written notification

[1] For more details cf. BRUILLARD G., 'Le Code de procédure civile de la Cité du Vatican', *Actes du Congrès de droit canonique: Cinquantenaire de la Faculté de droit canonique, Paris, 22-26 avril, 1947*, Paris, 1960, pp. 181-201.

[2] This term may be prolonged for various reasons. Cf. artt. 166, 233, 237 § 2, 239 § 2.

[3] "*Il più celermente possibile*" (art. 256 § 1). No other limit is indicated, but the prescription of art. 206 § 2 should be kept in mind, which enacts that the whole trial in the first instance be finished within 18 months, and within 12 months in the second instance.

of it, sent to the parties, should take no more than five days (art. 294).

Such is the normal procedure in the civil court of the Vatican City State, which, however, may be much abbreviated in two cases. Firstly, when the introductory documents show that the case is a simple one, the tribunal may collect all the evidence necessary for the sentence in the preliminary session (art. 260) and at once determine the day of the oral discussion. The shortest interval for this is twenty days after the preliminary session (art. 263). Thus the case can be settled in about two months time and even quicker. This procedure is called "*procedimento abbreviato*".

Secondly, a case that falls within the competence of a single judge may be still shorter (artt. 322-333). Art. 330 recommends in such cases that the oral discussion be completed, possibly, in the session that corresponds to the preliminary hearing in the other two procedures. Here there may be only one session and the sentence may be issued immediately.

The procedure with a single judge in the new Code of eastern canon law follows the same pattern, though it cannot be said that it adheres strictly to any one of the procedures described above. It is a new institution. This is proved by the fact that some of the canons are quite new and others are taken, though mostly *literatim*, from all parts of the Code of Civil Procedure of the Vatican City State, not only from those which deal with the procedure before a single judge. It is new also because it is an oral procedure (as in the Vatican Code), which disappeared from canon law many centuries ago, and because of certain substantial differences from the parallel procedure of the Vatican Code.

Thus, in the latter, art. 5 enacts that the tribunal of the first instance is competent in appeals from sentences issued by a single judge, while, in the Eastern Code, canon 75 (*C.I.C.* can. 1595) is to be observed. That is, the cases in the appeal must be treated in the same manner as in the first instance, i.e. before a single judge.

Art. 330 of the Vatican Code permits the union of two hearings into a single one in the procedure before a single judge. The Eastern Code (can. 461) does not even contemplate the possibility of doing otherwise, though the hearing (*audientia*) may last a few days (can. 464).

The Eastern Code permits in these trials only one advocate. There is no such limitation in the Vatican Code, which even expressly allows more than one advocate also in cases heard by a single judge (in virtue of artt. 322 § 1 and 29 § 2).

Art. 83 of the Vatican Code states that the evidence should be generally collected before the oral discussion. The Eastern Code (can. 461) directs the contrary, that the proofs should be produced precisely in the hearing. It is to be noted, however, that this takes place also in some shortened Vatican procedures, as was seen before.

The Vatican Code (art. 179) states that all the sessions are public. In the Eastern Code for a single judge the general principle stated in can. 155 § 1 (*C.I.C.* can. 1640 § 1) " *extranei ab aula arceantur* " is valid, and those who are present may be obliged to secrecy (can. 138 § 3; *C.I.C.* can. 1623 § 3).

Canon 455 of the Eastern Code limits the number of the witnesses to four or five. There is no such prescription in the Vatican Code. It is to be noted, however, that also in the Eastern Code can. 460 admits more witnesses if the judge thinks it necessary. Note also that the Vatican Code allows the parties to bring forward new witnesses at the same hearing (art. 327), while in the Eastern Code it seems that this is not permissible (can. 460).

The Immediate Sources of the Single Canons in the *Motu proprio* " *Sollicitudinem Nostram* " on Trials before a Single Judge.

Motu proprio " *Sollicitudinem Nostram* ", *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 42 (1950) 5-120.	Articles from *Ordinamento Giudiziario e Codice di Procedura Civile dello Stato della Città del Vaticano*, Vatican, 1946.
Can. 453	Art. 322 § 2
Ad iudicem unicum iura spectant cum tribunalis tum praesidis.	*Al giudice unico spettano le facoltà attribuite al presidente e al tribunale.*
Can. 454	Art. 29 § 1
Partes defendere se valent per seipsas vel per unicum advocatum.	*Nel processo avanti al giudice unico le parti possono agire o contraddire personalmente, o assistite da avvocato, o a mezzo di avvocato.*

Can. 455

Partibus non licet plures quam quattuor vel quinque testes adducere.

Can. 456

§ 1. *Iudicialis petitio, firmo can. 230, referre debet:*

Art. 220

La domanda giudiziale deve essere sottoscritta ... e indicare:

(What is contained in the Vatican Code Art. 220 nos. 1-5 is, more or less, contained also in the *Motu proprio* can. 230).

1° *Facta quibus actoris petitiones innituntur, breviter, integre et clare exposita;*

2° *Probationes quibus actor vult facta demonstrare; testium nomine, cognomine, condicione, ac commorationis loco indicatis;*

3° *Pretium rei petitae quatenus ab eo pendeat iudicis competentia, una cum iis quae necessaria sint ad rei pretium constabiliendum;*

4° *Conclusiones actoris.*

6° *i fatti che, a giudizio dell'attore, giustificano le sue domande, esposti succintamente, e in forma precisa e completa;*

7° *le prove con cui l'attore, intende dimostrare la verità dei singoli fatti; il nome e cognome, condizione e residenza dei testimoni, che chiede di sentire sopra i singoli fatti;*

8° *il valore dell'oggetto della domanda, se da questo dipenda la competenza del giudice, insieme agli elementi atti a stabilirlo;*

9° *le conclusioni dell'attore ...*

§ 2. *Iudicialis petitio proponi etiam potest ore iudici unico; quo in casu, notarius eam scriptis consignet.*

Art. 323 § 1

La domanda giudiziale può essere proposta anche oralmente al giudice unico. In questo caso il cancelliere ne redigerà il processo verbale, da inserirsi nel fascicolo di cancelleria.

Can. 457

Iudex, intra triduum ab exhibita petitione iudiciali, decreto ad calcem ipsius petitionis ab actore vel a notario scriptae apposito, praecipiat communicari, notarii cura, exemplar petitionis iudicialis reo, facta huic facultate, intra decem dies deponendi in cancellaria tribunalis scriptam responsionem, vel adeundi tribunal ad respondendum petitioni actoris;

Art. 324 § 1

Entro tre giorni dalla presentazione della domanda giudiziale, o dal completamento di essa, il giudice unico con decreto posto in calce alla scrittura o al verbale contenente la domanda, fisserà un'udienza per il dibattimento orale, e ordinerà la citazione del convenuto, assegnandogli un termine di giorni dieci ... per depositare in cancelleria una scrit-

quo in casu, notarius in actis referre debet rei responsum.

tura di risposta, o per presentarsi al cancelliere per rispondere oralmente alla domanda dell'attore. In quest'ultimo caso, il cancelliere redigerà processo verbale da inserirsi nel fascicolo di cancelleria.

(Similar to this article is also art. 224 concerning normal procedure before a tribunal).

Can. 458

Iudex poterit, si res ferat, alium praefigere actori terminum ad replicandum alterutro ex indicatis modis.

Art. 324 § 1 (following)

Con lo stesso decreto, o con altro successivo, il giudice unico potrà pure, occorrendo, stabilire un altro termine, entro il quale l'attore potrà replicare nell'una o nell'altra forma indicate.

Can. 459

Elapso termino reo constituto ad respondendum et actori ad replicandum, si hic terminus constitutus fuerit, iudex, perspectis actis — nisi spes aliqua concordiae affulgeat litem componendo per transactionem ad normam can. 94 seqq. — partes citet ut coram se compareant, adsignato termino non infra decem nec supra triginta dies. Citationis decretum, notarii cura, partibus denuntiari debet.

This canon is new though it follows closely artt. 244, 235, 263, and 324 (quoted above) of the Vatican Code.

Can. 460

§ 1. *Integrum est partibus scriptam relationem ad probandas suas petitiones ad tribunal deferre, dummodo id faciant tres saltem ante audientiam dies et duplici exemplari, quorum alterum ex continenti communicari debet cum altera parte.*

§ 2. *Item, intra terminum de quo in § 1, partes quae velint quosdam audiri testes non adductos in petitione iudiciali, debent horum nomina una cum aliis requisitis de quibus in can. 456, § 1, n. 2, cancellariae tribunalis nota facere, ea lege ut*

Art. 238 § 1 corresponds only to a certain extent: *Le parti e i chiamati in causa, almeno tre giorni liberi prima dell'udienza preliminare* [*« contestatio litis »*], *potranno depositare in cancelleria ulteriori repliche . . . .*

Art. 327 § 1

Le parti che chiedano di far citare testimoni, non indicati nella domanda giudiziale, devono fare noti in cancelleria i nomi dei testi medesimi, insieme alle indicazioni di cui all'articolo 220, n. 7 [in *Motu*

iudex partibus numerum testium dumtaxat paulo maiorem adducere permittat propter pecularia causae adiuncta.

proprio can. 456 § 1 no. 2, cf. *supra*], *almeno tre giorni prima della udienza.*

But, the *Motu proprio* omits what follows in the Vatican Code: " *Tuttavia, le parti possono presentare all'udienza i loro testimoni, anche senza avere precedentemente resi noti i loro nomi in cancelleria* ".

Can. 461

In audientia probationes colliguntur.

This canon has its origin in art. 260 of the Vatican Code about the abridged procedure: " *Se dalla domanda giudiziale e dalle scritture preparatorie si rilevi che i fatti siano di facile accertamento, il tribunale, può disporre che le prove e gli altri atti del processo siano eseguiti completamente nel dibattimento orale, omettendo il procedimento istruttorio avanti al giudice delegato* ". Also art. 266 no. 3 is taken into consideration, where there is said that in the oral discussion " *si passa all'assunzione o rinnovazione delle prove* ".

Can. 462

Probationibus collectis proceditur in eadem audientia ad discussionem oralem.

Art. 330

Il dibattimento orale sarà condotto a termine, possibilmente, nella stessa udienza fissata nel decreto di citazione.

Can. 463

Fine discussioni orali imposito, si iudex ex actis et probatis censeat causam sufficienter instructam, poterit sententiam vel statim pronuntiare vel eandem differre, non tamen ultra tres dies.

Artt. 266, no. 7, and 271 of the Vatican Code have some similarity with this canon.

Can. 464

Si in audientia probationes colligi haud potuerint, vel iudex necessarium duxerit novas probationes colligere, altera statuitur audientia.

This canon is similar to artt. 267 § 1 and 268 § 2 of the Vatican Code. There, however, a new instructory period to collect the proofs is permitted.

Can. 465

Sententiae interlocutoriae a iudice unico prolatae impugnari nequeunt nisi una cum sententiis definitivis, atque modis ad impugnandum sententias admissis.

Note that can. 404 no. 6 removes the appeal *a iudicis decreto vel a sententia interlocutoria, quae non habeat vim definitivae, nisi cumuletur cum appellatione a sententia definitiva.*

Note also that in the Vatican Code there is a clear distinction between *reclamo*, which means recourse, and *impugnativa*, which means appeal. It seems that the *Motu proprio* understands by the words *sententiae interlocutoriae* also decrees of the judge.

Art. 322 § 3

Le ordinanze pronunciate dal giudice unico non sono soggette a reclamo ma soltanto ad impugnativa.

Art. 334 § 1

Le sentenze interlocutorie e le ordinanze, salva contraria disposizione di legge, possono essere impugnate soltanto insieme con la sentenza definitiva, con i mezzi di gravame ammessi per questa.

Can. 466

Pars dispositiva sententiae communicetur ore partibus, nisi iudex decernat decisionem secreto servandam usque ad formalem sententiae publicationem.

This canon does not seem to correspond to anything in the Vatican Code.

Can. 467

Sententiae textus quamprimum edendus est, ad summum intra quindecim dies.

Art. 301 § 1

Le sentenze sono notificate a cura del cancelliere, in copia autentica, dopo la pubblicazione della sentenza, ma non oltre i quindici giorni.

P. Ivan Žužek S. J.

COMMENTARIUS BREVIOR

A New Manuscript of the Council of Florence

Professor Egidio Mioni, in the course of his meticulous labours in cataloguing the Greek MSS of the Marcan Library of Venice came across a large fragment of a MS treating of the Council of Florence. He not only had the courtesy to draw my attention to it, but also most graciously he has sent me photographs of the folios in question. I am pleased to have this opportunity to thank him for this liberal act of kindness.

The fragment, of the latter half of the XVth century, occupies fol. 209 to 236ᵛ of the Greek MS I 29 (= 949). It is written in a regular hand very easy to read except when the pages have been damaged apparently by water. Both the beginning and the end are now missing, so there is no title and no colophon or signature. All information about the character, authorship, value etc. of the MS must be sought from its content, which is interesting enough.

The MS is, in fact, nothing less than a copy of the 'Second Book' that John Plusiadenus (Joseph of Methone) utilised in writing Conv. Sopp. 3 of the Mediceo-Laurentian Library of Florence and Fond. gr. 423 of Paris, to fill out the Greek protocol of the Council of Florence in order to produce what has since been generally known as the *Practica* or Acts of the Council of Florence (1). He himself in several marginal notes of Conv. Sopp. 3 informed his readers that he was copying this 'From the First Book' or that 'From the Second Book'. The 'First Book' was the official Greek Acts, composed of the minutes written down during the sessions by the three Greek secretaries appointed for that purpose. The 'Second Book', or as I call it elsewhere *The Description*, was an account written by

(1) References in this short article to the *Practica*, the «Acta» or *Acta graeca* are to *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini*, ed J. GILL (Roma, 1953).

a Greek metropolitan participant in the council, covering the events from the arrival of the Greeks in Venice till their departure from the same place. Plusiadenus, to give a more complete picture of the council, combined these two sources.

He took his narrative of the events of February to September 1438 from the 'Second Book', of October and November from the 'First Book', of December 1438 and January 1439 from the 'Second Book', of March from the 'First Book' and of all subsequent events till the Greeks left Florence in August 1439 from the 'Second Book'. In other words, the only element of his account that is not taken from the 'Second Book' is the text of the speeches made in the public sessions (which actually constitutes more than two-thirds of the *Practica*), or, to express this in another way, the only part of the 'Second Book' that has not been preserved to us in the *Practica* is whatever its anonymous author wrote about the speeches delivered in the public sessions (if we presume, as I think we may, that the 'Second Book' began with the arrival in Venice and ended with the departure thence, as Plusiadenus records it).

Content of the Fragment.

Actually this Fragment of the Greek MS. does not quite complete those parts of the 'Second Book' that were omitted by Plusiadenus, and what it does give is very inadequate, since a debate that in the *Practica* occupies anything up to thirty pages is finished off in the Fragment in a single page or less. Indeed, the sessions in Ferrara are so confused that the impression is left that the author was writing some time after the events, though, as will be seen later, this criticism should perhaps be modified. The Fragment begins in the middle of what is probably the description of session IV of 20 October 1438. The next session mentioned is dated 1 November, but the account probably covers, besides session VI of 1 November, also session V of 25 October, and Cardinal Cesarini is the only speaker named, though Andrew of Rhodes held the floor for most of session V and Bessarion for the whole of session VI. Sessions VII and VIII are omitted entirely, and sessions IX and X seem to be compressed into one with no date mentioned.

At this point interest quickens, for with the close of session X the protocol of the 'First Book' ends (so Plusiadenus declares in a note in Cod. Conv. Sopp. 3) and he therefore turned to the 'Second

Book ' to continue his narrative. From this point onwards, therefore, the ' Second Book ' as printed in the ' Acta ' and as found in the Fragment of Cod. gr. I 29 should agree. They do, but only in part. A comparison of the two texts immediately discloses a characteristic of the writer of the Fragment — he was an editor, not just a copyist, that is, he selected bits here and there, leaving out the rest, and added a word or two to connect up his selected passages into a continuous narrative. The result reads smoothly and, if there were no other text of the ' Second Book ' extant, one could easily conclude that the Fragment contained the whole of the original. For his résumé of the sessions there is indeed no other text, and therefore there is no certainty that what we have in the Fragment is the whole of what the unknown Metropolitan wrote. It may be nothing more than a facile concatenation of extracts put together by the copyist of the Fragment. Hence the reserve attached earlier to the criticism of the résumé.

The printed ' Acta ' narrate the events between the session of 13 November and the arrival of the council in Florence in about fourteen columns, from which passages that together occupy about three columns are found in the Fragment. There are other passages in the Fragment, amounting to about another three columns in length, that have not been utilised in the *Practica*. To these I shall return later to describe their content. In addition, both Plusiadenus and the Fragment give verbatim the peroration of Ephesus' last speech in Ferrara, but locate it differently. Reference to this also will be made later.

Between the history of the events in Ferrara and those in Florence, the scribe of the Fragment included a brief tractate: " An Answer to those who say that Christ said: ' Whom I shall send ' and ' Receive the Holy Ghost ', and for this reason that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from Him ", which occupies one and three-quarter folios (213^r-214^v) and is incomplete. This seems to be an interpolation. It has the usual triangular diagram to illustrate the relations within the Blessed Trinity. It does not read like part of a speech. There can be little doubt that it is an addition made by the scribe to underline Latin errors.

There follows the account of the activities in Florence, which opens abruptly, so abruptly that it presupposes some previous narrative, that is in fact not given. " On the second day of the week, therefore, the second of March, another full session was held in Flo-

rence ". This and each subsequent session is recorded separately, though very briefly, and session V of 14 March contains, as was to be expected, the two short interpolations from the 'Second Book' that Plusiadenus introduced into the protocol (*Acta graeca* pp. 345-6, 351-2) in the *Practica*. Where the 'First Book' ends (p. 387) the *Practica* and the Fragment become identical, except that the Fragment omits many passages ranging in length from a few lines to several pages. The last events recorded in the Fragment occurred on Wednesday, 10 June (*Acta graeca* p. 442). The rest is lost.

Conclusions.

1. From what has already been noted, it is obvious that the Fragment is neither the original 'Second Book' nor a copy made from the *Practica*. A comparison of the Fragment with the text of Plusiadenus demonstrates that the latter is far and away the better and that, whereas there is an occasional reading where the Fragment is patently more correct, there are very many where it is manifestly wrong. Plusiadenus, however, made two copies of his extracts from the 'Second Book', the one in Conv. Sopp. 3, the other in Paris. gr. 423. Where these two differ (not often and only in non-essentials) the Fragment agrees with the Medicean MS. much more often than with the Parisian. This fact confirms what I have suggested elsewhere, viz. that Plusiadenus wrote first Conv. Sopp. 3 and then Paris. gr. 423, and that he composed these codices separately, each from the original 'Books', so that the one was not copied from the other (cf. *Acta graeca* pp. xxix-xxx). It indicates also that Plusiadenus was the first of a long series of editors of the *Practica* to 'improve' the text by arbitrary alterations, though Plusiadenus did it on a very minor scale (cf. ibid. p. xxx).

2. The Fragment gives very little new information. The résumés of the sessions whether in Ferrara or in Florence add nothing new to the full-length protocol contained in the *Practica*. For the rest, both the *Practica* and the Fragment for everything after session VII in Florence are copies of the same source, and the *Practica* are more complete and more accurate: only very rarely does the reading of the Fragment for an occasional word seem more probable. There remains the narrative of the last sessions in Ferrara and here the Fragment supplements the text of the *Practica* in two points:

it gives something more of the background of Greek irritation and frustration in December 1438 and it distinguishes between sessions XII and XIII, rightly, whereas Plusiadenus fused both into one by omitting a couple of lines of introduction to session XIII: " On 13 December, therefore, Saturday, the Emperor came once more and a session was held, in the absence again of the Patriarch, away ill ".

Certainly, also Plusiadenus refers to the distress and disillusionment of the Greeks at their ill-success in debate, but only after the last session in Ferrara. The Fragment (which relates nothing more after the last session than a speech of the Emperor, rather out of context) puts in a relatively long lament already after session XI of 4 December and asserts that the Emperor imposed the subsequent sessions: " When, therefore, we saw that the only result we were getting out of it was trouble and idleness, we were unwilling to attend any more sessions. So we said to the Emperor: ' What good shall we do to others or receive ourselves by holding sessions and assisting at them? The Latins will never yield to the truth but, with their facility for words and their readiness for debate, they produce on every point a thousand slick answers. We hoped to prove by crystal-clear arguments that it is unlawful to add to the Creed, and that, when this was once demonstrated, they would remove the Addition from the Creed, which would then be preserved undiminished and intact, as our Fathers transmitted it to us. But since the Latins in season and out of season insist on this and are neither persuaded by the decrees nor inclined to be restrained by all the forceful arguments that they have heard from us, Scripture says: " Have no word with a disobedient and contradicting people ". So, as Emperor, decree that there shall be one more session and also bid them come to the truth and, if they do not obey, after a first and a second warning according to the Apostle, give it up '. But the Emperor put pressure on us yet again to convince them once more by further proofs. He said in the words of the Apostle that he ' wished to be an anathema ' for them as he [the Apostle] for his brethren, the Israelites. So again there was a debate and we met together, unwillingly, without our patriarch ".

The session of 7 December is followed by another bit of local colour, that is omitted by Plusiadenus: " But he [Cesarini] could not prove his case and make us convinced that they had not contravened the decrees of the Fathers. How could he, when obviously the letter of the blessed Cyril cries aloud and ratifies that the symbol

of the faith should in no way be upset? When these things had been said in this way, the session was dismissed. All of us, therefore, went off as usual to our Patriarch and began to argue among ourselves, saying: *To what purpose is this waste?* When we declare the truth, we do not persuade them; when we bring forward the saints, we are not credited. Why do we still go on wasting time and not depart for whence we came? This we brought to the notice of the Emperor (for he was in a monastery at a distance of about three miles outside the city). He answered that there should be discussion with them on the Addition in still one more session and after that no more.

" On 13 December, therefore, Saturday, the Emperor came again and a session was held, once more in the Patriarch's absence, for he was ill " (1).

These quotations do not change in any essential way the picture we already have of the council in the month of December 1438. They do, however, offer an explanation of why the Greek Acts have no protocol of the last sessions in Ferrara and they make a little more reasonable the exaggerations of Syropoulus' history of the period. They leave no doubt that the Greeks at that time were thoroughly disillusioned and tired of fruitless discussions, that they despaired of ever persuading the Latins and that they themselves, unmoved by the arguments of their adversaries, remained firmly convinced of the illegality of the Addition. They were also, apparently, oblivious of any other consideration. There is no hint of distress at failing to unite the Churches, no sigh of regret that their threatened city of Constantinople would go unaided. They wanted to go home — give a last chance to the Latins and, if that fails, home. To the historian this is not brand new information, but it adds security and depth to his knowledge for it is a strong and clear statement, it spreads the disaffection over a longer period than was before envisaged and it brings out into greater relief the patience and wisdom of the Emperor.

3. This same account throws some light also on the mentality of the author of the ' Second Book '. There is no doubt that by the summer of 1439 he was a convinced unionist, persuaded of the orth-

(1) The Greek text of these quotations, as of the rest of the Fragment, will soon be published as an appendix in the reprinted edition of *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini* and separately for acquisition by those who have the first edition.

odoxy of Latin doctrine. That conviction, however, came slowly. He began, it is true, full of marvel at the material grandeur of Venice but, when the sessions in Ferrara ceased, he was as anti-Latin as the bulk of his colleagues, and he showed no sign of change perhaps till Mark Eugenicus was reduced to an embarrassed silence in session V in Florence. It is obvious that his change of attitude really began with Montenero's masterly exposition of Latin doctrine on the *Filioque* in session VII and VIII of Florence and developed thereafter. This should check the facile accusations made against him of 'Latinising' or 'Emperorising', as if an honest change of opinion after learned discussion and sincere consideration were a thing impossible or immoral.

4. The collation of the Fragment with the *Practica* shows that the writer of the Fragment edited his copy (i.e. selected some passages and rejected others and to some small degree rearranged the narrative by linking together what was really separate), and this in respect of the events of December 1438 and January 1439, and also of those that followed the session of March 1439 in Florence: it is not unlikely that he did as much for the sessions in Ferrara. Plusiadenus also is convicted by this same collation of editing his narrative for December 1438, but he is completely exonerated of any accusation of editing the history of the events after March 1439. In point of fact, his account of this period is so completely chronological that any editing is *a priori* unlikely, but it is useful to have also an independent proof of the integrity of his text.

5. Unfortunately the Fragment does not make it possible to give a definitive answer to the query that concerns all the verbatim statements reported in the non-protocol part of the *Practica* — the peroration of Mark Eugenicus, the *vota* of the Patriarch, Scholarius, and the Emperor concerning the *Filioque* doctrine, and the written declaration of the dying Patriarch — whether all or any of these were included in the original 'Second Book'. The Fragment gives only the first of these, but it has so many long (and intentional) *lacunae*, compared with the text of Plusiadenus, that one cannot say whether the verbatim statements are omitted for brevity's sake or because they were not in the text he was copying. The diversity, however, in the use made by the Fragment and by Plusiadenus of the peroration of Ephesus makes the following suggestion at least plausible. The Fragment gives first a synopsis of that peroration

that is obviously taken from the ' Second Book ', and then, after finishing everything connected with Ferrara, it includes the full text as a kind of addendum. Plusiadenus omits the synopsis and gives only the full text but places it at the end of the penultimate session: he then has to run the account he found in the ' Second Book ' of the last session into the previous one, thus fusing two sessions into one. Obviously both copyists had the synopsis in their ' Second Book '. They had too the original full text, but separately. Probably they had all the other verbatim statements in a similar way, not within the ' Second Book ', but separately, and Plusiadenus incorporated them aptly into the narrative of the ' Second Book ', whereas the writer of the Fragment, already looking for passages he could easily leave out, omitted them all. Also Syropoulos, who reproduces very few documents, gives most of these verbatim statements, which suggests that copies of them were not hard to come by.

* * *

This Fragment lifts some of the mystery that has hitherto surrounded the ' Second Book ' without, however, completely satisfying our just curiosity. It makes us reasonably certain that we now know its full content — the arrivals at Venice and Ferrara and the discussions on Purgatory as reported by Plusiadenus; the résumés of the sessions in Ferrara contained almost complete though perhaps edited in the Fragment; the events connected with the transfer of the council to Florence described much more fully by Plusiadenus but to be supplemented by the Fragment; the synopsis of the sessions in Florence as in the Fragment; the events of the spring and summer of 1439 found both in the *Practica* and, with many *lacunae* and no ending, in the Fragment. Even if the original of the 'Second Book' in all its completeness should some day come to light, it would not, I think, spring any surprises on us, unless it stated the name of the author. The Fragment gives no fresh clue on this point, except that it strengthens the feeling that, all arguments to the contrary notwithstanding, Dorotheus of Mitylene, owner of manuscripts, theologian, reader of both Greek and Latin Fathers (*Acta graeca* pp. 402, 427), often messenger between Emperor and Pope, could not possibly have written such bad Greek.

Joseph Gill, S. J.

RECENSIONES

Theologica et Patristica

B. ALBREKTSON, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations, with a critical edition of the Peshitta Text* (= Studia Theologica Lundensia, 21). Lund 1963, in-8°, pp. VIII-258.

Agitur de doctissima investigatione in qua primum editur critice versio syriaca Peshitta Lamentationum Ieremiae. Inde transitus fit ad discussionem cum textu hebraico et cum versione LXX in quibusdam versibus ubi discrimina maioris momenti sunt ad ipsam interpretationem Lamentationum. Liber clauditur copiosa bibliographia et indice biblico.

Laudandam censeo ipsam methodum investigationis clari auctoris, cum e comparatione antiquarum versionum non exigua lux pro ipso sensu textus hebraici oriatur. Ad editionem versionis Peshitta quod attinet, auctor fatetur se non eidem methodo adhaerere quam sibi proposuit Institutum Universitatis Leidensis, praeeunte prof. de Boer. Reapse noster auctor facit editionem vere criticam et ut fundamentum ponit antiquissimos codices iam notos, nec unum tantummodo e dictis manuscriptis — puta Ambrosianum — reimprimendum assumit. Quae omnia mihi placent. Illud vero in editione desidero, quod scilicet citationes Lamentationum apud antiquissimum auctorem syrum Aphrahatem neglexerit, qui tamen saec. IV florens, antecedit antiquissimos codices adhibitos saec. VI. Aphrahates autem citat Threnos in suis homiliis XV,7; VI, 4; V, 8; XIX, 5; XV, 7; V, 21; V, 9. Fere semper coincidit cum textu edito. Discordat vero « Liber Graduum » initio saec. V. Cfr. 9, 2; 30, 16.

I. ORTIZ DE URBINA S.J.

J. ASSFALG, *Syrische Handschriften.* Syrische, karšunische, christlich-palästinische, neusyrische und mandäische Handschriften (= Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band V). Wiesbaden 1963, in-4°, pp. XXI-255, 9 Tafeln.

Il nostro autore ha compiuto un'opera di grandissima utilità descrivendo in un solo volume tutti i manoscritti siriaci — in senso largo — che attualmente si trovano nella Germania occidentale, dove

sono stati depositati quelli di Berlino. Si tratta di una rassegna aggiornata e completa dei codici, nella quale non manca niente che possa aiutare il ricercatore di cose siriache: illustrazioni, indici vari, che da soli abbracciano 34 pagine. I caratteri adoperati sono sempre quelli *stranghelo*, anche dove si tratta di manoscritti in *šerto* o in *nestoriano*.

Si sa che fra i codici di Berlino figurano non pochi provenienti dal Bedjan e dal Mingana. A questi ultimi appartiene quello che contiene la discussa « Cronaca di Arbela », nel nostro catalogo il n° 24, pag. 48. L'autore non manca di segnalare che il titolo dell'opera sta scritto nel margine del fol. 27^{v}, dove si legge: « Libro di [storia] ecclesiastica di Mešiḥa Zekha ». Aggiunge che J. M. Vosté « metteva in dubbio l'originalità » di tale titolo. Senonché il P. Vosté nel luogo indicato dall'autore *nega* questa originalità e ci racconta come lui ebbe tale notizia dallo stesso caldeo che scrisse il titolo per dimostrare che era buon calligrafo di *stranghelo*. Stando così le cose sarebbe molto utile sapere se la scrittura del testo e quella del titolo marginale sono della stessa mano, poiché quest'ultima, secondo i dati raccolti dal P. Vosté, è molto recente. Se poi tutto si deve alla stessa mano, non so come si potrebbe ammettere che il codice appartiene al sec. X. In proposito sarebbe anche utile conoscere la materia dei codici, se carta o pergamena.

Gli studiosi delle fonti siriache hanno nel presente volume, nitidamente stampato, uno strumento indispensabile per le loro ricerche.

I. Ortiz de Urbina S.J.

M. P. Brown, *The authentic writings of Ignatius*. A study of linguistic criteria. Durcham 1963, in-8°, pp. xv-160.

Il giovane professore ci offre in questo volumetto la sua tesi di laurea, la quale ha come scopo sottomettere a un'analisi linguistica e stilistica le lettere autentiche e spurie di Ignazio antiocheno per vedere se esse provengono da due autori diversi. L'esame viene fatto con minuzia e diligenza. L'autore confronta le lettere sotto tutti gli aspetti del vocabolario, della grammatica, della stilistica, qualche volta anche delle preferenze di certe formule teologiche. Fra esse c'è l'uso dei nomi di Cristo, un po' diverso fra l'Ignazio e lo Pseudo-Ignazio. I risultati di questa ricerca (pag. 25-26; 52) confermano quello che un po' prima era stato rilevato da I. Hausherr S. J. nel suo libro: Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison, Rome 1960.

Mi sembra molto giusta e fondata la conclusione alla quale arriva l'autore dopo la sua accurata analisi, e cioè che lo Pseudo-Ignatio è un autore veramente spurio che pur pretendendo imitare Ignazio, tradisce la sua diversità attraverso un insieme di elementi stilistici e grammaticali. Molto interessanti le appendici sulle parole peculiari d'Ignazio e quelle dello Pseudo-Ignazio.

I. Ortiz de Urbina S.J.

W. C. Till, *Das Evangelium nach Philippos*. Herausgegeben und übersetzt (= Patristische Texte und Studien. Band 2). Berlin 1963, in-8°, pp. 96.

Piano piano vengono alla luce i 13 codici gnostici ritrovati nei pressi di Nag Hammadi (Egitto) negli anni 1945-46. Dopo il « Vangelo della Verità » e il « Vangelo secondo Tommaso », ecco ora nelle nostre mani, per merito del nostro antico collaboratore W. Till, il testo copto del « Vangelo secondo Filippo », anche esso costituito da una serie di *logia*, alcune delle quali vengono attribuite al Signore; tutte di un chiaro sapore gnostico. Il dialetto è quello sahidico ma con alcune contaminazioni che il chiaro editore studia brevemente nella prefazione. Accanto al testo copto va pubblicata una versione tedesca, coi vocaboli greci stampati in greco, il che aiuta senza dubbio lo studio del testo e facilita l'uso dell'indice greco apposto come appendice.

La stampa è bella e chiara. Il testo va diviso secondo le pagine del manoscritto a cui vanno aggiunte in postille 36 numeri corrispondenti ad altrettante *logia* ivi contenute.

I. Ortiz de Urbina S.J.

P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. Cantica genuina*. Oxford 1963, in-8°, pp. xxxviii-548.

Romani, maximi poetae graeci in aevo Patrum, « kontakia » seu metrici sermones dignum nostris temporibus studium excitaverunt. In eorum enim editione adlaborarunt primus Card. J. B. Pitra, deinde K. Krumbacher, qui tamen opus perficere non potuit. Eius vero discipulus, P. Maas editionem complere studens, et ipse prolixum opus absolvere non valuit, quod tandem a suo discipulo Trypanis in hoc volumine feliciter absolutum est.

Quod volumen, pulcherrime et perspicue editum, praebet lectori criticam editionem omnium Canticorum genuinorum Romani, inter quae aliqua hic primo lucem vident. Cantica vero dubia et spuria alteri volumini reservantur. Editores optimos codices inde a saec. X pro compositione textus adhibuerunt. In metricam autem egregii poetae maximam attentionem admoverunt, unde in ipsis notis apparatus adponitur schema metricum ad variantes seligendas et in fine libri praebentur formae metricae quae pro his Canticis usurpantur. Ut notum est — et ab ipsis editoribus innuitur — hoc metrum, non classicum sed in certo numero syllabarum fundatum, provenire videtur e desiderio imitandi « memrē » et « madrashē » syriaca quae ex operibus syrorum, maxime S. Ephraem, iam byzantinis saec. VI nota erant.

Non est otiosum animadvertere alium editorem, nempe N. B. Tomadakis fere eodem tempore, ab anno scilicet 1952, Cantica Ro-

mani Melodi edere et quidem diverso criterio quoad dispositionem metricam attinet. De quo discrimine iam ipsi nostri editores praecedenter disseruerunt. Longum esset nimis diversa illa criteria comparare. Satis sit illa memorasse. Merita vero nostrae editionis sunt indubia et digna sincero plausu. Quae laus esset plenior si ad finem voluminis indicem locorum S. Scripturae legere liceret.

I. Ortiz de Urbina S.J.

Liturgica et Canonica

Alfonso ʿAbdallah, O. F. M., *L'Ordinamento liturgico di Gabriele V, 88º Patriarca copto, 1409-1427* (= Studia Orientalia Christiana Aegyptiaca). Edizioni del Centro Francescano di Studi orientali cristiani. Cairo 1962, in-8º, pp. xiv+474.

Ce livre comprend dans la première partie (p. 1-107) une étude sur la vie et l'œuvre liturgique du patriarche copte Gabriel V, dans la deuxième (p. 109-315) l'édition copto-arabe de cette œuvre selon les seuls manuscrits connus, Paris arabe 98 et Vatic. copte 46, et dans la troisième (p. 317-459) la traduction italienne annotée de ces Textes.

Vansleb, qui acheta le manuscrit parisien, l'appela Rituel, ce qui n'est pas exact parce qu'on n'y trouve pas des prières sacramentelles et des bénédictions, mais presque exclusivement la partie rubricale des rites sacramentaux; à juste titre le P. ʿAbdallah l'appelle *Ordinamento liturgico* ou encore Cérémonial.

Le confrontant, pour le chapitre qui regarde la messe, avec les descriptions de ses prédécesseurs Ibn Kabar (« La Lampe des ténèbres ») et Ibn Siba' (« La Perle précieuse), il le trouve fidèle à la tradition; de même il apparaît comme le modèle des Missels coptes imprimés depuis le XVIIIe siècle. Cette pièce maîtresse de la liturgie copte méritait donc bien une édition et une traduction; pour le grand soin avec lequel il s'est livré à cette tâche le P. ʿAbdallah mérite nos félicitations et notre reconnaissance.

Voici les rites décrits dans le ms. Paris arabe 98: baptême et confirmation, fiançailles et mariage, prière de la lampe (= onction des malades), prière du saint Abu Tarbu, office de l'encens du matin et du soir, messe de s. Basile, intronisation du nouvel évêque, ordination du prêtre et de l'higoumène, ordination du lecteur, du sous-diacre et du diacre, vestition monacale, funérailles, « remplissage » du calice, consécration des vases d'autel.

Dans le manuscrit Vatic. copte 46 le P. ʿAbdallah a découvert, attribuée au patr. Gabriel, la consécration des autels nouveaux; de fait, on y trouve la consécration des tablettes d'autel accomplie dans le rite plus large de la consécration d'une église.

Nous voudrions encore attirer l'attention sur les deux premiers chapitres de ce livre où l'auteur décrit avec documents à l'appui la

situation malheureuse de l'Église copte et de son patriarche, méprisé et humilié, au premier quart du XVe siècle. Et, enfin, qu'on évite la méprise de Vansleb qui appela l'auteur du soi-disant « rituel » Gabriel Ibn Toreik. Ce n'est pas le 88e patriarche copte qui s'appellait Ibn Toreik ou Ibn Turaik mais Gabriel II, le 70e patriarche, qui vécut au XIIe s.; c'est une grosse erreur de reporter notre « ritual » à cette époque.

A. Raes S.J.

Michel Hayek, *Liturgie Maronite. Histoire et textes eucharistiques.* Tours, Mame, 1964, in-8°, XVI+435 pages.

Un livre d'études facile à lire. L'auteur, très personnel dans ses jugements, étudie la liturgie maronite actuelle à la lumière de l'histoire et en vue d'une réforme prochaine. A travers les prières et les gestes liturgiques il veut découvrir, en face du christianisme latin et byzantin, une adhésion à la vérité du Christ sans aucun des adjuvants humains philosophiques auxquels les deux autres traditions ont recours (p. XIV); c'est le christianisme syrien dont les Maronites font profession. Perspective intéressante qu'il faut évidemment prendre cum grano salis. En effet, les Maronites admettent les canons des conciles de Nicée, d'Éphèse et de Chalcédoine qui certes ne font pas fi de concepts philosophiques. Que le doxologisme marque davantage la liturgie grecque et l'eschatologisme la liturgie du monde syrien, n'étonnera guère; sans doute une étude poussée des liturgies copte, éthiopienne et arménienne parviendrait à dévoiler à elles aussi leurs traits caractéristiques. En attendant, nous sommes reconnaissants à l'auteur d'avoir mis en lumière ceux de la liturgie syrienne.

Son livre comprend deux grandes parties: une étude (p. 1-220) et des textes liturgiques en traduction française (p. 223-410). Au début, 60 pages sur l'histoire des Maronites où des documents déjà connus sont interprétés d'une manière plus ingénieuse, mieux raisonnée et sans doute plus convaincante qu'on ne l'a fait jusqu'ici. Il s'agit des origines des Maronites, de leur monothélisme, de la fondation de leur patriarcat, de leurs relations avec le Sainte-Siège, du collège maronite à Rome, du synode libanais de 1736 et de la réforme liturgique actuelle. Après l'étude du Missel, du Diaconal, des Lectionnaires et du Calendrier vient celle, plus détaillée, de la messe: la liturgie de la parole et l'anaphore. Cette étude très poussée est basée sur un large emploi des manuscrits et utilise abondamment des explications, symboliques et autres, fournies par des liturgistes qui ont écrit en arabe, p. ex. le patriarche Douaihi. On peut dire que tous les vrais problèmes sont touchés: nombre des encensements, genres de génuflexions, abréviations du premier office, nombre des anaphores à employer, langues liturgiques, messe privée et concélébrée, formules consécratoires, valeur de l'épiclèse, etc.

Persuadé de la valeur de cette première étude fondamentale sur la messe maronite, je la voudrais plus parfaite et me permets donc de soumettre à l'auteur les observations suivantes.

Sur les différentes recensions de l'anaphore des Douze Apôtres (p. 71, n. 1) il y a moyen d'éviter toute confusion dès lors que tous les manuscrits et toutes les éditions ont été classifiés dans le vol. I des « Anaphorae Syriacae ». — De même, sur le nombre des anaphores des rites syrien et maronite (p. 77) on trouve un calcul dans le même ouvrage; il n'y a plus qu'à dépouiller le fonds important de manuscrits conservé au patriarcat des Syriens orthodoxes, maintenant à Damas. — Il ne faut pas exagérer la portée des canons liturgiques du synode de Séleucie tenu en 410 avec la présence de Marouta, comme si les Chaldéens avaient alors échangé toute leur liturgie primitive contre celle d'Antioche (p. 81); je crois que le centre ecclésiastique d'Édesse explique suffisamment les accords que présentent la liturgie chaldéenne et la liturgie maronite. — Pour une définition du prooemion et du sedro (p. 158) il vaudra mieux attendre la fin des études du P. Mateos à ce sujet; voir avec Baumstark et d'autres l'origine du sedro dans les litanies ne peut pas, me paraît-il, se soutenir. — Que le trisagion et sa prière servent de qolo et de 'etro au sedro précédent (p. 161) me paraît une affirmation gratuite; mais que l'encensement qui aujourd'hui accompagne de façon curieuse le trisagion soit celui qui autrefois précédait la lecture de l'évangile (p. 168) trouve un appui dans un déplacement semblable, quoique pas aussi lointain, dans le rite byzantin. — Le concile de Laodicée parle de trois prières précédant l'anaphore; les retrouver avec Mons. Khouri-Sarkis dans les trois prières variables qui précèdent aujourd'hui l'anaphore syrienne (p. 180) me paraît intenable. — La prière secrète qui suit celle de la paix ferait fonction d'un véritable offertoire (p. 179); en réalité, c'est une prière du célébrant pour lui-même avec interpolation du baiser de paix. — Le « Gloria Patri » a été introduit par les Maronites avant le dialogue de la préface, affirme-t-on (p. 181); ne faudrait-il pas plutôt dire que les Maronites, et eux seuls, ici comme ailleurs, ont mieux gardé que d'autres cette très ancienne formule d'introduction, plus vieille sans doute ici que la formule paulinienne aujourd'hui en usage dans plusieurs rites orientaux? — La manière de présenter la grande prière eucharistique n'est pas heureuse (p. 181), comme si l'hagiologie c. à. d. le Sanctus avec son introduction aurait plus d'importance que la prière secrète qui la précède et celle qui le suit; il ne faut pas oublier que l'anaphore de la « Tradition Apostolique » ne connaît pas encore le Sanctus, non plus l'anaphore d'Épiphane. — On ne voit pas pourquoi la position à deux genoux depuis le Sanctus jusqu'à la fin de l'épiclèse s'impose (p. 184). — Sur les diverses formules consécratoires des rites syrien et maronite plus ou moins réussies (p. 187), je me permets de renvoyer aux « Orientalia Christiana Periodica », t. III (1937), 486-504. — Que la Parousie soit le thème central de l'anamnèse (p. 188), que celle-ci soit adressée au Fils (p. 191, n. 10) peut s'affirmer pour le rite syrien, non pas pour les autres rites en général; que la mémoire de la Mère de Dieu pendant l'anamnèse soit la survivance d'un rite ancien (p. 188) ne laisse pas d'étonner. — Ne disons pas qu'à l'épiclèse le prêtre invoque le Saint-Esprit (p. 189); en fait, il invoque le Père afin qu'il envoie le Saint-Esprit sur les dons. — Citant (p. 191, n. 5) « Rahmani, I fasti della Chiesa, pp. VII-IX », il faudrait ajouter qu'il s'agit là d'un des nombreux ouvrages douteux de S. Éphrem. — L'intercession serait le développement de la dernière partie de l'épiclèse (p. 194); cette proposition assez nouvelle demanderait des preuves; d'autre part chez S. Jean Chrysostome l'intercession précéderait l'épiclèse, et on renvoie à « Migne, P. G. 48, 680-681 »; mais la conclusion dépasse de beaucoup ce qu'on peut tirer de ce texte du « De sacerdotio »; d'ailleurs, chez Théodore de Mopsueste, contemporain de Chrysostome et antiochen comme lui, l'épiclèse précède l'intercession. — Après la doxologie finale de l'anaphore il y a une bénédiction trinitaire qui, comme

elle a commencé l'anaphore, la termine (p. 196); ce serait très beau, mais avec le « Paix à vous tous » qui précède cette bénédiction, commence nécessairement une nouvelle cérémonie; il faudrait corriger en ce sens la note 1 à la p. 270. — Selon l'auteur le mot curieux « broûdîqî » viendrait du latin syriacisé « praedicatio » (p. 200, n. 1); espérons qu'un jour tous les syriacisants donnent leur assentiment à cette interprétation. — Les explications et hypothèses fournies pour expliquer la séparation de la consignation et de la fraction (p. 198 sv.) sont peu convaincantes. Il faut tenir que, en opposition avec la pratique des Byzantins et des Arméniens, chez tous les Syriens les actes manuels précédaient et précèdent, chez les Maronites, le Pater; ce sont les Maronites qui visiblement ont déplacé la fraction et la commixtion après le Pater, maintenant la consignation à son ancienne place quitte à la répéter avant l'immixtion; une influence latine en ce point me paraît la supposition la plus obvie; il faudrait examiner les manuscrits. — L'élévation est visiblement une invitation à la communion; qu'elle soit aussi une « sorte d'exposition du Saint-Sacrement » (p. 202) est une idée neuve et assez déroutante. — L'affirmation que l'intinction a eu à l'origine un but pratique, celui de préparer la communion des fidèles sous les deux espèces (p. 204), demanderait des preuves. — Ces prières pour les défunts qui suivent si curieusement d'une façon immédiate la communion des fidèles est une pratique propre aux seuls Maronites; ici on propose l'hypothèse qu'elles auraient été à l'origine un chant de communion, mais que maintenant c'est une sorte de communion par delà la tombe (p. 213).

Sur quelques points on aurait aimé trouver une explication. Ainsi, la triple bénédiction des catéchumènes et des fidèles (p. 168) est-elle à sa place avant l'évangile? — Puisqu'on parle souvent de l'importante anaphore « Charar » et qu'on en donne la traduction, le plan tracé à la page 182 note 2, est bien insuffisant pour se reconnaître dans le désordre, au moins apparent, de cette anaphore. — Pourquoi les trois signes de croix pendant la prière secrète qui suit le Sanctus? (p. 181). — Pourquoi le célébrant invoque-t-il les bénédictions divines sur la cité et ses habitants, encore après l'élévation? (p. 203). — D'où viennent les longues supplications que fait le diacre pendant les actes manuels?

La seconde partie du livre contient la traduction française des documents suivants; j'y ajoute pour autant que j'ai pu les trouver les références aux textes originaux que l'auteur donne au cours de son exposé mais omet d'indiquer au début de leur traduction:

1. L'Ordo du Missel et du Diaconal avec l'anaphore de S. Pierre. Ce n'est pas le texte de la première édition du Missel, ni de la deuxième, mais peut être celui de la troisième (Rome 1759) ou d'une des quatre éditions de Qozhaija qui copient cette dernière. Le Diaconal est pris de l'« émouvant » manuscrit Borgia syr. 153; aux endroits trop abîmés on a suivi la première édition de Rome de 1596.

2. L'anaphore dite « Charar » avec l'Ordo le plus ancien de la messe. Le texte traduit est celui du manuscrit le plus ancien, le Paris. syr. 71, fol. 14-41.

3. La Liturgie des Présanctifiés. Je n'ai pas trouvé la référence au texte original; je suppose qu'il est pris au Missel cité au n. 1 ou au Missel actuel.

4. Les autres anaphores en usage: Douze Apôtres, S. Jacques, S. Jean l'Évangéliste, S. Marc, S. Sixte, S. Jean Maroun, de l'Église Romaine. Textes pris au Missel cité au n. 1.

5. Hymnes (sédré) de pardon. Textes pris au Missel actuel.

6. Proclamations diaconales. Pour chacune d'elles la référence au texte original est donnée à la fin de la traduction, où « Liber Ministri » indique le Diaconal de Rome de 1596.

Comme complément très utile à ces traductions ajoutons celle du Calendrier qu'on ne possédait pas jusqu'ici; on y ajoute l'indication de l'épître et de l'évangile de chaque jour, relevée sur le Missel actuel (Beyrouth 1908): Propre des Saints et Propre du Temps (p. 119-130).

Félicitons encore l'auteur pour cet ouvrage aussi intéressant qu'utile et souhaitons qu'il puisse continuer avec les mêmes perspectives ses études sur la liturgie maronite.

A. RAES S.J.

J. FEGHALI, *Histoire du Droit de l'Eglise Maronite. I. Les Conciles des XVIe et XVIIe siècles*. Letouzey et Ané. Paris 1962, in-8°, pp. 377.

Notum est praecipuum fontem iuris maronitici hucusque constitutum esse a Synodo Libanensi anno 1736 coadunata et a Benedicto XIV in forma, uti dicitur, specifice approbata, quae, iure maronitico in unum collecto, disciplinam pro illa Ecclesia definivit. Haec autem Synodus prae oculis abs dubio habuit sive praecedentem disciplinam sive Synodos quae immediate antea celebratae fuerant, quae tamen nobis fere ignotae erant: nulla enim exstabat editio completa istarum Synodorum, de quibus nonnullae tantum notitiae hic illic, latine aut arabice, sparsae ad nos pervenerant. Attamen neminem latet quantum ad rectam Libanensis Synodi (an. 1736) intelligentiam conferre valeat cognitio illarum Synodorum quae tempore praecedenti a Hierarchia Maronitica habitae fuerant.

Ut hanc lacunam expleat, A. nobis praebet textum (arabicum cum gallica versione) quinque Synodorum quae saec. XVI-XVII celebratae sunt, scilicet, Synodus Qannubin (1580), duae Synodi Montis Libani (decursu an. 1596), Synodus Daì at Mûssa (1598), tandem Synodus Ḥrâš (1644). Textus latinus trium priorum Synodorum praebetur ab A. in pp. 325-341. Huiusmodi Synodi leges de disciplina tulerunt, sed praeterea magnam praestarunt attentionem ad doctrinam de Fide et de Sacramentis, iuxta ea quae Concilium Tridentinum definierat. Nihil igitur mirum si quatuor praesertim primae Synodi quandam tendentiam latinizationis prae se ferunt, contra quam aliquatenus insurrexit Synodus anno 1644 celebrata, in qua conatus quidam ad antiquam disciplinam redeundi libenter animadvertitur. Iam, istae Synodi viam paraverunt ad Synodum quae anno 1736 habita est, et in qua disciplina maroniticae Ecclesiae definitivam obtinuit determinationem, ita ut ipsa constituerit veluti codicem canonicum pro Maronitis usque ad recentiora tempora. Inde momentum illarum quinque Synodorum.

Editioni textus A. praemittit utilem introductionem circa relationes quas Maronitica Ecclesia habuerat cum Chaldaeis, Coptis et Syris et quas cum Latina Ecclesia illo tempore habebat, necnon circa condiciones quae, in ordine sive sociali, sive politico et religioso saec. XVI-XVII, i. e. tempore quo illae quinque Synodi habitae sunt, apud Maronitas vigebant, nec a historico iuris canonici praetermittendae.

A. textus Synodorum abundantioribus Notis declarat, quae magnam lucem synodalibus istis dispositionibus inferunt, et magnae sunt utilitatis ad rectum sensum singulorum canonum perscrutandum. Tandem in tertia parte A. summam nobis praebet totius operae quam quinque illae Synodi perfecerunt.

Quicumque intendat accuratiorem habere notitiam de iure canonico maronitico « de ce droit maronite, si particulier parmi les autres droits orientaux, parce qu'il est une synthèse des coutumes orientales et de l'ancien droit latin », optimum instrumentum inveniet in hoc opere clar.mi Prof. Feghali, qui, ut speramus, hoc opus quamprimum perficiet illis studiis quae Ipse praenuntiavit, praesertim circa Synodum Libanensem (anni 1736), circa ius Medii Aevi, necnon circa ius civile maroniticum saeculo XVIII ab archiepiscopo Abdallah Carali in compendium redactum.

C. Pujol S.J.

Historica

Robert Stupperich, *Kirche im Osten, Studien zur osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenkunde*. Band 7 – 1964, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht in Göttingen 1964, in-8°, 192 Seiten.

In das neue Jahrbuch fanden 5 Aufsätze, eine verzweigte Chronik und zwei kleinere Beiträge Aufnahme. Es war das Bestreben des Herausgebers, auf aktuelle Daten oder für die Kirche im Osten wichtige Gegenwartsereignisse Bezug zu nehmen.

Heinz Skrobucha — der Kustos des Ikonenmuseums Recklinghausen — äußert sich « Zur Darstellung russischer Heiliger in der Ikonenmalerei » (S. 9-32). Eine Reihe von Zeichnungen illustriert den Text. Es wird u. a. festgestellt, daß die meisten Heiligen nur als Typ abgebildet werden, obschon sich nach dem 16. Jhrh. eine stärkere Porträtabsicht bemerkbar macht. — Erzpriester Nikolaj Afanas'ev schreibt über « Das Konzil in der Russisch-orthodoxen Theologie » (S. 33-52). Französisch ist der Artikel erschienen zur Zeit, als das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil zusammentrat, in « Irénikon » 35 (1962), S. 316-339. Zu beachten ist, daß Afanas'ev das Konzil im Lichte seiner « eucharistischen Ekklesiologie » sieht, die aber bisher von nur wenigen orthodoxen Theologen geteilt wird. — Igor Smolitsch, der kürzlich den ersten Band seiner « Geschichte der russischen Kirche 1700-1917 », Leiden 1963, herausgegeben hat, behandelt ausführlich

ein Teilthema aus diesem Werk unter dem Titel: « Der Konzilsvorbereitungsausschuß des Jahres 1906, Zur Vorgeschichte des Moskauer Landeskonzils von 1917/1918 » (S. 53-93). Smolitsch berichtet über diesen im Jahre 1906 vom Hl. Synod eingesetzten Ausschuß, über seine Zusammensetzung, seine Aufgaben und Probleme. Im Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit standen Fragen wie die Zusammensetzung des vorzubereitenden Konzils, die Gültigkeit der altkirchlichen Kanones, die petrinische Reform von 1721 und die Wiederherstellung der Patriarchenwürde, die verschiedensten Aufgaben der kirchlichen Verwaltung und Seelsorge. Ein besonderes Anliegen bildete die Verwirklichung der kirchlichen « Sobornost' » — worunter man gemeinhin die Beteiligung aller, auch der Priester und insbesondere der Laien, auf dem kommenden Konzil verstand. — Im Beitrag von Josef Leixner, Protoierej in Prag, « Kyrills und Methods Wirksamkeit unter den Slawen, Zum 1100. Jahrestag ihrer Ankunft in Mähren » (S. 94-106) wird auf das Jubiläum des vergangenen Jahres 1963 Bezug genommen. Der Artikel ist ziemlich tendenziös geschrieben und in manchen Behauptungen unwissenschaftlich. Was Leixner z.B. über den Unterschied Kyrills und Methods in Glauben und Lehre von der römisch-katholischen Kirche sagt (S. 97-98), ist teils ungenau teils mißverständlich. Auch hätte L. gut daran getan zu sagen, wer die katholischen Autoren sind, denen zufolge die Slawenapostel den lateinischen Ritus in slawischer Sprache feierten (S. 98). Eine solche Auffassung dürfte wohl kaum unter den katholischen Forschern die überwiegende sein. Bezichtigten sodann Päpste (S. 102; 104) den Method der Irrlehre? Gänzlich verschwiegen wird das großartige Begräbnis, das Kyrill in Rom erhielt. – Sachlich geschrieben ist der Beitrag von Peter F. Barton über « Ignatius Aurelius Feßler [1756-1839], Vom ungarischen Kapuziner zum Bischof der Wolgadeutschen » (S. 107-143). Es ist natürlich unmöglich über eine so rätselhafte und sich stets wandelnde Persönlichkeit auf 36 Seiten etwas Feststehendes auszumachen. Nur Gott vermag Rätsel, Wirrnis und Geheimnis dieses Mannes zu lösen, der nacheinander die Einflüsse des Barockkatholizismus, des katholischen Ordens- und Priesterstandes in sich aufnahm, dann und auch schon vorher des Jansenismus und Josephinismus, der Aufklärung und Freimaurerei, Kants, Spinozas, Lessings, Herders, Schellings, Fichtes und Schleiermachers, und frühzeitig auch verschiedener Strömungen des Protestantismus. Dreimal war er verheiratet. Der Verfasser des Beitrags meint am Schluß: « Der evangelische Superintendent und Bischof in Saratov ist innerlich fast völlig zu seiner jansenistisch und mystisch überhöhten katholischen Ausgangsposition zurückgekehrt, in die er freilich alle Elemente seiner wandlungsreichen geistigen Welt integriert hat. Das genuin-reformatorische Anliegen ist ihm verschlossen geblieben, der biblische Christus für ihn hinter den abstrakten ' Ideen ' des Christentums und der ' Religion ' völlig zurückgetreten ».

Die Chronik (S. 144-184), von verschiedenen Verfassern zusammengestellt, hat zum Gegenstand « Das kirchliche Leben in Osteuropa

und Griechenland 1962/63 ». Den breitesten Raum nehmen selbstverständlich die Sowjetunion (und in ihr die Russisch-orthodoxe Kirche) und nachher Griechenland ein. Wir erfahren u. a. Genaues, soweit es die Quellen gestatten, über die Zusammensetzung des Episkopates, über Priester, Gemeinden und Mönchtum, die Arbeit der geistlichen Lehranstalten und die theologische Publikationstätigkeit und über die ökumenischen Beziehungen. Es folgen Chroniken über den Stand des Christentums in Polen, der Tschechoslowakei, in Ungarn, Jugoslawien und Bulgarien. Sehr ungleich wird dabei die katholische Kirche berücksichtigt. Eine Bezugnahme fehlt im Bericht über die Tschechoslowakei und Jugoslawien. An den Überblick über Griechenland, sein kirchliches Leben, sein Verhältnis zur ökumenischen Bewegung, seine theologische Arbeit, die 1000-Jahrfeier des Berges Athos (der auf S. 180 genannte « spanische Kardinal », der den Feierlichkeiten beiwohnte, dürfte mit dem anglikanischen Bischof von Gibraltar — der rot gekleidet ging — identisch sein), schließt sich noch ein kleiner Aufsatz von Demetrios Tsakonas an, « Gegenwartsprobleme der Orthodoxie » (S. 181-184), in dem vor allem eingegangen wird auf das Problem der Einheit und deshalb auf die panorthodoxen Konferenzen von Rhodos, auf die Beziehungen der Orthodoxie zum Protestantismus und zum Katholizismus und dem Vaticanum II.

Der Literaturbericht stammt von Robert Stupperich und handelt über « Die Orthodoxe Kirche in neueren konfessionskundlichen Darstellungen » (S. 185-192). Die Veröffentlichungen katholischer Autoren (ausgenommen H.-J. Schulz in einem Sammelwerk) sind aber nicht berücksichtigt (hier hätte u. a. erwähnt werden können unser mit P. Johannes Chrysostomus OSB zusammen herausgegebenes Büchlein: « Die Glaubenswelt der orthodoxen Kirche », Salzburg 1961).

B. SCHULTZE S.J.

Herbert HUNGER, *Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden.* Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für Byzantinistik. Institut für Byzantinistik der Universität Wien. Wiener Byzantinische Studien, Band I., Wien-Graz-Köln, 1964, in-8°, 260 pp., 1 tav. f. t.

Con questo libro si apre una nuova Collana di studi bizantini che verrà pubblicata a cura dell'Accademia delle Scienze d'Austria in collaborazione con l'Istituto di Bizantinistica dell'Università di Vienna. L'Autore, Ordinario di Bizantinistica in tale Università, è anche il direttore o redattore della nuova Collana.

In questo primo Numero di essa, il Prof. Hunger s'è proposto di raccogliere i testi propagatori dell'idea imperiale (« Kaiseridee ») contenuti nei proemi dei decreti giuridici, dei diplomi, ecc., degli Imperatori bizantini. Naturalmente, una raccolta del genere, per essere scientificamente valida e utile, non può ridursi a una semplice

giustapposizione, più o meno ordinata, di brani più o meno significativi. Perciò l'A. alla raccolta, traduzione e interpretazione dei testi greci e latini, fa precedere una densa Introduzione e seguire un breve capitolo conclusivo.

Nell'Introduzione, delimitato il tema delle sue ricerche (pp. 15-18), dedica due studi originali e abbondantemente documentati all'« origine e al carattere del proemio » nell'antichità classica (pp. 19-35) e ai rapporti tra i moduli tradizionali (l'A. dice: « Klischee ») del linguaggio curialesco ed aulico e l'originalità espressiva (« Verfasserschaft ») di singoli Imperatori o impiegati della Cancelleria imperiale nel servirsi dei proemi come strumenti della propaganda ufficiale (pp. 36-45). Tali moduli, come provano i venti « Clichés di Proemi » editi per la prima volta dall'A. secondo un ms. di Heidelberg (Cod. Palat. gr. 356), non derivavano alla Cancelleria di Bisanzio soltanto attraverso una fraseologia antica e d'uso comune sia nel parlare che nello scrivere, ma potevano essere dedotti direttamente da veri e propri *canovacci* di proemi, raccolti sistematicamente in volume ad uso degli Imperatori e dei loro curiali (pp. 217-245).

La parte centrale del volume è consacrata alla registrazione sistematica dei testi che contengono gli « elementi dell'idea imperiale». L'A. li considera prima sotto l'aspetto del loro contenuto teologico, filosofico, giuridico (pp. 49-154), poi sotto l'aspetto « formale », cioè dell'estensione, del tono e del rapporto del proemio col resto del dodumento imperiale, in modo da evidenziare il loro influsso sulla « struttura del proemio » stesso (pp. 157-208).

Benché il Prof. Hunger non abbia inteso fare una raccolta esauriente, tuttavia lascia stupito il lettore con l'abbondanza dei testi che desume da molti documenti imperiali, fra gli autori dei quali Giustiniano I e Leone VI fanno la parte del leone. Tali testi mostrano all'evidenza come nel culto dell'Imperatore bizantino sopravvivesse, debitamente cristianizzato, l'antichissimo culto del monarca orientale ed egiziano, che nell'epoca ellenistica divenne culto del sovrano e, nell'epoca romana, culto dell'Imperatore (Kaiserkult). Se il Basileus bizantino, come erede diretto di Costantino, non poteva più essere dio, continuò fino al secolo XV ad essere il messo, il rappresentante, il luogotenente, l'imitatore, il prediletto di Dio, che lo aveva scelto come pastore provvidente, sollecito e insonne di tutti gli uomini; lo aveva reso « legge vivente », dandogli il diritto di creare nuove leggi e perfezionare quelle dei suoi antecessori, sicché egli non poteva non essere soccorritore, benefattore, salvatore, « sole » degli altri uomini. In qualche documento si giunge a formulare un rapporto molto significativo: ciò che Dio è rispetto all'Imperatore, l'Imperatore deve esser rispetto agli uomini; il che equivale al rapporto inverso: gli uomini stanno all'Imperatore, come l'Imperatore sta a Dio (pp. 204-208). Proprio questa elevazione dell'Imperatore alla sfera del divino offre la chiave per capire tanti aspetti della storia bizantina sia civile che religiosa.

Tale abbondanza di testi si estende a tutte le epoche della storia bizantina, delle quali ci restano documenti imperiali. L'A. dimostra come questa persistenza dell'idea imperiale nei proemi sia stata accompagnata da una sapiente elaborazione formale: a volte il proemio prende lo spunto dalla supplica che una o più persone hanno rivolto all'Imperatore (pp. 158-164), a volte ha invece come punto di partenza l'iniziativa dell'imperatore stesso (pp. 165-179) o uno dei tanti aspetti della sua missione di diritto divino (pp. 180-187); si osserva infine che il proemio si articola in una, due e, perfino, tre parti (pp. 188-208).

Nella « Conclusione » l'A. si limita a metter in risalto le divergenze formali e sostanziali tra i proemi dei documenti imperiali antichi e quelli dei documenti bizantini, e a sottolineare 1) che i proemi bizantini sono soltanto uno dei tanti strumenti della propaganda imperiale (si pensi ai panegirici, alle acclamazioni dell'Ippodromo, agli encomi, alle cerimonie di corte, alle leggende monetali, ecc.) e 2) che essi non esprimono persuasioni dovute all'euforia di determinati periodi di potenza reale, ma rivelano una convinzione teologica, che non fu mai scossa, neppure dalle sconfitte militari più umilianti o dalle perdite territoriali più gravi (pp. 211-214).

Nel contesto della notevole letteratura sull'ideologia imperiale bizantina, questo libro del Prof. Hunger costituisce un contributo prezioso e, sebbene di carattere provvisorio, esso occuperà degnamente il suo posto accanto alle note pubblicazioni in materia di Franz Dölger, Otto Treitinger, Berthold Rubin, ecc. La ricchezza del materiale di prima mano raccolto e acutamente interpretato, la sicurezza e serietà del metodo seguito e la chiarezza dell'esposizione prestano a questo libro una funzione scientifica preziosa: apre nuovi orizzonti e sprona a ricerche ulteriori in uno dei settori-chiave della Bizantinistica. Inaugurazione veramente degna di una nuova Collana di studi scientifici.

C. Capizzi S.J.

Paul Mailleux, *Exarch Leonid Feodorov, Bridgebuilder between Rome and Moscow*, P. J. Kenedy, New York 1964, 247 pages + 8 pages plates.

Fr. Mailleux has succeeded in painting a most attractive and patently genuine picture of the Exarch Leonid Feodorov. The material he had to work with was at once abundant and scanty. He was, on the one hand, fortunate in having at his disposal so many of Feodorov's letters, but, on the other, the people who shared the vicissitudes of his subject's last years were not available for questioning: they were, like Feodorov, prisoners who mostly died still in confinement. Nevertheless, the little that they could supply, with information gleaned here and there from other sources, has sufficed to allow the Author to construct the outline, and an eloquent outline, of the youth, the studies abroad, the monastic vocation, the work in

Czarist and Revolutionary Russia of Feodorov and then of the patience and heroic, indeed cheerful, resignation with which he faced the long years of prison and forced labour. The result is a vision of Russian sanctity, that is, of dogged endurance of hardship for the love of God and the neighbour, in which and through which Feodorov furthered his mission, to better the relations between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, by showing that the Russian tradition and the Russian rite can find a place in Catholicism without losing their identity.

J. Gill, S.J.

Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Conflict betwen Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1963, in-8°, 222 pages, 35 shills.

These eight essays, with an introductory chapter, examine the death struggles of paganism before the triumph of Christianity that followed on the victories of Constantine the Great. In New Rome there were constituted most of the institutions of Old Rome but they were largely Christian. For Old Rome, on the other hand, Constantine's departure meant the departure also of most of the Christians of standing and the end of the influence they exercised on local government. Thereupon the Senate, being almost entirely pagan as well as powerful, tried to restore some pagan cults that had been abrogated and to conserve others which still survived. Athens and Alexandria were other big cities where the uneven battle was waged. The pagan ideal of what constituted the good life died slowly, also because it carried with it the dignity of the grand seigneur or the gentleman philosopher. His philosophy, however, was also assailed, for it was a derivative, even an anti-Christian derivative, of classical pagan thought.

These essays are scholarly studies by experts, covering various aspects of the period — social, missionary, historico-literary, magical, philosophical and the clinging to the old cults. They are not overburdened with the parade of learning and are surprisingly easy to read. Together they convey a broad picture of the Christian-pagan relations of the beginning of the fourth century and fill in the background of the history of the time which only too easily escapes the attention of even the serious student.

J. Gill, S.J.

A. Pélissier, *Grégoire XI ramène la Papauté à Rome* (= Collection « les Papes limousins »). Tulle 1962, in-8°, 238 pages, 4 planches.

Le titre et ses sous-titres résument bien la pensée de l'Auteur. Comme le souligne Daniel Rops dans la préface, c'est comme « limousin, historiographe diocésain, au grand séminaire de Tulle », que

le chanoine Antoine Pélissier après avoir écrit la vie de « Clément VI, le magnifique » et d'« Innocent VI, qui poursuivit avec énergie une tâche réformatrice », consacre ce nouvel et important ouvrage à ce « Pierre Roger de Beaufort Turenne, qui régna de 1370 à 1378, sous le nom de Grégoire XI et qui eut le prestigieux honneur de ramener à Rome la Papauté » (p. 12). Ainsi réalise-t-il un souhait de Jean XXIII, à qui ce livre est dédié, et qui, « au lendemain d'une visite, qu'il avait faite, comme nonce, en Avignon » s'était écrié: « Ces Papes français, ce sont des méconnus, des calomniés »! Dans la lignée si remarquable des 7 Papes français d'Avignon (ne parlons pas des antipapes Robert de Genève, et Pierre de Luna), Grégoire XI, le dernier de la série, apparaît comme « un doux, un diplomate, un prudent ... un caractère moral exemplaire » (p. 12), mais nullement comme un irrésolu.

Le livre du chanoine A. Pélissier aura au moins l'avantage de montrer que si l'intervention de Ste Brigitte, « assez brutale dans ses termes », et de Ste Catherine de Sienne « plus diplomatique » furent pour quelque chose dans la décision de ramener la Papauté à Rome, cette décision fut précédée « par tout un ensemble d'études, de rapports, d'ambassades, de négociations au caractère compliqué » (p. 13). Du reste, sur son lit de mort, le jeune Pape (cardinal à 18 ans, Pape à 40 ans, il mourut dans sa 49e année), usera d'expressions sévères à l'égard des « mystiques ». Si l'on en croit Baronius (I pp. 596-597 ed. 1654), se référant à Jean Gerson et à Naucler « Le Pape, sur son lit de mort, et tenant dans ses mains le corps sacré du Christ aurait mis en garde tous les assistants contre " tous ceux, hommes ou femmes, qui sous aspect de religion racontent les visions de leur imagination, de leur propre tête " (sub specie religionis loquentes visiones sui capitis) » (p. 206).

On lira avec intérêt le récit détaillé du retour du Pape à Rome (pp. 173-197) et du conclave qui suivit sa mort (pp. 209-224). Signalons seulement pour les byzantinistes et orientalistes un exposé succint mais très riche de la politique pontificale en Orient (pp. 111-124). Si les Papes résidèrent en Avignon, ce fut surtout dans l'espoir d'unir les princes chrétiens, spécialement les rois de France et d'Angleterre contre les Turcs. Grégoire XI ne renonça pas au but que s'était fixé son prédécesseur, le Bienheureux Urbain V, en rencontrant à Rome, en Octobre 1369, l'empereur Jean V Paléologue. L'Auteur énumère les efforts de Grégoire XI pour venir au secours de l'empire byzantin et des autres royaumes chrétiens de l'Orient, en particulier Chypre et la Cilicie... (p. 114).

Mais plus encore que la ténacité de la diplomatie pontificale, on admirera le zèle missionnaire de Grégoire XI, envoyant en Tartarie septentrionale le Frère mineur François du Puy et 12 autres franciscains. Le 15 janvier 1372, Grégoire XI exhorta Lasco, duc de Moldavie, à persévérer dans l'union avec Rome, et à amener aussi dans l'Eglise romaine la princesse, sa femme, encore dans le schisme (p. 120). Une lettre adressée en 1374 par Grégoire XI aux dominicains nous montre l'étendue de ses préoccupations apostoliques. « Grégoire, évê-

que, serviteur des serviteurs de Dieu, à nos biens-aimés fils, les frères-prêcheurs demeurant ou allant chez les Sarrasins, les païens, les Grecs, les Bulgares, les Comans, les Ibéres, les Alains, les Gazares, les Goths, les Scythes, les Ruthènes, les Jacobites, les Nubiens, les Nestoriens, les Géorgiens, les Arméniens, les Indous, les Mochites, et autres nations infidèles de l'Orient et de l'Aquilon, ou partout ailleurs, salut et bénédiction apostolique » (p. 121). On remarque (pp. 122-123) qu'Urbain V et Grégoire XI ne témoignent pas d'une grande compréhension à propos du rite byzantin. Mais il s'agit uniquement de la Crète, appartenant alors aux Vénitiens. L'Auteur rapporte la belle déclaration de l'empereur Jean Cantacuzène, devenu moine basilien. « Je crois que l'Eglise romaine a la primauté sur toutes les Eglises du monde, et j'exposerais ma vie, s'il était besoin, pour la défense de cette vérité » (p. 123). On peut regretter toutefois que l'Auteur semble ignorer les sources grecques, et se contente de puiser dans les « Annales Ecclesiastici » de Raynald, Rome, 1652 ou dans l'« Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise catholique » de Rohrbacher Paris 1899.

Reproche plus grave. La courte Bibliographie, qui termine le livre (pp. 233-234), ne suit aucun ordre, ni alphabétique, ni chronologique, et mélange sources et ouvrages récents.

Mais on ne peut faire un grief à l'Auteur de n'avoir pas eu à sa disposition les livres de la « Bibliothèque Nationale » de Paris ou du « British Museum » de Londres. En toute franchise il termine son excellente « généalogie de la famille Roger de Beaufort » par cette modeste note: « Renseignements fournis par le général René Michel d'après l'encyclopédie Britannica » (p. 232).

Tel quel avec ses limites, qui ne sont pas des lacunes, cet ouvrage contribuera à mieux faire connaître Grégoire XI « admirable d'humanité, de doctrine et de piété », comme le déclarait le Sénat romain.

Comment ne pas souscrire à la conclusion juste et modérée de l'Auteur, au terme de son érudite trilogie: « Le premier Pape limousin a rendu à l'Eglise son prestige à la face des Nations; le deuxième a mis de l'ordre dans la Maison et a fait la conquête des Etats de l'Eglise, le troisième a ramené à Rome la Papauté ». Tous les trois « furent de grands Papes » et demeurent « l'Honneur des Hommes et l'Ornement de leur pays ».

PAUL GOUBERT S.J.

Taras Ševčenko, 1814-1861: A Symposium. Ed. V. MIJAKOVS'KYJ and G. Y. SHEVELOV (= *Slavistic Printings and Reprintings*, XXXI). Mouton & Co., 'S.-Gravenhage, 1962, in-8°, pp. 302.

The nine articles of this *Symposium* are meant " to present various aspects of Ševčenko's work and life as seen from the distance

of a century " (5). Two of the articles were previously printed in Ukrainian Journals: ' Ševčenko 's Aesthetic Theory: An Approach to the Problem ' by Viktor Petrov (62-67) was published in *Arka*, Munich, 1948, nos. 4-5; ' Ševčenko's Creative Process ' by Pavlo Zajcev (107-126) was published in *My*, Warsaw, 1939, nos. 9-10. Seven articles were written especially for the occasion. Valerian Revutsky in ' Ševčenko and the Theatre ' (136-152) " does not offer new research ", but gives a very useful " summary of past studies " (136). Rather jejune is Damjan Hornjatkevyč in his ' Problems in the Evaluation of Ševčenko's Art as a Painter ' (127-135), which must be completed from other works to arrive at the conclusion that Ševčenko as a painter anticipated " the coming of plein-air and impressionism " (135). Volodymyr Mijakovs'kyj (9-36) presents a new insight on the influence of Ševčenko in the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, which organization marked the beginning of the renascence of the Ukraine in the first half of the 19th century. The Brotherhood is mentioned by other authors in this *Symposium*. A special mention should be made of pp. 165-171, where Jurij Lawrynenko shows how truly Ševčenko's songs were " the light that burneth and shineth..., a concrete justification of ... inspiration from above " (168) proper to the Brothers. Lawrynenko's article ' Ševčenko and his *Kobzar* in the Intellectual and Political History of a Century ' (153-258) is written with much knowledge and skill, and is valuable for the history of Ševčenko's influence in the development of Ukrainian national feeling. The same is to be said for the article by Petro Odarčenko ' Ševčenko in Soviet Literary Criticism ' (259-302), though it is hard reading more because of the difficulty of the subject matter than for other reasons. George Y. Shevelov presents an interesting new view on the last period of Ševčenko's life in ' The Year 1860 in Ševčenko's Work ' (68-106), when the " revolutionary rebelliousness " of the poet gave way to " harmony in style as well as in his world outlook " (101) and his poems became "panchronical and pantopical " (82). Mykola Shlemkevych gives a very original article in which he is the first to venture into " the dark valleys of Ševčenko's inner world " (61). This article with the title ' The Substratum of Ševčenko's View of Life ' (37-61) is the finest reading in this *Symposium* and the best contribution to an understanding of the deepest layers of Ševčenko's human personality and creative genius.

The nine authors of the *Symposium* by their objective analysis of Ševčenko as poet, painter, and « creator of a nation » (162) have set the aspirations of Ukrainians for recognition as one of the great nations of Europe firmly on the right path.

Ivan Žužek S.J.

Archaeologica

Richard HAMANN-MAC LEAN und Horst HALLENSLEBEN, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert.* Einleitung. Giessen 1963, in-8°, pp. 39, Tafeln 354, Pläne 36.

Das vorliegende für den Kunsthistoriker des Balkans unersetzliche Werk ist bisher nur zu dem die zwei vorausgehenden Textbände ergänzenden Bildband gediehen. Aber auch so dient es den Fachleuten in ausserordentlichem Ausmass. Von den drei angekündigten Bänden, welche in der II. Reihe der Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen erscheinen, soll der erste eine Abhandlung von Hamann-Mac Lean über « die Grundlegung und Einführung » in das ganze Fragengebiet enthalten. Im zweiten Band untersucht Horst Hallensleben die « Malerschule des Königs Milutin ». Diese beiden letzteren Bände dienen natürlich der Einführung nicht vorgebildeter Studierender in dieses für die Kenntnis der byzantinischen Kunst und ihrer Beziehung zum Abendlande ausserordentlich wichtige Gebiet.

Im Gegensatz zu allen bisherigen Werken über diese Kunst bringt uns H.-Mac Lean eine nicht geringe Reihe von Innenansichten der bedeutenderen Kirchen, die in dem ihn interessierenden Zeitabschnitt gebaut wurden. Aber nicht nur das; er erfüllt das in dieser Zeitschrift so oft schon aufgestellte Postulat, nicht nur einzelne Bilder zu zeigen, sondern es dem Studierenden zu ermöglichen, anhand von Karten die Lage der einzelnen Bilder an den Wänden, den Pfeilern und in den Kuppeln der untersuchten Kirchen gleichsam vor sich zu sehen. Diese Karten ersetzen zusammen mit den natürlich nicht vollständigen Bilderreihen fast einen persönlichen Besuch in jenen, für einen Mitteleuropäer doch recht abgelegenen Heiligtümern. Nur wer diese Möglichkeiten ausnutzt, kann auch die Idee, welche dem Bildschmuck zugrunde liegt, einigermassen erfassen. Natürlich leidet dieses Buch, wie alle ähnlichen Werke, an einem grundlegenden Mangel. Es ist nämlich nicht vollständig. Man muss aber sehr befriedigt feststellen, dass darin einige selten besuchten Kirchen, so z. B. die Kapelle von Kurbinovo und die Nikolauskirche in Prilep, erschöpfend dargestellt sind. Es gibt auch eine überaus grosse Menge von leicht lokalisierbaren Bildern aus den drei aneinandergebauten Kirchen in Peč und in Prišren. Ganz offenbar fehlen unter diesen Bildern auch einige, an die man sich erinnert, die aber dem Gedächtnis entschlüpft sind. Man kann eben ein ganzes Land nicht erfassen wie eine Stadt, wie dies jetzt Pelekanides mit der Stadt Kastoria getan hat. Es tut aber dem Kunsthistoriker leid, aus Prilep und Prišren nur eine Kirche aufgenommen zu sehen. In Prilep soll es deren noch etwa 7 in dem Viertel unter der Burg geben. In Prišren gibt es deren wenigstens

noch drei. Man muss eben zugestehen, dass schon aus finanziellen Gründen eine erschöpfende Darstellung dieser Kunstwerke unmöglich ist.

Bei den Erklärungen, welche R. Hamann-Mac Lean gibt, sind ihm einige Irrtümer unterlaufen. So bezeichnet er ein Bild aus Nerezi (Nr. 33) als « Apostelkommunion »; eine solche stellt die dort gezeigte Fotografie nicht dar. Er nennt auch oft die Reihe der Bischöfe, welche von rechts und links in der Apsisrundung zur Mitte hinschreiten: « den grossen Einzug ». Diese Bezeichnung ist sehr irreführend. Der Name « der grosse Einzug » wird in der Liturgie für etwas ganz anderes gebraucht, nämlich für die Überbringung der bereiteten Opfergaben durch die linke Ikonostastüre zur Mitteltüre hin, wo sie der amtierende Priester aus der Hand der Träger entgegennimmt. Es dürfte richtiger sein, wenn auch die Kunsthistoriker solche Bezeichnungen im herkömmlichen Sinne verwenden. An einer Stelle spricht er auch bei der Erklärung eines Bildes des letzten Gerichtes von dem « Fegefeuer », in welches die Engel die Verdammten hineinjagen. Die orientalischen Theologen haben grosse Schwierigkeiten, überhaupt ein « Fegefeuer » anzuerkennen. Auf keinen Fall aber werden weder sie noch die Lateiner das Feuer der endgültigen Verstossung mit dem Reinigungsfeuer, eben dem « Fegfeuer » gleichstellen.

Es ist aber einleuchtend, dass alle diese Bemerkungen den ausserordentlichen Wert der vorliegenden Veröffentlichungen nur ganz von ferne beeinträchtigen können. Jeder Kunsthistoriker wird dem Verfasser immer wieder von neuem Dank sagen.

A. M. Ammann S.J.

Nicole et Michel Thierry, *Nouvelles Eglises rupestres de Cappadoce.* Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1963. Un volume 23 × 27 cm de 248 pages avec 46 figures, 5 cartes, 100 planches en noir et 4 planches en couleur; suivi d'un « Summary of the Book in English » par Darsie Gillie, xviii p.

Après l'ouvrage monumental, érigé par le R. Père Guillaume de Jerphanion à la gloire des Eglises rupestres de la Cappadoce (1925-1942), il aurait pu sembler une gageure d'entreprendre sur le même sujet un travail scientifique. Mais le R. Père de Jerphanion n'a pas étudié toutes les « Eglises rupestres de Cappadoce ». Ses 4 volumes de texte et 3 volumes de photos décrivent les églises de la région d'Urgub.

Mr. le docteur Michel Thierry et son épouse Madame Nicole Thierry, également docteur en médecine, ont passé pendant plusieurs années (1958-1962) leurs studieuses et laborieuses vacances dans la région volcanique du Hasan Daği à 200 kilomètres à l'ouest d'Urgub. Ils ont étudié en particulier 13 églises du vallon de Péristrema, mentionnées par Rott, Ramsay et Bell mais qui avaient échappé aux investigations du savant jésuite.

Le 1er chapitre étudie la géographie historique de ce massif volcanique connu sous le nom de Hasan Dagh (ou Hasan Daği) qui culmine à plus de 3000 mètres et donne l'origine à une rivière importante, le Melendiz suyu. Entre les villages d'Ihlara et de Selime, celle-ci forme un cañon d'une dizaine de kilomètres de long qui porte le nom de Peristrema. « C'est là que se situent la plupart des églises rupestres, que nous décrivons plus loin » (p. 2). Dans l'histoire du « Hasan Daği à la période paléochrétienne » on trouvera des précisions sur Nazianze, la patrie de St. Grégoire, l'actuelle Nenezi aux sources du Kara-Su (p. 9 et pl. 8); et sur Mokyssos-Kirşehir, qui devient, par la grâce de Justinien, Justinianopolis, (p. 10) « métropole des évêchés de Nazianze, Doara, Parnassos et Colonea» (p. 10). Le Hasan Daği au VIIIe siècle faisait partie du thème des Anatoliques. Par « sa situation au débouché des portes ciliciennes », c'était « le pivot de la défense byzantine ». Aussi l'empereur Théophile (et non Théophyle comme il est écrit par erreur p. 12) quand il réorganisa les thèmes groupa sous le nom de « Clisure de Petite Cappadoce » le massif du Hasan Daği, la Tyanide « auxquels furent rattachées temporairement la tourme de Kases et la topoteresia de Nyssa. La clisure fut érigée en thème au milieu du IXe siècle » (p. 12). Pour plus de clarté, il aurait fallu signaler que « la clisure désignait en principe une redoute défendant un passage difficile » (cf. L. Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin* II, p. 358). On trouvera de curieux renseignements sur le « télégraphe optique » organisé par les Byzantins pour « prévenir l'empereur d'une violation de frontières sur le Taurus », « une chaîne de tours postales sur des hauteurs isolées, se transmettant des signaux lumineux, traversait en diagonale l'Anatolie ».

C'est à peine croyable, mais c'est vrai: « La rapidité de transmission était telle que l'événement survenu sur le Taurus était connu à Constantinople moins d'une heure après » (pp. 12-13). Le télégraphe moderne fait-il mieux? « Le premier poste était dans la citadelle de Loulon, près d'Ulukişla, le second à Argeios-Argos, sur les pentes ouest du Hasan Daği » (p. 13). La première citadelle faisait partie de la première ligne de défense, située sur le revers Nord du Taurus, au débouché des Portes Ciliciennes. Elle était « importante ». Au contraire le château d'Argeios, « parait n'avoir joué aucun rôle dans les batailles contre les musulmans, et son seul objet était de servir de relais optique » (p. 13). Au passage les Auteurs rectifient plusieurs localisations de citadelles aventurées par H. Grégoire (*Notes de Géographie byzantine*, Byzantion, 1935, X, pp. 251-256) et W. M. Ramsay, (*The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, IV, Londres, 1890, p. 355). « A l'intérieur du massif, la vallée de Melendiz était défendue par une série de " castra " et de villes fortifiées ». Il semble qu'il faut chercher là, près de Malandasa, à Marğ al Usquî (la Prairie de l'évêque) des chroniqueurs arabes, l'« Arianzos, domaine héréditaire de Grégoire de Nazianze » (p. 15). « Cette étude un peu détaillée des forteresses byzantines permet de comprendre la situation privilégiée du centre érémitique de Peristrema, qui protégé par une triple ligne de défense,

a pu se développer dans une relative sécurité à l'abri de la plupart des incursions arabes » (p. 15). Mais la domination turque à la fin du XIe siècle ne trouva plus de résistance car les ouvrages fortifiés avaient été démantelés au cours de la longue paix, qui marqua la reconquête de la Cilicie par la dynastie macédocienne. « Tyane et Nazianze, les deux seules villes importantes de la région au Moyen-Âge chrétien, se dépeuplèrent et tombèrent au rang d'infimes bourgades » (p. 15). Au contraire, sur les ruines de l'ancienne Archelaïs, Aksaray se développa, ainsi que Niğde, devenu chef lieu du vilâyet. Mais tandis que les villes étaient exclusivement peuplées de Turcs, les campagnes gardent jusqu'au traité de Lausanne (1922) une nombreuse population grecque ou arménienne.

Le chapitre II (pp. 19-30) est consacré à la description de la région du Hasan Daği, en particulier à la ville d'Aksaray (pp. 19-20), aux vallées du Beyaz Su (pp. 20-24), du Melendiz suyu (pp. 24-26), du Kara Su (pp. 26-28). Les Auteurs signalent un peu avant Niğde, dont les monuments turcs ont été bien étudiés par A. Gabriel, les ruines de l'ancienne église d'Eski Andaval, qui remonterait peut-être au IVe ou au Ve siècle (p. 29).

Puis s'enfonçant dans la vallée de Peristrema (ch. III, pp. 30-38) dont ils donnent une excellente carte (p. 32), ils commencent la decription détaillée des principales églises.

Le chapitre IV (pp. 39-72) est consacré à Egri Taş Kilisesi (l'église de la pierre penchée ou oblique) située non loin d'Ihlara « église à une nef à abside en cul de four, à voûte en berceau. La nef était située au dessus d'une salle funéraire de mêmes dimensions » (p. 39). Les Auteurs font remarquer (n. 1) que « le cas n'est pas unique: on a découvert, en 1960, une grande crypte avec chapelle et salles funéraires sous Tokali Kilise à Göreme ». Le R. P. de Jerphanion avait lui aussi remarqué des tombes d'enfants dans des narthex d'églises et il y avait vu la « preuve que la population, même dans les régions à monastères, comme Gueurémé, n'était pas exclusivement monastique » (*Les Eglises rupestres*, I, p. 56).

Avec prudence, les Auteurs attribuent à cette église, dédiée à la Vierge, « une haute origine » (p. 67). Les fresques, inspirées souvent par des apocryphes, dont nous ne possédons plus que des versions voisines, peuvent être rapprochées des peintures et des mosaïques romaines du VIIe au IXe siècle (p. 66). Elles évoquent « l'art préiconoclaste de l'Orient chrétien » (p. 66). On y trouve l'« Annonciation au puits » d'après le Pseudo-Mathieu IX, 1 (pp. 47-48). Les Auteurs constatent que nous n'en connaissons pas d'autre ensemble en Cappadoce. Ils croient que cette scène est très rarement représentée (p. 48). En Asie Mineure d'accord, mais en Grèce (Daphni et Kastoria), en Italie (St Marc de Venise, Chapelle Palatine de Palerme, Martorana de Monreale), à Constantinople (Kahriyé-Djami), en Russie (Ste Sophie de Kiev), cette scène est souvent représentée: cf. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien* II, Nouveau Testament, pp. 178-179.

Ağaç alti Kilise, l'« église sous l'arbre » est décrite dans le chapitre V (pp. 73-87). On y trouve une Dormition « d'un type absolument inconnu », divisé en deux épisodes (pp. 79-80). Elle est fixée au mois d'août. Or on sait que la fête de l'Assomption était célébrée le 15 août depuis l'empereur Maurice » (p. 87).

Yilanli Kilisa e l'« église aux serpents » décrite au chapitre VI (pp. 89-114) avait été partiellement étudiée par H. Rott. « L'histoire de Marie l'Egyptienne dans le vestibule, les vieillards de l'Apocalypse portant les lettres de l'alphabet, et nommés comme anges bénéfiques, les Martyrs de Sébaste..., les démons cités lors de la Cène, le geste de l'ange psychopompe de la Dormition, tous ces détails semblent émaner d'un milieu monachique encore très empreint de survivances mystiques, dont l'origine se rattache à la magie et à la Gnose » (p. 113). « Il s'agit là de fresques provinciales, expressions de communautés chrétiennes ayant des traditions en grande partie étrangères aux régions de Göreme et Soğanli et subissant l'influence du monde arabe ». Leur inspiration n'est pas sans rapport « avec les traditions coptes et syriaques » (p. 114). Sur la rive gauche de la rivière, à dix minutes de marche en aval d'Eğri Taş Kilisesi est située Kokar Kilise, «l'église odorante», que le chapitre VII (pp. 115-136) étudie. Les Auteurs y soulignent des éléments rares ou inédits, étrangers à « l'imagerie cappadocienne des régions de Göreme et Soğanli », par exemple: « l'ange qui précéde les mages lors de la Nativité; les cinq bergers nommés par les mots du carré magique; l'âne de la Fuite en Egypte, nommé onagre; le démon Séléphouzé, qui inspire Judas lors de la Cène, et la phrase qu'il adresse au Christ...; Caïphe assistant à la Crucifixion, dont il est responsable; enfin la représentation des Apôtres sous la Croix, qui est à la fois Pentecôte, Mission des Apôtres, Triomphe des disciples, Participation au Jugement dernier » (pp. 135-136). Sur cette dernière scène, on lira avec intérêt un article des Auteurs: « Le cénacle apostolique à Kokar Kilise et Ayvali Kilise en Cappadoce » (Journal des Savants 1963, fasc. 2).

Le chapitre VIII (pp. 137-153) décrit, au nord de Kokar Kilise, Püreli Seki Kilise (l'église à terrasse), «petite chapelle à une nef, flanquée au sud d'une seconde chapelle, creusée dans la profondeur du rocher. Elle est précédée, à l'ouest, d'un narthex lui-même prolongé au sud par une salle funéraire » (p. 137). Les fresques, qui la décorent, de type archaïque, présentent des détails assez rares: « nom de la servante à la Visitation; présence de cinq bergers, nommés par les mots du carré magique à la Nativité...; Caïphe donnant l'ordre de la Crucifixion...; représentation des gardiens des portes des Enfers; Daniel, en saint moine, entre les lions ». « Les martyrs de Sébaste sont revêtus de la robe arabe ou persane. On constate donc une sorte de liberté d'expression très caractéristique de cette église et qui fait son agrément malgré la médiocrité de son style » (p. 153).

Le chapitre IX (pp. 155-173) décrit Bahattin Samanliği Kilisesi, « l'église du grenier de Bahattin », creusée dans la falaise, qui fait « face au village de Belisirama » (p. 156). Le dessin d'assez bonne qua-

lité relève du répertoire archaïque, mais évoque la renaissance byzantine du Xe siècle. Il faut souligner, les teintes claires, bleu, rose, jaune, « les figures de la Vierge et d'Elisabeth gracieuses et charmantes » (p. 172), « le mouvement tendre de la Mère et de l'Enfant lors de la Fuite; la représentation de la ville d'Egypte; la foule assistant à la résurrection de Lazare; l'apparition au Jardin » (p. 173).

Le chapitre X assez succint (pp. 175-184), décrit Sümbüllü Kilise, (l'église aux lys), petite chapelle à la limite des districts d'Ihlara et de Belisirama. Son plan est « complexe semblant tenir à la fois de la croix inscrite à coupole centrale et du plan mésopotamien à trois absides » (p. 176). Ces « fresques sont d'une grande valeur artistique, ce qui est assez rare en Cappadoce » (p. 181). On peut les dater du Xe ou du début du XIe siècle.

Le chapitre XIe est consacré à Direkli Kilise (église aux colonnes) en face de Belisirama (pp. 183-192). Les Auteurs supposent avec raison que « deux peintres se partagent le décor de l'église », tous deux « excellents artistes » du dernier quart du Xe siècle, semble-t-il (p. 192).

Ala Kilise, « l'église bigarrée », est décrite au chapitre XIIe (pp. 193 200). Les Auteurs y distinguent également deux artistes. « L'un fort habile a peint la plupart des décors » par exemple « les cinq martyrs d'Arménie, les Sept Dormants d'Ephèse etc. ». Le second, de talent médiocre, a peint les martyrs de Sébaste et les prophètes de l'arc Sud. Cette église, « se rapproche des églises à colonnes de Göreme » (p. 199).

Le chapitre XIIIe (pp. 201-213) étudie Kirk Dam Alti Kilise (l'église sous les 40 étables), dédiée à St Georges, à l'origine, puis église funéraire. Une inscription, heureusement déchiffrée par les Auteurs, permet de la dater de 1283 à 1295 sous le Sultan Seltchouk de Roum, Mašut II, et Andronic II empereur de Byzance. St Georges y est figuré au moins trois fois. On reconnait aussi les saints Serge et Bacchus, Côme et Damien, Thaléléos médecin également, à côté de l'archange saint Raphaël.

Dans une « Conclusion » (pp. 217-222) brève mais très dense, les Auteurs distinguent deux groupes différents: « Près du village d'Ihlara se trouvent les églises les plus originales, celles dont les fresques n'ont rien de cappadocien ». Près du village de Belisirama au contraire les églises sont conformes aux traditions byzantines » (p. 217).

Le premier groupe s'inspire de versions fort anciennes des Apocryphes. Certaines fresques pourraient dater du VIIe et du VIIIe siècle (p. 218) les autres de l'époque iconoclaste. On y relève des survivances gnostiques et magiques, des influences arméniennes coptes et syriaques. C'est un style vraiment oriental, illustré par une très vivante couleur locale. Les Auteurs émettent l'hypothèse que, à l'époque de la conquête musulmane, beaucoup de moines de Mésopotamie, Syrie et Palestine « fuyant les terres du calife s'installèrent dans ces lieux déjà consacrés à la vie cénobitique. Ainsi s'expliqueraient les caractères propres au groupe des églises d'Ihlara, juxtaposition

d'éléments paléochrétiens, d'éléments locaux et « d'éléments syriaques » (pp. 221-22). Les églises de Bélisirama sont d'un style byzantin plus classique et d'époque plus tardive (du Xe au XIIIe siècle). Elles sont contemporaines de la reconquête byzantine, qui « ne semble avoir été effective qu'à partir du milieu du Xe siècle » et provoqua une « véritable éclosion monastique ». « La période prospère prit fin avec l'arrivée des Turcs Seltchouks à la fin du XIe siècle », mais le XIIIe siècle connut une époque de relative liberté comme en témoigne l'église St Georges. Jusqu'en 1924, les chrétiens continuent à habiter dans ces villages (p. 222). Un glossaire succint (p. 223) aurait pu être un peu plus développé. L'index des noms propres (pp. 225-233), l'index des textes cités (pp. 233-234), un index iconographique (pp. 235-237), précédent une table des illustrations (pp. 234-246).

Les 100 planches d'illustration en noir et en couleur sont d'une exécution remarquable. L'art photographique bénéficie actuellement de plus de ressources qu'à l'époque des courageuses et studieuses recherches du R. P. G. de Jerphanion.

Il serait difficile à un archéologue de devenir chirurgien. Le Docteur et Madame Thierry ont prouvé que d'excellents médecins et chirurgiens peuvent se muer, à force d'intelligence, de science et de patience, en archéologues de grande classe.

Cela n'enlève rien à l'obligeance de savants, qui comme A. Grabar, P. Lemerle, J. Doresse, les RR. PP. V. Laurent, V. Grumel les ont conseillés et guidés pour ce travail, qui fait honneur à la science française.

P. Goubert S.J.

Pasquale Testini, *Osservazioni sull'iconografia del Cristo in trono fra gli Apostoli*, Roma 1963 (Estratto dalla « Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte », Nuova Serie — XI e XII — 1963), in-4°, pp. 230-300, figg. 51.

Nel 1876, durante la demolizione di una collina artificiale sita nella parte est dell'odierna piazza dei Cinquecento, fu scoperta a Roma un'antica casa privata, trasformata in oratorio cristiano fornito di abside.

Questa, secondo le relazioni del Lanciani e del De Rossi, era affrescata: la conca mostrava Cristo assiso in trono, fra i Dodici Apostoli stanti e con ai piedi la cista coi rotoli; in una fascia inferiore erano raffigurate scene simboliche di pesca.

Gli affreschi, staccati dall'edificio distrutto, non si sa più dove siano stati conservati; anzi l'esito negativo della ricerca fattane da qualche studioso induce a credere che siano andati irrimediabilmente perduti. Se non ci restasse un disegno a matita del De Rossi raffigurante l'oratorio in sezione con una parte degli affreschi, oggi non potremmo farcene un'idea concreta.

L'A., pur possedendo soltanto tale disegno e la relativa descrizione del De Rossi (« Bullettino di Archeologia cristicana » [1876], pp. 37 ss., tavv. VI-VII), s'è sobbarcato all'ardua impresa di studiarne a fondo la scena principale: Cristo con gli Apostoli. Il suo scopo è di mettere in risalto l'importanza di essa nella storia dell'iconografia cristologica e di provare che questa scena perduta « può assumere un posto definito nell'evoluzione formale e concettuale delle rappresentazioni di questo genere » (p. 234). E infatti il Prof. Testini, dopo aver esaminato un numero notevolissimo di monumenti paleocristiani raffiguranti variamente Cristo con gli Apostoli e dopo averne esaminato i presupposti teologici e gli elementi iconografici, conclude affermando che « tra le origini del tema [del trono senza la figura del Cristo] e le opere del V-VI secolo, l'affresco dell'oratorio romano si pone ... come un punto di arrivo: esso ci dice cioè come e fino a quando sopravvisse lo schema proprio dell'iconografia cimiteriale; rivela certe interferenze ed inserzioni di altre correnti artistiche attive negli edifici di culto e nelle officine dei sarcofagi; segna il limite di rottura fra la tradizione antica e le nuove concezioni » (p. 281).

Va da sé che, per apprezzare giustamente tale conclusione, bisogna seguire l'A. nella sua vasta e meticolosa ricerca nel settore dell'iconografia cristologica paleocristiana, durante la quale egli ha cercato di raccogliere e interpretare sistematicamente tutti gli elementi deducibili dalle pitture delle catacombe, dalle sculture dei sarcofagi, dai mosaici absidali di qualche basilica, dai rilievi figurativi di qualche avorio, di un'urna argentea e di una terracotta. Tutto ciò offre al lettore un quadro panoramico della genesi e dell'evoluzione di certi temi, come la « Traditio legis », il « Christus magister », la « Missio Apostolorum », ecc., dai quali, nell'epoca della tetrarchia dioclezianea, andarono sviluppandosi il « Christus rex », il « Christus imperator », e via dicendo.

Questo quadro è reso particolarmente interessante dallo sforzo costante dell'A. di situare storicamente l'evoluzione dei temi iconografici suaccennati. Perciò egli dedica ad es. alcune pagine ai rapporti fra ideologia politica tardoantica e pensiero cristiano, dai quali furono determinati i rapporti fra iconografia ufficiale, celebrativa dell'imperatore « Dominus et deus », e l'iconografia cristiana che le oppone volutamente il « Christus rex » o il « Christus imperator » pur assumendone schemi formali e procedimenti tecnici. Donde l'A. può dedurre acutamente un principio che purtroppo viene spesso ignorato dagli storici, sopratutto in sede comparativa: l'identità formale-iconografica non implica necessariamente l'identità sostanziale-iconologica (pp. 235-240).

Il valore del lavoro è accresciuto dal ricco e ben scelto materiale illustrativo e da un'eccellente documentazione critica, distribuita in non meno di 253 note.

C. Capizzi S.J.

Raffaella Farioli, *Pitture di epoca tarda nelle catacombe romane* (= Quaderni di Antichità ravennati, cristiane e bizantine, 1), Edizioni « Dante » di A. Longo, Ravenna 1963, in-8°, pp. 68, figg. 22, L. 1500.

L'A. rifà l'esame di oltre 20 pitture cemeteriali romane, databili entro i secoli V-IX, cioè entro i limiti di un periodo di tempo che, in forza di una convenzione assai discussa, conprende l'epoca tardo-paleocristiana e l'epoca bizantina.

Le pitture esaminate appartengono ai cimiteri (catacombe) romani dei SS. Pietro e Marcellino, di Generosa, di Commodilla, di Ponziano, di Felicita, di Callisto, di S. Valentino, di S. Cecilia e di S. Ermete.

Mettendo a profitto gran parte della letteratura precedente (sopratutto le opere relative al tema del Marucchi, del Wilpert e del Cecchelli) e utilizzando i dati di uno studio personale « in loco », l'A. offre di ogni pittura una descritione analitica sobria e precisa, una breve analisi comparativa stilistica e iconografica con menumenti affini di Roma e d'altrove, un ben documentato inquadramento cronologico e una valutazione estetica.

Data la brevità e il carattere sostanzialmente ristretto del lavoro, esso non poteva offrire altro che interessanti conclusioni di dettaglio e osservazioni stimolanti per studiosi che intendessero proseguire le ricerche iniziate dall'A. Tuttavia nelle ultime pagine è possibile scorgere una conclusione generale, che mette il conto di rilevare: la qualifica di « bizantine » data da alcuni studiosi ad alcune delle pitture esaminate dall'A. è molto discutibile; la molteplicità e complessità di elementi iconografici e stilistici che le caratterizzano, mostrano che tale qualifica semplifica il problema in senso unilaterale.

Carmelo Capizzi S.J.

Stylianos Pelekanidis, *Gli affreschi paleocristiani ed i più antichi mosaici parietali di Salonicco* (= Quaderni di Antichità ravennati, cristiane e bizantine, 2). Edizioni « Dante » di A. Longo, Ravenna 1963, in 8°, pp. 60, figg. 9+16, L. 1500.

L'A., noto studioso di pittura paleocristiana e bizantina, presenta una serie di ragguagli organici su alcuni dei numerosi monumenti paleocristiani, che in questi ultimi anni sono venuti alla luce entro l'abitato di Salonicco sia mediante scoperte che mediante restauri.

Il titolo indica l'oggetto della rassegna: alcuni affreschi d'epoca paleocristiana (appartenenti tutti a tombe di recente scoperta: tombe di Eustorgio, del Buon Pastore, della Via di S. Demetrio, dell'ambito della Città Universitaria, di Via Langadà) e il gruppo dei mosaici « più antichi » conservatici nelle pareti delle Chiese di quella che fu

la ricca e popolosa Tessalonica tardoromana e bizantina (Rotonda o S. Giorgio, Achiropiîtos, Hosios David, S. Demetrio).

La descrizione analitica e i conseguenti raffronti coi monumenti coevi permettono al Pelekanidis di inquadrare cronologicamente tanto gli affreschi quanto i mosaici in un periodo di tempo compreso fra la fine del sec. III e gli ultimi decenni del sec. V. Come termini di paragone egli impiega, per gli affreschi, le pitture, note da tempo o appena scoperte, delle catacombe di Roma, delle tombe di Pécs, di Niš, della Basilica di Aquileia, e per i mosaici, le decorazioni musive paleocristiane di Roma, Ravenna, Napoli, Capua, Milano, ecc.

La brevità della trattazione non permette all'A. la formulazione di giudizi d'ampio respiro, benchè le sue osservazioni estetiche e iconografiche meritino molta attenzione. Al lettore attento non sfuggirà l'abilità dell'A. nel dedurre dall'alto livello artistico e tecnico di gran parte dei monumenti esaminati la costanza di una tradizione d'arte e di cultura, che avrebbe caratterizzato Salonicco « sino al giorno in cui la città passò sotto il dominio dei Turchi » (p. 59).

Carmelo Capizzi S.J.

Giuseppe Bovini, *La « Basilica Apostolorum » — attuale chiesa di S. Francesco — di Ravenna* (= Quaderni di Antichità ravennati, cristiane e bizantine, 3). Edizioni « Dante » di A. Longo, Ravenna 1964, in 8°, pp. 75, figg. 20, L. 1500.

La chiesa di S. Francesco di Ravenna fu costruita dal vescovo Neone nel terzo quarto del secolo V. Appartiene dunque alle chiese ravennati più antiche. Ma, cionondostante, non si può contare fra le più note al gran pubblico o tra le più famose. La perdita della decorazione musiva (supposto che essa ne abbia avuto), la scomparsa quasi totale degli affreschi eseguiti nel suo interno nei secoli XIII-XIV, la mancanza di caratteristiche architettoniche tali da conferirle una fisionomia propria ed originale — questi ed altri fattori hanno contribuito a far scivolare nella penombra, se non nel buio, questa basilica paleocristiana, nelle cui vicinanze si innalzano monumenti assoluti come S. Vitale, S. Apollinare Nuovo, la Cappella Arcivescovile, il Mausoleo di Galla Placidia, il Battistero degli Ariani, ecc.

Ma, anche a prescindere dal fatto che questa chiesa accolse spesso Dante Alighieri, già stanco e fisicamente in declino, la cui tomba si trova ancora a qualche decina di metri di una delle sue navate, l'interesse di questo edificio sacro si fa vivo fin dalla storia delle sue denominazioni. Inizialmente fu chiamato « Basilica Apostolorum », come due famose basiliche di Costantinopoli (lo scomparso *Apostoleion*, riprodotto nel *S. Marco* di Venezia) e di Roma (*Santi Apostoli*). In una pergamena dell'896 troviamo testimoniata una nuova designazione, che costituisce ancora il nome liturgico della basilica: « Ecclesia S. Petri Majoris ». Non ci sono noti i motivi di tale cambiamento di nome. Dal 1261, anno in cui la chiesa fu ceduta in proprietà ai

Frati Minori che la conservarono insieme con l'attiguo convento fino al 1810 per poi riaverla nel 1949, la denominazione popolare di Chiesa di S. Francesco divenne sempre più usuale. Tuttavia l'interesse maggiore di questa chiesa sta nello studio della sua cripta; tale studio dà un'idea adeguata delle aggiunte, delle demolizioni, delle modifiche e dei restauri a cui è stato sottoposto l'edificio originario nel corso dei secoli. Varie campagne di scavi nella cripta e nella facciata e i lavori di restauro del 1918-1921 hanno documentato tutte queste vicende, determinate, oltre tutto, dal fatto che questa chiesa, come tanti altri monumenti ravennati, ha dovuto subire per ben due volte la soprelevazione del pavimento minacciato d'inondazione dal noto fenomeno locale dell'innalzarsi continuo della falda freatica. La scoperta dei tre pavimenti successivi della cripta, il primo e il terzo dei quali ornati di mosaici ancora parzialmente conservati, e la scoperta della tomba di Neone, testimoniata da un'epigrafe musiva sopra il pavimento più antico, hanno posto vari problemi d'ordine storico e archeologico. L'A. è riuscito ad esporre tutto ciò in poco più di 70 pagine con rara chiarezza, competenza e rigore di metodo scientifico. Sia l'insieme della chiesa che i suoi singoli elementi architettonici passati e presenti vengono dal Bovini studiati meticolosamente e con impeccabile precisione di linguaggio, mettendo a profitto le fonti letterarie antiche, i contributi degli studiosi moderni e la propria osservazione diretta.

Carmelo Capizzi S.J.

Patrizia Martinelli, *Caratteristiche architettoniche degli edifici paleocristiani di Ravenna* (= Quaderni di Antichità ravennati, cristiane e bizantine, 4). Edizioni « Dante » di A. Longo, Ravenna 1964, in 8°, pp. 94, figg. 28, L. 1500.

È da vari decenni che anche i monumenti paleocristiani e bizantini di Ravenna vengono studiati non soltanto da storici ed archeologi, ma anche da cultori di storia dell'arte seguaci di un metodo formale, che in sede letteraria fu battezzato col nome di « critica estetica ».

Lo studio contenuto in questo fascicolo si inserisce sopratutto in tale tendenza.

Il titolo suggerisce con chiarezza sufficiente la natura del contenuto: mediante l'analisi materiale ed estetica (sorretta sempre dalle acquisizioni storico-archeologiche) giungere a conclusioni generali sul valore storico-culturale degli edifici paleocristiani di Ravenna.

L'A. limita le sue ricerche agli edifici sacri appartenenti ai secoli V-VI circa: Basilica Ursiana, S. Giovanni Evangelista, « Basilica Apostolorum », « Anastasis Gotorum », S. Agata, S. Apolllinare in Classe (edifici a pianta basilicale), S. Vitale, Battistero della Cattedrale, Battistero degli Ariani (edifici a pianta circolare). Deliberatamente non tratta delle chiese scomparse, come la « Basilica petriana » e S. Severo, ambedue in Classe; solo di passaggio accenna alle pareti superstiti di S. Michele in Affricisco, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Agnese e S. Vittore.

L'indagine si apre con alcune considerazioni sui « motivi » climatici, sociali, politici, liturgici ed economici che hanno determinato le caratteristiche architettoniche degli edifici esaminati. Dalla rassegna di tali motivi (pp. 5-12) l'A. passa a una fine analisi del « valore dello spazio » (p. 12-22), del rapporto tra materiale usato — mattoni e calcestruzzo — e strutture architettoniche (p. 24-28), della tecnica impiegata nella costruzione delle cupole (pp. 28-38), degli elementi che caratterizzano le chiese a pianta basilicale e i battisteri e le chiese a pianta circolare o centrale (pp. 38-54). Fatti alcuni accenni al problema dell'orientazione delle chiese di Ravenna (pp. 54-57), l'A. si impegna in un capitolo suggestivo dedicato ai rapporti di proporzionamento matematico tra la lunghezza e la larghezza delle chiese ravennati paleocristiane (pp. 57-70). Alcune note ulteriori, per lo più di carattere estetico (pp. 70-82), precedono le « conclusioni », in cui l'A. passa in rassegna le opinioni di alcuni studiosi recenti intorno alla dipendenza artistica di Ravenna da Roma o da Bisanzio sfiorando la nota Strzygowski-Frage: « Orient oder Rom? » (pp. 83-87). La Martinelli non esce da un prudente riserbo e conclude sottolineando giustamente l'inconfondibile fisionomia artistica propria dei monumenti ravennati accettando una formula riassuntiva di M. Cagiano de Azevedo: « Luce, ..., e movimento, luce e attraverso questa il movimento » — ecco il carattere più notevole e personale dell'architettura dei monumenti paleocristiani ravennati (p. 83).

Calore e precisione tecnica di linguaggio, acutezza di osservazione, vigile sensibilità estetica e notevole dominio della letteratura intorno al tema trattato sono i pregi più rilevanti di questo studio. Nel riconoscerli, ci dispiace che l'A. non abbia previsto le reazioni che avrebbe suscitato nel lettore presentandogli una traduzione letterale del noto « sacrum convivium » latino — « sacro pasto » (p. 8) — nel senso di « sacrificio eucaristico » o « comunione eucaristica », o affermando che « in un clima non stabile ... troviamo nel nostro intimo le parole, le note per arricchire sia il nostro spirito, *sia lo Spirito che ci sostiene...* » (p. 18).

Non ci sembra dubbio che l'A., mediante la frase sottolineata da noi, voglia indicare Dio. Ma se Dio è — come di fatti è per definizione — l'Essere perfettissimo, il Sommo Bene, l'Assoluto, ci si domanda allibiti come possa Egli venir « arricchito » da « parole » e « note » trovate « nel nostro intimo ».

CARMELO CAPIZZI S.J.

Opera a nostris professoribus edita

Joseph GILL, S.J., *Orationes a Georgio Scholario in Concilio Florentino habitae,* (= Concilium Florentinum, Documenta et Scriptores. Vol. VIII, Fasc. 1). Romae 1964, in-4°, pp. XII-121, 5.500 lire, 9.25dolls.

These three short treatises of George Scholarius (traditionally printed as four) contain the arguments that this lay theologian and

adviser of the Emperor John VIII in the Council of Florence produced to persuade his fellows-Greeks that the Latin doctrine of the *Filioque* was the traditional doctrine of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, and that therefore union of the Eastern and Western Churches was not only admissible but even obligatory. After a short introduction to present the author, Scholarius, and to prove that these treatises are genuinely his, this fascicule of the series, *Concilium Florentinum, Documenta et Scriptores*, gives the Greek text of the treatises with a Latin translation. In the critical days of May 1439, studies like these did much to overcome the hesitation of the Greek prelates to accepting the orthodoxy of the Latin doctrine.

Joseph GILL and Edmund FLOOD, *The Orthodox, their Relations with Rome*. Darton, Longman & Todd, London 1964, in-16°, 58 pages; 2 shills. paperbound; 6 shills. 6d. bound in cloth.

This little volume is part of a series designed to present the faith in all its aspects to the students of schools. It is meant, therefore, to be a serious study but neither too abstruse nor too detailed to interest and enlighten the teenager. The treatment here is more historical than theological, though theology is introduced sufficiently to explain the grounds that are said to justify the division between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Churches during the last seven or eight centuries. Beginning with Constantine, the founder of Constantinople, the narration notes the main events in the contacts of the Christian East with the Christian West, sketches the present situation of the Orthodox Churches and indicates their relations with each other and with the non-Orthodox world. Within small compass a great deal of information is given that can interest and enlighten not only the young but also the more advanced in years.

ALIA SCRIPTA AD NOS MISSA

G. M. DE DURAND, O. P., *Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Deux Dialogues Christologiques* (= Sources Chrétiennes, 97). Paris 1964, in-16°, pp. 548.

Doctus editor tractat in sat erudita praefatione quaestiones praeliminares ad duplicem tractatum Cyrilli « De Incarnatione Unigeniti » et « Quod unus sit Christus ». Primus compositus est ante controversiam nestorianam: secundus vero non ante a. 435 estque ultimum scriptum Cyrilli. Quae de doctrina Cyrilli obiter tanguntur interdum dubium excitant. Utiles excursus ad finem apponuntur: De influxu quem Cyrillus subiit, de versione armenica operis « De recta fide ad Theodosium ». Mihi placet hypothesis ab auctore neglecta talem versionem e syriaca factam esse, iuxta morem aliarum versionum armenicarum eo tempore. Praeterea auctor (p. 155 s) videtur ignorare versionem syriacam Rabbulae « De recta fide » editam esse a P. Bedjan, Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, V, 628-96.

Non desunt indices, etsi index rerum nimis ieiunus sit. Apparatus typographicus est ad amussim collectionis « Sources Chrétiennes », omni laude dignus.

I.O.U.

Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva. Supplementa. Fasc. I: 1) A. J. VERMEULEN, *Le développement sémasiologique d'Ἐπιφάνεια et la fête de l'Épiphanie*. 2) H. HOPPENBROUWERS, *Conversatio, une étude sémasiologique*. 3) L. ENGELS, *Fiducia dans la Vulgate. Le problème de traduction παρρησία — fiducia*. Nijmegen 1964, in-8°, pp. 144.

Agitur de brevibus studiis quae antiqua vocabula graeca et latina, exploratis fontibus, declarant. Quod festum « Epiphaniae » hoc nomine significaretur alludit ad *manifestationem* divinam Verbi tum in sua humana nativitate tum praesertim in suo baptismate, in quo per *manifestationem* Spiritus Sancti ipse Christus a vita abscondita exire videtur. Ultimum studium investigat quomodo vox « parresia », potius rhetorica, vertatur saepe in Vulgata Novi Testamenti per vocabulum « fiducia », quod fit maxime in sensu confidentiae versus Deum. Forsan non omnia ibi dicuntur clare aut mature.

I.O.U.

Kita TSCHENKÉLI, *Georgisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, fasc. 5 and 6, Amirani-Verlag Zürich 1962-63.

Parts 5 and 6 of the Georgian-German Dictionary have been published in these last two years, marking the steady progress of the work

from its inception. The dictionary is now about half complete, always with the same clear presentation. These two parts, letters *e* to *k*, cover pages 347 to 538.

J.G.

Demetrios J. Constantelos, *An Old Faith for Modern Man. The Greek Orthodox Church. Its History and Teachings*. New York 1964, 71 pages.

This beautifully printed (but badly bound) brochure was prepared for distribution in the New York World Fair. In four of its 6 chapters it gives a concise but clear outline of Orthodox faith and in the other 2 asks for greater recognition in America of Orthodoxy and gives a message of love to the world. The Introduction's estimate of 200 million Orthodox in the world is about twice the figure given by others. That apart, the account is sober, ecumenical and attractive.

J. G.

S. Girolamo, *Le lettere,* traduzione e note di S. Cola. Vol. I. Lettere 1-52, pag. 452, Città nuova Ed., Roma.

Valde laudanda est haec nova versio italica epistularum s. Hieronymi et facile praeferenda priori a Logi comparatae: pendet enim ab optima editione facta a Hilberg et excellit introductione et notis. Praesertim vero placet lectori perspicuitas et vigor modernus versionis per quam vivacitas sermonis Hieronymi fere immediate sentitur. Nec minus laudandus est apparatus typographicus.

I. O. U.

J. R. Palanque - J. Chelini, *Petite histoire des Grands Conciles,* Desclée de Brouwer [1962] p. 312.

Celebres auctores composuerunt parvum librum scopo diffundendi historiam conciliorum oecumenicorum per plures lectorum coetus. Opus ergo non habet indolem scientificam nec doctis destinatur. Attamen in tam brevi compendio tot eventuum scientia auctorum transparet et generatim discretio illa quae secundaria omittit et praecipua recenset. Nihil mirum est lectorem posse in aliquibus dissentire, v. gr. vocem « homousios » ab occidente procedere (p. 31). Alibi, etiam in tanta brevitate, opportunum fuisset aliquid addere, v. gr. in pag. 307 notare editionem Concilii Florentini a nostro Instituto comparatam.

I. O. U.

N. S. TROIANOS, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ δικονομία μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ*, Athens 1964, 6 + 170 pages.

This study, *Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence till the Death of Justinian*, was offered as a thesis to the Faculty of Law of the University of Athens. The chapter titles indicate its content: *Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence*; *Ecclesiastical Tribunals*; *Before the Proceedings*; *The Proceedings*; *Witnesses*; *Decisions*; *Legal Steps* (after the decision). The Author is to be congratulated on a solid piece of work which will be of great use to scholars.

J. G.

Donald ATTWATER, *Saints of the East*, Harvill Press, London 1963, 190 p.

Il libro, senza pretese scientifiche, vuole far conoscere al lettore occidentale alcuni santi orientali più caratteristici. È un merito non indifferente che non si sia limitato alle grandi figure dell'antichità ma che abbia messo la sua attenzione anche sui recenti eroi delle chiese orientali unite con Roma, spesso ingiustamente dimenticati in simili opere.

T. Š.

Joseph NASRALLAH, *Sa Béatitude Maximos IV et la succession apostolique du Siège d'Antioche*. Paris 1963, in-16°, pp. 95.

Opusculum in reicienda sententia Dom SPIESSENS (*Les Patriarches d'Antioche et leur succession apostolique*. «Orient Syrien» 7 [1962] 389-434) potissimum consistit. Hinc character huiusce occasionalis scripti praecipue polemicus est. Cum autem de re historica maxime controversa quaestio moveatur, nondum fortasse ea quae auctor fidentius exponit, omnibus probanda videbuntur.

E. C.

Dr. JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS O.S.B., *Kreuz über Rußland, Die heutige Situation der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche* (= Credo-Kleinschriftenreihe, Heft 1). Verlag Ludwig Auer Cassianeum, Donauwörth 1963, 40 Seiten.

Prof. Dr. Gustav A. WETTER, *Kommunismus und Religion, Kirche in der Sowjetunion*. Entscheidung, Eine Schriftenreihe, herausgegeben von Alfonso Pereira S.J., Num. 40, Verlag Butzon und Bercker, Kevelaer 1964, 30 Seiten.

Beide Kleinschriften verfolgen dasselbe Ziel: aufzuklären über die Lage des Christentums in der Sowjetunion, über den Kampf gegen die Religion durch Ideologie und Praxis. Beide anerkennen den heldenmütigen Widerstand vieler Christen unter dem Druck der Verfolgung.

B. S.

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GLAVIANO, Francesco Crispi, *Mbi malin e Truntafilevet sul Monte delle Rose*. Testo e traduzione dell'Autore con introduzione, commento e note di Matteo SCIAMBRA. Centro Internazionale di Studi Albanesi, Palermo 1963, in-8º, pp. CXI + 78.

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